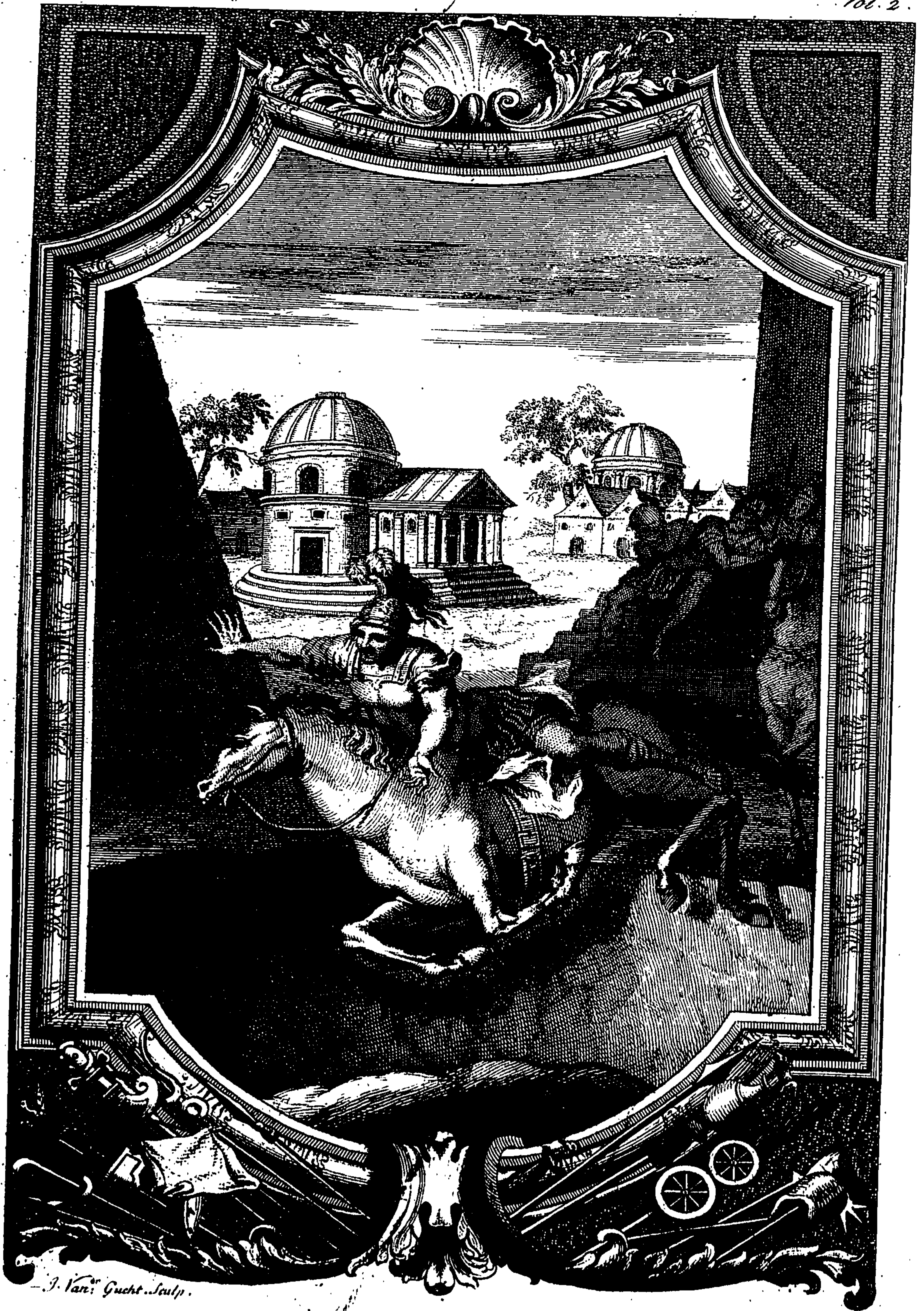




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THE
ROMAN
HISTORY:
WITH
NOTES

Historical, Geographical, and Critical;

AND

Illustrated with COPPER PLATES, MAPS, and a great
Number of AUTHENTICK MEDALS.

Done into ENGLISH, from the Original FRENCH of
The Rev^d Fathers CATROU and ROUILLÉ.

VOLUME II.

From the Year of ROME CCCLXII. to the Year of ROME DXIV.

To which is prefix'd,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

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M,DCC,XXIX.

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O R,  BRITISH
MUSEUM.

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

BOOK XIII.

§. 1. **G**AUL was anciently divided into three Parts. The first, which reached from the *British* Sea to the *Seine*, was called (by the *Romans*) GALLIA BELGICA. The second, which comprehended all the Country between the *Seine* and the *Garonne* quite to the *Alpes*, was named GALLIA CELTICA. The third, containing all that Tract of Ground which lies between the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenees* and the Western Ocean, was called GALLIA AQUITANICA.

The only *Gauls*, who at several times cross'd the *Alpes* and settled in *Italy*, were the *Celtæ* or the Inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*. About the Year of *Rome* 160, during the Reign of *Tarquin the Elder*, *Ambigatus* King of the *Celtæ*, finding his Dominions over-stock'd with ungovernable Subjects, sent away vast numbers of them to seek their Fortune under the Command of his two Nephews, *Segovesus* and *Bellovesus*. The former took his Way through *The Hercinian Forest* (of which the present *Black Forest* was but a small Part) and settled in a Canton of *Germany*, ever since called *Bohemia*, or *Boiemia*, from the Word *Boii*, the greatest part of his Followers being of that *Celtic* Nation which was so named. But these being afterwards driven thence by the *Marcomani* or *Sclavonians*, retired into that Country, which lies between the *Inn* and the *Iser*, and which from them took the Name of *Boiaria* or *Bavaria*.

Bellovesus was followed by great numbers of almost all the other *Celtic* Nations, *First Invasion* as well as of the *Boii*. He crossed the *Rhone*, spread his Army over *Dauphiny* and *Provence*, and at length enter'd *Italy*, between the Mountains *Genevre* and *Cenis*. At this time the *Hebrurians* or *Tyrrhenians* possess'd the better part of it. *Bellovesus* having defeated them in a Battel on the Banks of the *Tessin*, drove them before him and took possession of their Lands, each of the Nations which followed him having its distinct Portion of the conquer'd Countries. The *Taurini*, or the Inhabitants of the Mountains on the side of *Gaul*, had *Piedmont*, the Capital of which is *Turin*. Those Inhabitants of *Provence*, who were called *Salyes*, had *Liguria*. The *Libici*, another People of *Provence*, were placed on the North-side of the *Po*, where *Vercell* now is. The *Insubres* or *Burgundians* settled in the fine Country of the *Milanese*, and there built a Town, which they call'd *Mediolanum* (*Milan*) from the name of a little City in the Territory of the *Autunois*, in *Burgundy*. The *Orobii*, who had dwelt on the Banks of the River *Orobis* in the Country now called *Languedoc*, settled in the Territory of *Bergamo*, and built both the City of that Name, and *Como*, but retain'd their old Appellation of *Orobii*. *Bellovesus* seems not to have carried his Conquests farther than this, nor to have brought into *Italy* all the Nations which had engaged to follow him.

Second Invasion.

A second Irruption into *Italy* was made by the *Cœnomani*, (or those People of *Gallia Celtica* who dwelt between the mouths of the *Seine*, and the *Loire*) under the Conduct of one *Elitouis*. He was probably followed likewise by the *Bretons* of *Vannes* and the *Carnutes*. These new Adventurers are said to have been tempted to cross the *Alpes* by the Wine which *Bellovesus* sent them. The *Gauls* were at this time almost perfect Strangers to Wine; nay, so late as the Time of *Julian The Apostate* there was none made in *France*, at least in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*. The *Cœnomani* settled North-east of the *Insubres*, and possess'd the present *Bresciano*, *Cremonese*, and *Mantua*, on the North-side of the *Po*. The *Veneti*, or the *Bretons* of *Vannes*, settled more Eastward on the Borders of the *Adriatic Gulph*, and the Country still retains the Name of *Venetia*, which it received from them. As for the *Carnutes*, they steer'd farther North, and took possession of the Territory call'd from them *Carniola*.

Third Invasion.

It is uncertain from what Part of *Gaul* the *Laves* (or *Lavi*) and the *Ananes* (or *Anamares*) came, who made the third Irruption into *Italy*; but the Historians agree, that the *Lavi* seized the Country of *Novarra* on the North-side the *Po*, and that the *Ananes* settled in the Neighbourhood of *Placenza* on the South-side of that River.

Fourth Invasion.

The fourth Transmigration of *Gauls* into *Italy* was, when the *Boii* and *Lingones* pass'd the *Alpes Pennine*, or Mount *St. Godard*, and settled on the South-side of the *Po*, between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*.

The *Hetrurians* being driven out of their old Habitations by these Inundations of Strangers, pass'd the *Apennines*, and retired into that Country which has been ever since call'd *Hetruria*, or *Tuscany*. It was divided into twelve *Lucumonies*, and reach'd from the *Arno*, to the *Tyber*; being bounded to the North, by the *Apennines*; and to the South, by the *Tyrrhenian Sea*. And we are not told, that the *Hetrurians* were any more disturb'd by the *Celtæ*, from the Year of *Rome* 156 to the Year 356.

Fifth Invasion.

It was 200 Years after the Invasion by *Bellovesus*, that the *Senones*, whose Capital City was *Sens*, and who possess'd that Part of *Gaul* which lies between *Paris* and *Meaux*, made a fifth Irruption into *Italy*, which was occasion'd by the following Accident.

Arunx, one of the chief Men of *Clusium* in *Hetruria*, had been Tutor to a young *Lucumo* (or Lord of a *Lucumony*) whom he had educated in his own House from his Infancy. The *Lucumo*, as soon as he was of an Age to be capable of a Passion, fell in love with his Tutor's Wife, and upon the first Discovery of their Intrigue, convey'd her away. *Arunx* endeavour'd to obtain Reparation of Honour; but the *Lucumo*, having more Money, and more Interest in his Country, triumph'd over the Complaints of his Tutor; so that the latter, finding no Protectors in *Hetruria*, resolv'd to make his Application to the *Gauls*. Of all the *Celtic Nations* the *Senones* were the People to whom he chose to address himself; and in order to engage them to revenge his Quarrel, he boasted much of the great Plenty of *Italy*, and made them taste of some *Italian Wines*. A numerous Army of these *Gauls* was immediately form'd, who, under the Conduct of their *Hetrurian* Leader, pass'd the *Alpes*, and without disturbing the *Celtæ* in *Italy*, fell down upon *Umbria*, and possess'd themselves of all the Country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*, including the present Duchy of *Urbino*. They were about six Years in settling themselves, whilst the *Romans* were besieging *Veii*. At length, in the Year of *Rome* 362, *Arunx* brings the *Senones* before *Clusium*, in order to besiege that Place, where his Wife and her Lover have shut themselves up.

31st Military Tribuneship.

§. 2. The *Roman Republick* was now govern'd by six military Tribunes, *L. Luccretius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *M. Æmilius*, *L. Furius*, *Ag. Furius*, and *C. Æmilius*. Two of these are order'd to march against the *Volfiniensēs*, and two others against the *Salpinates*; for both these Nations of *Hetruria* had taken Arms against *Rome*. The former are entirely defeated; and learning more Prudence by their Losses, demand a Truce from the *Romans*, which is granted for twenty Years upon Conditions. The *Salpinates* are so terrified by the Defeat of the *Volfiniensēs*, that they dare not appear in the Field, but leave their Country open to be pillaged.

§. 3. At this time one *Cœditius*, a Man of the meanest sort, pretends to have heard a miraculous Voice, which pronounced distinctly these Words, *Go to the Magistrates, and tell them, The Gauls draw near*. But notwithstanding this Warning, and the daily Conquests made by the *Gauls*, the *Romans* appear plainly to have had no Apprehension of any Danger from them, by their manner of treating the great *Camillus*; their only General capable of making Head against such formidable Neighbours. The People's Gratitude for his important Services cannot counterbalance their Resentment against him, for having refused to let them plunder some conquer'd Cities, and for having obliged them to give up a Part of the Booty taken at *Veii*. *Apuleius*, one of the Tribunes of the People, undertakes to accuse him before the *Comitia by Tribes*. His Accusation relates to some Spoils taken from the *Hetrurians*, which *Camillus* is said to have applied to his own Use, and particularly a Brass Door brought from *Veii*. *Camillus*, during the twenty seven Days allow'd him to prepare for

Year of for his Tryal, assembles his Friends, Clients, former Collegues, &c. and asks them *ROME* whether they will give him up defenceless to his unjust Accusers. His Friends, not finding themselves strong enough to protect him, can only promise to pay the Fine which shall be laid upon him : So that *Camillus* having too great a Soul to bear the Affront of a publick Condemnation, goes into a voluntary Banishment. ('Tis said, *Camillus* that when he came to the Gate of *Rome*, through which he was to pass, he turned goes into towards the Capitol, and prayed to the Gods, *That if he were innocent they would Banish- make Rome lament the Loss of him.* But both this Story, and that of the *miraculous Voice*, seem to have been invented by the Historians to embellish their Relations of the great Events which soon follow'd.) *Camillus* pursues his Journey to *Ardea*, and in his Absence is fined 15000 Asles of Brass for Contumacy. This Sum, tho' small, was all he could be charged with having embezzel'd of the publick Treasure. §. 4. *Camillus* is no sooner gone, than Envoys arrive from the *Clusini* to implore the Assistance of the *Romans*, against the *Senones*, who besieged their City. The Senate, being unwilling to engage in an open War with a Nation which had never offended *Rome*, send three Ambassadors, all Brothers, of the Name of *Fabius*, to mediate a Peace between the *Clusini*, and *Gauls*. The *Fabii* exhort the latter to raise the Siege of *Clustum*, and thus expostulate with them: *What Injury, say they, have the Clusini done you? and what Pretence have you for invading their Lands?* Upon this the Commander of the *Gauls* bursts out into a loud Laughter. *Is it not reason enough to begin a War,* says he, *that other People possess Lands which lie very conveniently for us. They have more Ground than they can cultivate; and this is an Injury to us. What other Motives had you yourselves, Romans, to conquer so many Nations your Neighbours? Not that we accuse you of Injustice; but it is evident, that you thought this to be the prime and most ancient of all Laws, to make the weak give way to the strong. Forbear therefore to interest yourselves for the Clusini, or allow us to interest ourselves for the Cities which you have subdued.* This haughty Answer leaving the *Roman* Ambassadors no Hopes of negotiating a Peace; and they being desirous to see the Bravery of the *Gauls*, and their Way of fighting, advise the *Clusini* to make frequent Sallies. The *Fabii* at first design only to be Spectators; but being young, and Men of Spirit, they at length put themselves at the Head of the besieged, and sally with them. *Quintus Fabius* one Day engages with a *Gaul* in single Combat, in presence of the two Armies, and kills him; and while he is stripping his Adversary, *Brennus*, the General of the *Gauls*, discovers the Conqueror to be one of the *Roman* Ambassadors. The Report spreads through the Army of the *Senones*: They call the Gods to witness the Perfidiousness of the *Romans*, and their Violation of the Law of Nations. *Brennus* immediately sounds a Retreat; a Council of War is held, in which the hottest are for marching instantly to *Rome*; but the more moderate prevail to have an Embassy first sent, requiring the Republick to deliver up both him who slew the *Gaul*, and the two other Ambassadors his Brothers. The *Roman* Senate is perplex'd between their Regard for the Law of Nations and their Affection for the *Fabii*; and, to extricate themselves, refer the Affair to the People assembled by *Curia*. And the *Fabian* Family being popular, the People are so far from condemning the Three Brothers, that at the next Election of 363. Military Tribunes, *Q. Fabius*, *Cæso Fabius* and *Caius Fabius* are the first chosen; to 32d Military Tribuneship. them are added *Q. Sulpicius*, *Q. Servilius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*. §. 5. The Ambassadors of the *Gauls* look upon the Promotion of the *Fabii* as an high Affront to their Nation, leave *Rome* in a Rage, and inspire their Countrymen with the same; so that the *Senones* advance towards *Rome* with all Expedition. All Orders of Men in the Republick seem intoxicated. The *Fabii* govern all; and, imagining the lucky Stroke given to a single *Gaul* to be a sure Prognostick of Victory over the whole Nation, neglect the usual Precautions. The Levies are only of young Men, little inured to War. No Auguries are consulted, nor the customary Sacrifices offer'd to the Gods. The Troops march out, and encamp sixty *Stadia* from *Rome* on the Banks of the *Allia* where it falls into the *Tyber*. The whole *Roman* Army consists, according to some, but of 40000 Men; but, according to others, of all the Forces of the Republick. The *Gauls* are 70000 strong, and *Brennus* by his masterly Romans Conduct gains a complete Victory, on The 15th of the Calends of August; a Day defeated by ever after reckon'd unlucky by the *Romans*, and upon which no Enterprize was to the Gauls be begun. The greater part of the *Romans* who fly from the Battel choose rather to take Refuge at *Veii* than at *Rome*; so that the few who return thither fill Banks of it with Terror; it being thought in the City that the rest are all cut off. The next the *Allia*. Day after the Battel, *Brennus* marches his Troops into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and encamps on the Banks of the *Anio*. Thither his Scouts bring him word that the City is defenceless, its Gates open, and not a *Roman* to be seen on the Ramparts. *Brennus* suspects an Ambuscade, it being unreasonable to suppose that the *Romans* wou'd abandon their City to be plunder'd and sack'd without making any Resistance. This Apprehension makes him slow in advancing, and this Dilatoriness gives the *Romans* time to breathe, to fortify the Capitol, and to fill it with all the Youth

Youth able to bear Arms and the bravest of the Senators. Some of the Women Year of are at their own earnest Request admitted into the Citadel; but the greater part *ROME* escape over the Bridge *Sublicius*, and fly for Refuge to the neighbouring Cities. The *Vestals*, before they leave *Rome*, hide every thing appropriated to the Gods, and which they cannot carry off, under ground. The two *Palladiums* and the sacred Fire they take with them. When they come to the *Janiculus*, one *Albinus* a *Plebeian*, who is conveying his Wife and Children in a Carriage to a Place of Safety, seeing the sacred Virgins bending under their Loads and their Feet bloody, makes his Family alight, puts the Priestesses and their Gods into the Carriage, and conducts them to *Cære*, a City of *Hetruria*, where they meet with a favourable Reception. (And because the *Vestals* remain'd at *Cære* and continued to perform the Rites of Religion there, those Rites were thence call'd CEREMONIES.) §. 6. But whilst the rest of the Citizens at *Rome* are providing for their Safety, about fourscore of the most illustrious and venerable old Men, rather than fly from their native Country, or carry so many useless Mouths into the Capitol, choose to die honourably. And in order thereto they devote themselves to the tutelary Gods of *Rome*, by a Vow which *Fabius* the *Pontifex* pronounces in their Names: (The Gods were thought by the Pagans to be appeas'd by such Devotements.) Of these brave old Men some were *Pontifices*, others had been *Cohsuls*, and others Generals of Armies, who had been honour'd with Triumphs. They prepare to complete their Sacrifice with a Solemnity and Pomp, becoming the Magnanimity and Constancy of *Romans*. They dress themselves in their respective *Pontifical*, *Consular*, and *Triumphal Robes*, are carried to the *Forum*, and there seat themselves in their *Curule Chairs*, holding their Truncheons in their Hands. In this manner they wait the coming of the *Gauls*. At length *Brennus*, the fourth Day after the Battel, enters the City by the Gate *Collina*. *Rome* seems to be intirely deserted. However he advances with Caution, and comes at length to the *Forum*, where he is struck with Admiration at the Sight of the fourscore old Men, whose Majesty, Silence, Modesty, with the Magnificence of their Habits and Seats, make him take them for so many Deities. The *Romans*, motionless as Statues, see the Enemy advance without changing Countenance, or shewing any Concern, at the Approach of Death. The *Gauls* at first keep at an awful Distance, but at length grow more familiar with the Objects of their Admiration. One of them comes up to *M. Papirius*, and gently strokes his Beard; an Offence not very heinous, yet *Roman* Pride cannot brook it. *Papirius* gives the *Gaul* a severe Stroke with his Batoon, and wounds him in the Head. Upon this, Rage and Revenge get the better of Admiration and Astonishment. The Idols are overthrown, and the devoted Victims receive the Death they seek. After this, the *Gauls* set no Bounds to their Fury, and the City is reduced to Ashes. *Brennus*, by the Help of the *Tortoise*, endeavours to scale the *Capitol*; but is so severely repuls'd, that he forbears the like Attempt any more. The Siege of the Citadel is turn'd into a Blockade, and *Brennus* hopes to reduce the *Romans* by Famine. In the mean time his own Army is distress'd for want of Provisions. He sends out Parties to pillage the Fields, and to raise Contributions from the Cities round about. And happily for the *Romans*, a Party of these Pillagers appears before *Ardea*. §. 7. The great *Camillus* had now spent two Years there in a private Life; and notwithstanding the Affront he had receiv'd at *Rome*, his Love for his Country was not in the least diminished. The Senate of *Ardea* being met to deliberate on the Measures to be taken with regard to the *Gauls*, *Camillus* goes thither, and persuades them to arm their Youth in their own Defence, and to revenge the Cause of *Rome*. He marches out at the Head of the *Ardeates*, surprises a Party of the *Gauls* asleep and full of Wine, and makes a terrible Slaughter of them. This Defeat of the Enemy revives the Courage of the *Romans* scatter'd about the Country, and especially of those who had retired to *Vei*, after the Battel of the *Allia*; and they are all earnest to have *Camillus* at their Head. §. 8. In the mean time the *Capitol* is closely invested, and the Avenues strictly guarded. Nevertheless one *Fabius Dorso*, being oblig'd on a certain Day to perform a Sacrifice to the tutelary Gods of his Family, and the Hill *Quirinalis* being the only Place where this Sacrifice can regularly be perform'd; *Fabius*, when the Day comes, dresses himself like a Sacrificer, comes out of the *Capitol*, carrying his Gods, &c. The *Gauls*, out of a Regard to Religion, suffer him to pass to the Place appointed, and to return in Safety to the Citadel, after he has offer'd his Sacrifice. §. 9. As for the *Romans*, ever since the Advantage gain'd by *Camillus* over the *Gauls*, they have been eagerly bent on revenging the Cause of *Rome*. They are about 20000 strong in *Vei*, and have one *Cædicius*, a private *Centurion*, for their Leader; but he not being a Man fit to make Head against *Brennus*, they turn their Thoughts on *Camillus*; and even *Cædicius* himself consents to resign the Command of the Troops to him. A Deputation is accordingly sent to *Camillus*; but he absolutely declines the Generalship till the People, assembled by *Quirix*, shall have confer'd it on him. The publick Authority was now in the Hands of those

Rome
burnt.

who

Year of who defended the Citadel, and the Difficulty was how to find a Way thither thro' ROME the Gauls who invested it. In this Perplexity one *Pontius Cominius*, a Man of mean Birth, but bold, and ambitious of Glory, undertakes the difficult Affair. He puts on a light Habit, provides himself with *Cork*, and in the Beginning of the Night throws himself into the *Tyber* above *Rome*. The Stream carries him undiscover'd to the Foot of the Capitol; and at a very steep Place, where the Gauls had placed no Centinels, he mounts with difficulty, makes himself known to the Guard, is brought before the Magistrates, and declares his Commission. The *Curie* are assembled, the Act of *Camillus's* Condemnation is repeal'd, and he is nominated Dictator. *Cominius* returns with the same good Fortune, fills *Vei* with Joy, and the Romans there confirm the Decree of the Senate, and think of nothing now but fetching him from *Ardea*. It was a Defect in point of Form to have named him Dictator in his Absence, but the Necessities of the State made this excusable.

363. §. 10. Whilst the Romans are going to *Ardea* for their new General, the Gauls, as they are rambling round the Capitol, perceive the Print of a Man's Hand and Feet on the Side of the Hill, and that the Ground is fresh broken up in several Places. Hence they conjecture, that some body has lately gone up and come down from the Citadel. The thing is reported to *Brennus*, and he immediately forms a Design of scaling the Capitol in the same Place where *Cominius* had passed. He chooles out a Body of brave Men, who are to mount the Hill two and two, that they may support one another. They proceed with such profound Silence, that their Approach is not perceived either by the Centinels on Guard, or even by the Dogs, Animals which usually the least Noise awakes. But they could not escape the Vigilance of the Geese. A Flock of these Birds was kept on the Capitol in Honour to *Juno*, and near her Temple. Their Lives had been spared out of Religion, notwithstanding the Scarcity of Provisions in the Garrison. By their cackling and beating their Wings they awaken *Manlius*. He sounds the Alarm, runs to the Rampart, and finds two Gauls already mounted on it. One of them lifts up his Battel-axe to strike him, but *Manlius* with his Sabre cuts off his right Arm, and giving the other a strong Push with his Buckler, tumbles him down from the Wall. He in his Fall bears down many others with him, and in a word the Gauls are driven back again with Loss. Camillus nominated Dictator by the Romans in the Capitol.

Manlius saves the Capitol.

It was the Custom not to suffer any laudable Action to go unrewarded. Accordingly, the next Morning, *Sulpicius*, the Military Tribune, assembles the Troops, in order to bestow the military Rewards on those who had deserved them. *Manlius* is first named, and in Acknowledgment of his important Services, every Soldier gives him a Part of the Corn he receiv'd sparingly from the publick Stock, and a Measure of Wine of about five Ounces. The next thing to be done is to punish the negligent. The Captain of the Guard is condemn'd to die, and is immediately thrown headlong from the top of the Capitol. (Nay, the Romans extended their Rewards and Punishments even to the Geese and Dogs. The former were ever after held in honour at *Rome*, and a Flock of them was always kept at the publick Expence. A golden Image of a Goose was set up in Memory of their Service, and a Goose was every year carried in Triumph on a soft Litter finely adorn'd; whilst those dumb Guards the Dogs were held in Abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them alive on a Branch of Elder.)

§. 11. The Blockade of the Capitol having now continued between six and seven Months, the Famine begins to be sensibly felt by both the Besieged and Besiegers. The latter dare no longer keep the Field, while *Camillus* is at the Head of a Roman Army: A Contagion spreads itself in their Camp, and the Infection is increased by their burning instead of burying their Dead. [So great a Number of the Gauls died in one Quarter of the City, that it was ever after call'd *Busta Gallica*, or *The Funeral Place of the Gauls*.] The Romans however in the Capitol are more pinched with Want than their Enemies, and are reduced to such Extremities, that they find it necessary to capitulate; and the Gauls, being weary of the Siege, make no great difficulty to come to Terms. In a Conference between *Sulpicius* and *Brennus*, an Agreement is made and sworn to. The Romans are to pay the Gauls the Value of about 45000 Pounds Sterling, and the latter are to quit *Rome* and all the Roman Territories. On the Day appointed *Sulpicius* brings the Sum stipulated, and *Brennus* presents Scales and Weights (for there were no Gold or Silver Coins at that time; Metals passed by Weight.) 'Tis said to the Shame of the Gauls, that their Weights were false and their Scales untrue. *Sulpicius* complains of them, upon which *Brennus* in a Rage throws his Sword and Belt into the Scale where the Weights are. And when the Tribune asks the Meaning of that Procedure, the Gaul haughtily replies, 'Tis to make you sensible how miserable a thing it is to be conquer'd. *Sulpicius* is stung with this Answer, and is in a doubt with himself, whether he shall not break off the Treaty, when *Camillus* (who had left his Army without the City with orders to march slowly after him) appears on a sudden at the Place of Parley, and cries out, *surprises* Take away these Instruments of an infamous Traffick. Rome must not be redeemed with Money, Camillus

and drives
the Gauls
from
Rome.

Money, but by the Sword. To which the Gauls answer, *The Convention is confirm- Year of*
ed by mutual Oaths. Be it so, replies *Camillus*, yet it is of no Force, having been made by *ROME*
an inferior Magistrate, without the Privy or Consent of the Dictator. I, who am
invested with the supreme Authority over the Romans, declare all Treaties made to the
Dis honour of Rome null; and I declare War against you. A Battel ensues, the Gauls
are worsted, and the Night following leave *Rome*, and encamp three Leagues from
it in the Way to *Gabii*. The Romans pursue them, give them a second Overthrow,
and thereby put an End to this War, so remarkable for many extraordinary Circum-
stances.

Camillus
continued
Dictator.

§. 12. But the Glory of *Camillus*, who is stiled a second *Romulus* and
the Deliverer of his Country, excites the Envy and Jealousy of the *Tribunes of the Peo-*
ple. They revive therefore an old Quarrel, which the present Circumstances make
it easier for them to maintain. They had formerly proposed a Law for dividing
the Senate and Government between the Cities of *Rome* and *Veii*; and now they
are for entirely deserting their old ruin'd City, and making *Veii* the sole Seat of the
Government; and the People are inclined to favour this Project. For tho' *Camil-*
lus has caused the chief Temples of the Gods to be rebuilt, and has erected a new
one in Honour to that unknown Divinity, (for whom they coined the Name of *Aius*
Locutius) who had revealed the Approach of the Gauls to *Cæditius*; yet when the
private Houses come to be rebuilt, it is found a difficult Undertaking. The pub-
lick Treasure is exhausted, the People have been plunder'd and impoverish'd, and
their bodily Strength is diminish'd: This gives them a Reluctance to so laborious
a Work, and the Tribunes of the People are thereby embolden'd to utter seditious
Harangues against *Camillus*, as a Man too ambitious of being the Restorer of *Rome*;
and they insinuate, that the Name of *Romulus*, which had been given him, threa-
tens the Republick with a new King.

§. 13. But the Senators take the Part
of *Camillus*; and being desirous to see *Rome* rebuilt, continue him a whole Year
in the Dictatorship. He makes it his whole Business to extinguish that headstrong
Inclination in the People to remove to *Veii*. Having assembled the *Curie*, he ex-
postulates with them upon the Matter, and by Arguments drawn from Prudence,
Religion and Glory, prevails on them to lay aside all Thoughts of leaving *Rome*,
and to resolve to recover their native City from its Ruins. It is necessary to have
this Resolution of the People confirm'd by the Senate; and the Dictator therefore
reports it to the Conscript Fathers, leaving every Man at free liberty to vote ac-
cording to his Judgment. But when *Lucretius* (who is to speak first) is just rea-
dy to begin, it happens that a Centurion, who, having been upon Guard, is march-
ing off with his Men, cries out to them, *Stop here.* And these Words being heard
to the Place where the Council is sitting, they are consider'd as dictated by the
Gods themselves. *Lucretius* takes occasion from them to urge the Necessity of con-
tinuing at *Rome*, and in short a Decree is unanimously pass'd by both Senate and
People for rebuilding the City. But tho' the *Tribunes of the People* are defeated by
Camillus in this point, they resolve to exercise their Authority against another Pa-
trician, who had indeed deserved Punishment. This is *Q. Fabius*, who, by his
Violation of the Law of Nations, and by his killing the Gaul in single Combat,
had brought so many Misfortunes upon *Rome*. His Crime is notorious, and he is
cited to appear; but he dies so opportunely to avoid a Condemnation, that he is
suspected of having kill'd himself. *Camillus* closes the Year by laying down his
Dictatorship. An *Inter-regnum* ensues, during which he governs the State alter-
nately with *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and it falls to his lot to preside at the Election of
new Magistrates.

364.

33d Mili-
tary Tri-
buneship.

§. 14. The six new Military Tribunes are *L. Valerius Pop-*
licola, *L. Virginus Tricostus*, *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *A. Manlius Capitolinus*, *L. Æmilius*
Mamercinus, and *L. Posthumus Albinus*. Their first Care is to collect what Re-
mains can be found of the Laws of the Kings and of the Twelve Tables, which
had been written on Brass, and fixed up in the *Forum*; and as the Treaties made
with several Nations had been engraven on Pillars erected in the Temples, Search
is likewise made after those precious Monuments, and what cannot be found is sup-
ply'd by Memory. The Pontifices on their part take care to re-establish the Cere-
monies of Religion, and to make a List of lucky and unlucky Days, &c.

365.

And now the Governours of the Republick apply themselves wholly to rebuild
the City. As the Workmen are digging among the Ashes of the Temple of *Mars*,
Romulus's Augural Staff is there found unburnt; and this is look'd upon as a Prodi-
gy, from whence the Romans infer that their City shall continue for ever. The
Expence of rebuilding private Houses is partly defrayed out of the publick Treas-
ure, and the *Ædiles* have the Direction of the Works. But they have so little
Taste for Order and Beauty, that the City, when rebuilt, is even less regular than
in the Time of *Romulus*. (And tho' in *Augustus's* Time, when *Rome* was become
the Capital of the World, the Temples, Palaces and private Houses were more
magnificent than before, yet these Decorations did not rectify the Fault of the Plan.)
[The fabulous Story of the Romans throwing all the Men in Rome above sixty Years
of Age over the Bridge into the Tyber, whence the Expression of *Depontani Senes*.]

Year of §. 15. But before *Rome* has recover'd her Losses, she is terribly alarm'd by the *ROME* News, that all her Neighbours are combining to her Destruction. The *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, the *Hetrurians*, and even her old Allies the *Latins* and *Hernici*. The Republick under this Terror nominates *Camillus* Dictator a third time, and he appoints *C. Servilius* to be his General of Horse. [The fabulous Story of Tutela or Philotis, and of the Institution of the Festival of the Wild Fig-tree. Vide p. 32.] *Camillus* gathers together all the youth left in the City, and divides the new Levies into three Bodies. He orders one of them to encamp under the Walls of *Rome*, and *A. Manlius* to be General of it. The second he sends into the Neighbourhood of *Veii*; and marches himself at the Head of the Third to the Succour of the Tribunes, who are streightly besieged by the united *Volsci* and *Latins*. He finds the Enemy encamped near *Lanuvium* on the Declivity of the Hill *Marcus*, posts himself behind the Hill, and by lighting Fires gives the distressed *Romans* notice of his being come to their Relief. The *Volsci* and *Latins*, when they understand that *Camillus* is at the Head of the *Roman* Army newly arriv'd, are terrified and shut themselves up within their Entrenchments, which they fortify with great Trees cut down in haste. The Dictator observing that this Barrier is of green Wood, and that there arose a Wind every Morning, which would blow the Smoke on the Besieged, if the Wood were set on fire, orders one Part of his Army to go at Break of Day with Fire-brands to the Windward side of the Camp, and the other to make a brisk Attack on the opposite side Sword in hand. By this Stratagem the Enemy are entirely defeated, and their Camp taken. *Camillus* gives the Booty to the Soldiers, which is the more agreeable, because unexpected from the rigid Dictator. Then leaving his Son in the Camp to guard the Prisoners, he enters the Country of the *Æqui*, and takes their Capital City *Bola*. Thence he penetrates into the Territory of the *Volsci*, and entirely subdues this untractable People, after they have harra's'd the Republick with continual Hostilities for more than 107 Years. Nor is the Dictator yet satisfied. He marches into *Hetruria* to the Relief of *Sutri* a Town in that Country in Alliance with *Rome*, and besieged by the *Hetrurians*. The Place has capitulated before he comes, and the Inhabitants have obtained nothing but their Lives, and the Clothes on their Backs. In this destitute Condition they are going to seek new Habitations, when *Camillus* meets them, bids the Women dry up their Tears, and promises to transfer their Sorrows to the Enemy. In a word, he surprises the *Hetrurians*, who are wholly employ'd in plundering and feasting, and makes an incredible number of Prisoners. The City, twice taken in one Day, is immediately restored to its old Inhabitants. And now the great *Camillus* enters *Rome* in Triumph a third time, and his Glory eclipses that of all his Rivals. His three last Exploits, perform'd in so short a time, make Envy itself silent. In his Dictatorship *Rome* rebuilt the City is rebuilt and repeopled. Those *Romans*, who had retired to *Veii*, are ordered on Pain of Death to return to their old Habitations by a certain Day; so that *Rome* in a Year's time makes as good a Figure as before. §. 16. The Republick chooses six new Military Tribunes, *Q. Quinctius*, *Q. Servius*, *L. Julius*, *L. Aquilius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *Ser. Sulpicius*; and under them Affairs prosper abroad. The Country of the *Æqui* is laid waste; and two Cities, *Cortuosa* and *Contenebra*, are taken from the *Hetrurians*.

366. And now the Tribunes of the People, who have been for some time quiet, endeavour to revive the old Quarrel about the Distribution of Lands, on occasion of the *Pomptin* Territory, a new Conquest which the Patricians have appropriated to themselves. But this is an ill chosen time, for such a Project; because the Citizens are so drained, that they have not enough left for the Expence of cultivating new Farms, and stocking them with Cattel; accordingly the People take little notice of the Harangues of their Tribunes. The Military Tribunes for this Year, upon some Scruple concerning the Validity of their Election, voluntarily lay down their Offices, and after a short *Inter-regnum* six new ones are chosen. §. 17. These are *L. Papirius*, *C. Sergius*, *L. Æmilius*, *L. Menenius*, *L. Valerius*, and *C. Cornelius*. And their Year being a Year of Peace, it is spent in Works of Peace. To the twenty one Tribes are added four new ones, *Stellatina*, *Tromentina*, *Sabatina* and *Narniensis*; and these are placed beyond the *Tyber*. The People are now at leisure to listen to the seditious Harangues of their Tribunes, concerning the Distribution of the conquer'd Lands. However, which is strange, no popular Faction arises. §. 18. The Expectation of a War induces the Centuries to choose *Camillus* one of the Military Tribunes for the next Year. The Collegues, appointed him, are *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Horatius*, and *P. Valerius*, all Men of Moderation, who know how to do themselves and *Camillus* Justice. In full Senate they transfer their Authority into his Hands, and leave to him the sole Management of the War, so that he is in effect Dictator. The Republick had design'd to turn her Arms against the *Hetrurians*; but this Design is alter'd upon the News, that the *Antiates* have enter'd the *Pomptin* Territory in Arms, and obliged the *Romans* who had taken Possession
367. 34th Military Tribuneship.
368. 35th Military Tribuneship. Four new Tribes.
- 36th Military Tribuneship.

Possession of it to quit it. *Camillus* allots each of his Collegues a different Employ- Year of
ment suitable to his Rank, and joins *Valerius* with himself in the Command of the ROME
Army, which is to march against the *Antiates*; but *Valerius* refuses to be upon an
equal Foot with *Camillus*, *You shall be my Dictator*, says he, *and I will serve under*
you as your General of Horse. The *Latins* and *Hernici* had joined the *Antiates* near
Satricum. So that the *Roman* Soldiers, when they come within sight of the Enemy,
are terrified at their Numbers, which *Camillus* understanding, mounts his Horse,
rides through the Ranks, puts his Men in mind that these are the same *Latins* and
Volsci whom they had so often vanquish'd, and that he is the same *Camillus* who
had led them so often on to Victory. He then dismounts, takes the next Standard-
bearer by the Hand, and leads him towards the Enemy, crying out at the same time,
Soldiers advance. A Battel ensues, in which the Enemy are entirely overthrown.
The *Latins* and *Hernici* separate from the *Volsci*, and return home. The latter fly
for Refuge to *Satricum*; but *Camillus* comes before it, and carries it by Assault.
He then leaves his Army under the Command of *Valerius*, and returns to *Rome* to
solicit the Senate's Consent, and get things necessary for undertaking the Siege of
Antium; but while he is proposing this Affair to the Conscrip Fathers, Deputies
arrive from *Nepete* and *Sutri*, (two Cities in Alliance with *Rome*, and which are in
a manner its Bulwark, as well as the Keys of *Hetruria*) demanding Succours against
the *Hetrurians*. *Camillus* is order'd to their Relief, and the Troops assign'd him
are those which *Servilius* had commanded in *Rome*, and kept in a readiness in case
of any Emergency. He marches, finds *Sutri* almost taken, and recovers it. *Nepete*
had surrender'd voluntarily to the *Hetrurians*, and the Inhabitants seem better af-
fected to them than to the *Romans*. He is forced therefore to bring his Troops
against this faithless City; he takes it by Assault, puts the Garrison to the Sword,
and condemns the Authors of the Revolt to suffer by the Axes of the Lictors. But
tho' this Campaign has been distinguish'd by Victory and Conquests, yet no Tri-
umph follows, which is to be ascribed to the Modesty of the General. He de-
clines an Honour which he cannot share with his Collegues, to whose Mo-
deration and Esteem for him he is so much indebted for his Glory. §. 19. But
as well establish'd as *Camillus's* Reputation is, he has a Rival at *Rome*. *M. Manlius*
Capitolinus is not only uneasy to see his Glory obscur'd by that of *Camillus*, but his
Ambition carries him to aspire at an absolute Dominion in the Republick. To this
end he attempts to gain the People, by making himself the universal Patron and Pro-
tector of the poor Debtors. However in this fourth *Tribuneship* of *Camillus* he does
not let his Design appear so manifestly as afterwards. The latter, before his Year
expires, summons the *Latins* and *Hernici* to answer for their past Conduct. They
had given but too plain Proofs of Unfaithfulness; nevertheless they make a plausible
Excuse, and the Senate readily receive it, being unwilling to multiply Enemies at
this Juncture. §. 20. The succeeding Administration of *A. Manlius*, *P. Corne-* 369.
lius, *T. Quinctius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Papirius*, and *C. Sergius*, seeming less formidable
to the factious *Manlius* than the former one; he openly vents his Spleen against *Ca-*
millus, complaining that his Collegues had been only his Subalterns in the last Ad-
ministration, and declares that he owes his greatest Glory to him. *For he had ne-*
ver recover'd Rome, adds he, *out of the Hands of the Gauls, had not I first saved the*
Capitol. He then enters into the Factions of the *Tribunes of the People*, inveighs
against the *Patricians*, takes all Methods to become popular, and is always attend-
ed by a Company of ruined, insolvent and factious Men. The Senate, alarm'd at
his Conduct, think it necessary, in order to stop him in his Career, to create a *Di-*
etator. Their Pretence for it indeed is a new War with the *Volsci*. *Cornelius Cossus*
is the Person nominated, and he appoints *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* to be his General
of Horse. They gain a complete Victory over the Enemy in the *Pomptin* Terri-
tory; and among the Prisoners find great numbers of *Latins* and *Hernici* and of the
Inhabitants of *Velitræ* and *Circæi*; and these not only mercenary Soldiers but Offi-
cers and Leaders: So that it plainly appears, that those Nations and Towns have in-
deed revolted. §. 21. And for this reason the *Dictator* is desirous to continue
with his Troops in the Country of the *Volsci*; but the Disturbances rais'd by *Man-*
lius call him back to the City. *Manlius* had lately rescued an old *Centurion*, a brave
Officer but insolvent, out of the Hands of his Creditor who was leading him to
Prison, and he had paid the Debt. He had taken that occasion to inveigh against the
Pride and Usury of the *Patricians*, and to exaggerate the Hardships of the People.
What signifies my having saved the Capitol, said he, *if more cruel Enemies than the*
Gauls are suffer'd to rob me of a brave and faithful Companion in Battel, and reduce
him to Slavery? The Party reliev'd had made such warm Protestations of a blind
Devotion to his Deliverer, as gave Umbrage; and *Manlius* had declared, that he
would sell a paternal Estate, which he possess'd near *Veii*, and apply it wholly to
release insolvent Debtors. Nor was this all. He had accused the *Patricians* of ha-
ving secreted those Treasures design'd for the *Gauls*, and which had been rais'd by
publick

Manlius
aspires at
Tyrannick
Power.

37th Mili-
tary Tri-
buneship.

Cornelius
Cossus
Dictator.

Year of publick Contribution: Nay, he had promis'd to shew the very Place where the *ROME* Gold and Silver were hid. Such is the Situation of things when the *Dictator Cossus* arrives. He immediately assembles the Senators, finds them well disposed to suppress *Manlius*, exhorts them to continue firm, and then having order'd his Tribunal to be fix'd in that Part of the *Forum* where the *Comitia* were held, sends a Summons to *Manlius* to appear before him. *Manlius* comes with his usual Followers; and *Cossus* being attended by the Senators, the Assembly looks like two Armies drawn up in *Battalia*. When Silence is made, the *Dictator* challenges *Manlius* to declare, as he had promised, the Persons who have concealed the pretended Treasures, and the Place where they are hid; otherwise he threatens to send him to Prison as a Liar and Deceiver. *Manlius*, instead of answering directly, extolls his own Merit, and reproaches the *Patricians* with want of Regard to the Publick; and concludes with saying, That the Senators who have concealed the Treasures are best qualified to discover the Place where they are hoarded up. But this being only an Evasion of the Question, the *Dictator* continues to press him either to perform his Promise to the People, or to confess that he has calumniated the Senate; and he replying, *Shall I then be silly enough to say what my Enemies would have me?* the *Dictator* immediately orders him to Prison. And now we have a surprising Instance of the ready Submission of the *Romans* in the presence of a lawful Magistrate. The People, tho' seditiously devoted to *Manlius*, take no one Step to hinder the Execution of the Sentence. Not an angry Expression is heard, nor a threatening Look seen, in the Assembly. Only *Manlius* turning towards the *Capitol*, cries out, O Jupiter, *supreme King of the Gods*; O Juno, *Queen of Heaven*; Thou, *Minerva*, and all Ye *Divinities*, who are worship'd in the *Capitol*, will you suffer such a Dishonour to be thrown upon your Defender? Shall these Hands, which were victorious over the *Gauls*, be locked in Chains? However these Exclamations produce no Disturbance among the Multitude, nor do they express their Concern till he is in Prison. Then indeed they go into Mourning, neglect their Hair and Beards, crowd about the Prison Doors, and lament his Misfortunes. In this Time of Affliction, *Cossus* is honour'd with a Triumph; but the Malecontents are publicly heard to say during the Procession, *It is not so much over the Volsci, as over the oppress'd Manlius, that the Dictator triumphs.* And the Senate therefore, in order to pacify the Multitude, decree of their own Motion to send a Colony of *Roman Citizens* to *Satricum*, and allot every Man two Acres and an half of arable Land. But this Expedient proves ineffectual. The Sedition gains ground; and as soon as the Partisans of *Manlius* are, by the Expiration of *Cossus's Dictatorship*, freed from the Dread of an uncontrollable Magistrate, they no longer keep within any Bounds. They surround the Prison Day and Night, and threaten to break it open; so that the Senate, to prevent such an Act of Fury, are obliged to set the Prisoner at liberty by a Decree. §. 22. During these Seditions, Ambassadors arrive from the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, as also from the Cities of *Circae* and *Velitrae*, demanding Release-ment of the Prisoners taken in the last Action. The Ambassadors of the former are received (tho' their Demand is rejected) because those Nations had been only Allies of *Rome*; but the Deputies of the latter are order'd immediately to depart, and not appear before the People, because those Cities had been upon the Foot of *Roman Colonies*. The former enjoy'd their own Laws; the latter were subject to the Laws of *Rome*, and had therefore no Right to send Ambassadors. §. 23. When new Magistrates come to be elected for the next Year, *Camillus* is chosen *Military Tribune* a fifth Time, and with him are joined *Ser. Cornelius*, *P. Valerius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Papirius*, and *T. Quinctius*. The Confidence of *Manlius*, and the Strength of his Faction, is now much increased by the Timorousness of the Senate, and the Remissness of *Cossus* in not punishing him as a former *Dictator* had done *Maelius*. The Mutineers meet Day and Night at *Manlius's* House on the *Capitol*, and he there speaks his Mind without reserve. In a word, a Plot is formed to seize the Citadel, and declare him King. The Senators on the other hand assemble to deliberate on the best Method to avert the Blow which threatens the Republick. All, except the *Tribunes of the People* (who assist at the Assembly) are for assassinating *Manlius*. But as such an Attempt must probably occasion the shedding of much *Plebeian* Blood, two of those *Tribunes*, *M. Maenius* and *Q. Publilius*, propose it as more advisable to take him off by Form of Law. They offer to prosecute him before the *Comitia* for attempting to usurp Regal Power; and they engage, that when the People shall see their *Tribunes* become his Accusers, they will immediately desert him, and their Love of Liberty will prevail over every other Passion. This Advice is approv'd, and *Manlius* is summoned to his Trial before the *Comitia by Centuries*. Neither his own Brothers nor any of his Relations change their Dress and solicit the Judges for him, as was usually done by the Friends of a Person accus'd; and the Proof of his Crime must be very clear, since nothing but the Circumstance of the Place where he is tried hinders him from being immediately condemn'd.

Manlius
condemn'd
to be thrown
headlong
from the
Capitol.

demn'd. From the *Campus Martius* might be seen the *Capitol*, and while that is in View of the People cannot resolve to condemn him to Death. *Manlius* enumerates all *ROME* his Services, his Exploits, and his military Rewards, and shews twenty three honourable Wounds; but especially reminds them of his having saved that Citadel by his Bravery; and this last Consideration has such an effect, that they postpone his Sentence several times, and each time for three Market Days. *Camillus*, who has been the main Spring of the Proceedings against the Criminal, apprehending some mischievous Consequence from this Backwardness of the People to pronounce Judgment, removes the Assembly from the *Campus Martius* to a Place called the *Peteline Wood*, at the Foot of the Hill *Viminalis*, where the *Capitol* cannot be seen. And here the ambitious *Manlius*, being deprived of his best Advocate, is sentenced by the People (tho' with some Reluctance) to be thrown headlong from the top of the *Capitol*. The Scene of his Glory is made the Place of his Punishment; and his Memory becomes odious to all, especially in his own Family, who resolve that no *Manlius* shall ever after bear the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*. And as *Manlius's* House on the *Capitol* had been made use of to promote the late Troubles, a Law is pass'd, forbidding any *Patrician* for the future to live in the Citadel. But how great is the Inconstancy of the Multitude. *Manlius* is scarce dead, when his Loss is regretted; and a Plague, which soon follows, is ascribed to the Anger of *Jupiter* against his Murderers. Such is the Levity of the People. The Sea itself is not more inconstant than their Friendship or their Hatred.

BOOK XIV.

39th Mili-
tary Tri-
buneship.

§. 1. **B**UT neither the Crimes nor Punishment of *M. Manlius* bring any Discredit upon his Relations. His Brother *A. Manlius* is chosen one of the *Military Tribunes* at the very next Election; and with him are joined *L. Valerius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *L. Lucretius*, *L. Æmilius*, and *M. Trebonius*. The Plague still rages, and to add to the Misfortune, *Rome* is not only threaten'd again by the *Volsci*, but her Colonies revolt; so that the Senate find it necessary to engage the People's Consent to a War. And in order to this, they promise to divide the *Pomptin* Territory among them, name five Commissioners to make the Distribution of the Lands, and three others to lead a Colony to *Nepete*. This Design is not put in execution till nine Years after; however the *Tribes* unanimously agree, notwithstanding the Opposition of their *Tribunes*, that Troops shall be rais'd to act against the several Enemies of *Rome*. But while the Plague continues, the *Military Tribunes* dare not lead their Army into the Field. *Præneste* follows the bad Example of *Velitrae*, *Circei* and other Colonies, but the Republick is so low at present, that she is obliged to suspend her Resentments. 371.

40th Mili-
tary Tri-
buneship.

§. 2. But in the following *Military Tribuneship* of *Sp. Papirius*, *L. Papirius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *L. Æmilius*, the two first march an Army towards *Velitrae*, and in the Neighbourhood of that Place defeat the *Velitrani*, tho' join'd by great Numbers from *Præneste*. However the *Romans* don't think it advisable to besiege *Velitrae*, but rather to pursue the War with Vigour against the *Prænestini*, who had farther provok'd the Republick by joining the *Volsci*. 372.

41st Mili-
tary Tri-
buneship.

§. 3. And now the Republick having much Work upon her Hands, turns her Eyes again upon the invincible *Camillus* to raise him a sixth time to the *Military Tribuneship*. *Camillus* is apprehensive of the Vicissitudes of Fortune, and is willing to spend the rest of his Days in Tranquillity. But he in vain endeavours to excuse himself by urging his Age and Infirmities. The People declare, that they don't expect him to engage the Enemy either on Foot or on Horseback. They only desire him to assist the Army with his Counsel, and to make it invincible by commanding it. The Collegues appointed him are *A. Posthumius*, *L. Posthumius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius*. *Camillus*, without drawing Lots, is order'd to conduct the War against the *Volsci*; and it falls to *L. Furius's* Lot to be join'd with him. The Troops consisting of four Legions are commanded to march towards *Satricum*, which the *Volsci* and *Prænestini* have lately taken, and where they have form'd their Camp. *Camillus* posts himself within Reach of the Enemy, but is in no haste to come to a Battle. He either waits for better Health, or to receive a Reinforcement of Troops. In the mean time the *Volsci* endeavour to provoke the *Romans* to a Battle. And the latter are impatient of the Insult. Their Ardour for fighting is increased by the rash Discourses of young *Furius*, who imputes the prudent Delays of his Colleague to his Age, which, he says, has chill'd his Blood. He at length addresses himself to *Camillus*, and reproaches him that he is the only Person in the Army who is for delaying the Engagement, and urges him to comply with the Desires of his Soldiers. *Camillus* answers with an Air of Loftiness suitable to his past Successes, but at the same time with his usual Prudence; and 373.

Year of and in conclusion tells him, that if the Impetuosity which hurries the *Romans* on *ROME* to an Engagement is not to be restrained, he wishes them Success, and shall assist them with his Counsel, but desires to be excused from engaging in the foremost Ranks. While *Furius* draws up his Troops in Order of Battle, the old General prepares a *Corps de Reserve* to assist his Colleague in case of Distress. And this Precaution proves of great Importance; for when *Furius* is routed and pursued, *Camillus* rallies the Fugitives, and repulses the Enemy. The next Day *Camillus* commands in Chief, and places *Furius* at the Head of the Cavalry. The latter being sensible of his Fault, intreats his Troops to exert themselves to recover his Reputation. When the Infantry are hard press'd, the Horse dismount, and come so opportunely to their Assistance, that the numerous Army of the *Volsci* are entirely defeated.

§. 4. Among the Prisoners are found some of the Inhabitants of *Tusculum*, a neighbouring City and in Alliance with *Rome*. Upon being examin'd, they declare that they had taken Arms with the Consent of their Magistrates. This Account alarms the General, and he thinks it necessary to go in Person to *Rome* with the Prisoners, and lay the Matter before the Senate. During his Absence, he leaves *Furius* to command the Troops. However it is generally thought both in the Army and City, that his chief Business at *Rome* is to accuse his Colleague; and the Senate is surpris'd to hear him speak of nothing but the Revolt of the *Tusculani*; and yet more, when of all his Colleagues he chooses *Furius* to accompany him in the new Expedition against *Tusculum*. This Conduct towards a Man who had personally affronted him, gains him great Esteem. As for the *Tusculani*, they disown the Resentment of the *Romans* by making no Resistance. *Camillus* finds the Husbandmen at Work in the Fields, as in Times of the profoundest Peace. The Magistrates of the City send him Provisions and come out to meet him, and when he enters the Place, he finds the Shops and Schools open, the Markets full, and no Signs of War. The General is pleas'd and satisfy'd with these Tokens of Repentance, and advises the Senate of *Tusculum* to send a Deputation to *Rome*, there to make their Submissions. Deputies are accordingly sent, who, dress'd in Mourning and with their *Dictator* at their Head, address the *Conscript Fathers* in a suppliant manner. The Senate of *Rome* readily forgive the *Tusculani*, and, to make them entirely Ro-

374. man, grant them soon after the Privileges of Roman Citizens. §. 5. The following Administration of *L. Valerius*, *L. Menenius*, *C. Sergius*, *Sp. Papirius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, and *P. Valerius*, is disturbed by domestick Seditions and a foreign War. 42d Military Tri-
buneship.

The two *Censors* had begun to take an exact Account of the People, and of each Man's Circumstances, when one of them dies; upon which the other, as usual, lays down his Office, and the *Romans* proceed to a new Election. But the *Patricians*, who are afraid of a *Census*, (because it must of course discover their Riches and excessive Usury, and the Oppression which the poor Debtors labour under) pretend that there is some Defect in the Election, and thence take occasion to declare publicly, that it is against the Will of the Gods that *Rome* should have any *Censors* this Year. On the other hand, the *Tribunes of the People* use their utmost Endeavours to forward a new Election, and in their Harangues inveigh against the *Patricians*, and excite the People to Mutiny. And tho' the *Prænestini* have enter'd the Roman Territory, and are encamped near the Gate *Collina*, the *Tribunes* will suffer no Levies to be made to oppose the Enemy. It becomes necessary therefore to create a *Dictator*. *Titus Quinctius* is nominated, and he appoints *A. Sempronius* to be his General of Horse. This Remedy has its effect, the *Prænestini* remove farther off, and Troops are rais'd in the City without opposition. §. 6. The

Titus
Quinctius
Dictator.

Prænestini, on a vain Conceit that the Banks of the *Allia* must always prove a fatal Place to the *Romans*, encamp there, and there are routed. The *Dictator* pursues them, gives them a second Overthrow near *Præneste*, and then besieges the City, which capitulates. *Quinctius* returns to *Rome*, brings with him from *Præneste* the Statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, (which is placed in the Capitol between *Jupiter Capitolinus* and *Minerva*) and as soon as he has triumph'd lays down his Office, which has lasted but twenty five Days.

375. §. 7. And now the Government of the Republic is divided between three *Patricians* and three *Plebeians*. The former are *P. Manlius*, *C. Manlius*, and *L. Julius*; the latter *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinus*, and *L. Antistius*. *Rome* still feels the Effects of the Blow given her by the *Gauls*. Her Allies desert her, and her Colonies declare against her and join the *Volsci*. The two *Manlii* are appointed to divide the Army, and march against the Confederates. They form two Camps, but not far from each other. By a Stratagem of a *Latin* Soldier, who (disguis'd like a *Roman*) comes in great haste to tell the *Roman* Generals that their Foragers are surrounded by the Enemy, the whole Army is drawn into an Ambush, where their desperate Courage alone preserves them from Destruction. And the *Volsci*, during the Action, detach a Part of their Troops, which surprise and plunder the two *Roman* Camps. This ill Success and ill Conduct of the *Manlii* make the Senate deliberate whether a *Dictator* shall be nominated; but judging

43d Military Tri-
buneship.

44th Military Tribuneship.

judging by the Appearance of the Enemy that they will attempt nothing farther, it is only resolved to recall the Army and its Commanders. During these Misfortunes abroad, *Rome* is free from all domestick Broils, which is owing to the Share the *Plebeians* have at this time in the Government. §. 8. But the next Year

376.

45th Military Tribuneship.

is not so peaceable, when *Sp. Furius*, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Licinius*, *P. Cloelius*, *M. Horatius*, and *L. Geganius*, all *Patricians*, are *Military Tribunes*. The Commons get two *Censors* chosen, who take an exact Account of the People and of their Effects, and conclude the *Census* with a *Lustrum*, the nineteenth from its Institution. Nothing remains now but to put an end to the Disputes between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, by relieving the poor debtors. But the *Censors* suspend this Work on the News of a fresh Irruption of the *Volsci* into the *Roman* Territory. The *Tribunes of the People* however pursue their Point with more Warmth than ever, and oppose the making any Levies. So that the Senate is forced to make a Decree, that no Person shall be disturbed for Debt during the Campaign. Then Troops are raised, and ample Revenge is taken on the *Volsci*. But the War is no sooner at an end than the Creditors renew the Prosecution of their Debtors; and the latter can receive no Help from the *Tribunes of the People*, while Peace abroad continues.

377.

§. 9. The following Year the Republick is govern'd by six *Patricians*, *L. Æmilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *P. Valerius*, *L. Quinctius*, *C. Veturius*, and *C. Quinctius*. And now the *Latins* and *Volsci* enter into a new Confederacy against the *Romans*. And it is surprising, that the *Tribunes of the People* neglect this opportunity of making good their Pretensions against the *Patricians*; but the latter seem to have got a great Ascendant over the Commons. Three Armies are raised, one to guard the City, another to be ready to march on the first Notice, and a third to take the Field under the Command of *Valerius* and *Æmilius*. They come up with the Enemy near *Satricum*, and give them an entire Overthrow. The Fugitives take Refuge in *Antium*, and there the *Volsci*, not thinking that City in a Condition to hold out a Siege, and being besides weary of the War, are for coming to a Composition with the *Romans*. Upon this, the *Latins*, who are obstinate against a Peace, separate from them in a Rage, and vent their Fury first on *Satricum*, a City of the *Volsci*, which they reduce to Ashes, sparing only a Temple of the Goddess *Matuta*, whom the *Greeks* call'd *Leucothea*. Thence they fall upon the *Tusculani* to punish them for having deserted the *Latin* Confederacy and accepted the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. They surprise the Town, but the Inhabitants retire into the Citadel, which they hold out till they are reliev'd by that *Roman* Army, which was kept ready to march upon occasion. The Town is storm'd, and the *Latins* are all cut to pieces within the Walls of *Tusculum*, not one escaping. §. 10. The Peace concluded with the *Antiates*, and the Defeat of the *Latins*, give the Republick an Interval of Tranquillity abroad. But the Misery of the insolvent Debtors at home is increased, and multitudes of the People are forced to become Slaves to their avaricious and merciless Creditors. Even the most considerable of the *Plebeians* fall into Contempt and lose their Credit; so that they hardly dare stand Candidates for *Plebeian* Offices, much less aspire at the *Military Tribuneship*. In a word, the *Patricians* seem to have secur'd to themselves for ever all Power in the State, and the Commons to be humbled to the lowest degree, when a trifling Accident proves the occasion of the latter's shaking off the Oppression of the Nobility, and of carrying their Pretensions higher than ever.

Fabius Ambustus, an illustrious *Patrician*, but always popular, had two Daughters. He had married the elder to *Ser. Sulpicius*, a *Patrician*, now *Military Tribune*, and the younger to *Licinius Stolo*, a considerable Man in *Rome*, but of *Plebeian* Extraction. It happens that while the younger Sister is paying a Visit to the elder, *Sulpicius* comes home from the *Forum*, attended by a crowd of Clients, and by the *Lictors*, who with their *Fasces* knock at the Tribunes Door to give notice of his Return. The *Plebeian* Lady, not being used to this Noise, starts at it and expresses some Fear, at which the other cannot forbear laughing. And this Laughing, how innocent soever, is construed by the younger Sister as an Insult upon her on account of the ignoble Family into which she had married. The imaginary Affront greatly provokes her, and her Envy is likewise raised by seeing such a number of Courtiers attending her Brother-in-law, and earnest to receive his Commands. In vain she endeavours to conceal her Uneasiness from her Father, who tenderly loves her; he perceives it, and by degrees learns the Cause of it from herself. *You have made me marry*, says she, *into a Family which is for ever excluded all Honours in Rome. What a vast Difference between my Sister's Condition and mine!* The Father replies, *Don't be uneasy, Child, you shall soon see as much State at your own House as you have seen at your Sister's.* And in the end he makes good his Promise. In order to compass his Designs, he enters into an Association with his Son-in-law *Licinius Stolo*, and one *L. Sextius*, another Commoner of great Merit and in the Flower of his Age. He presses these Men to make a bold Attempt to get one of their own Body

Year of at the Head of the Republick. He tells them, That this is the only means to recover the *Plebeians* out of their Misery, and That the Pretence of relieving the Poor will give a Sanction to the Undertaking. The first Step which the three Associates agree to take is, to get *Licinius* and *Sextius*, if possible, chosen *Tribunes of the People* for the next Year. The two Candidates are admitted into the College, and their first Business is to draw up some Laws tending to lessen the Grandeur of the *Patricians*, and to promote the Interests of the People. The first relates to Debts. *Let the Interest already paid be reckon'd as a Discharge of so much of the Principal, and let the Remainder be paid at three different equal Payments.* The second forbids any one to possess more than five hundred Acres of Land. And the third imports, *That the Military Tribuneship shall be abolish'd, and two Consuls chosen in their stead, one of which shall always be a Plebeian.* The *Patricians*, after much Deliberation how to ward this Blow, can fix upon no other means but that of dividing the *Tribunes of the People*, and of engaging one Part of the College to oppose the Attempts of the other. Accordingly they gain over all the other eight. *Licinius* and *Sextius* assemble the Tribes several times, in order to get their Laws pass'd; but are always frustrated by their Collegues, who, as soon as the Laws begin to be read, never fail to cry out, *We protest against them.* The two *Tribunes*, provok'd at this continual Opposition, resolve to protest likewise in their Turns. *Very well*, says *Sextius* to his Collegues, *since you are so fond of the Words WE PROTEST, we too shall find a time to repeat them, and that to the Advantage of the People.* Accordingly when the Centuries are assembled for the Election of *Military Tribunes* for the next Year, *Sextius* and *Licinius* cry out, *We protest against it.* And these Words are so much regarded by the People, that the Republick falls into a kind of Anarchy. None but *Plebeian* Officers are appointed, that is, *Ædiles*, and *Tribunes of the People*. And as *Licinius* and *Sextius* are continued at the Head of the latter, *Fabius's* Promise to his Daughter may be said to be perform'd from this time. For four Years successively no superior Magistrates are chosen, nor any *Patrician* admitted into a Share of the Government of the Republick. *Licinius* and *Sextius* are constant in opposing the Election of *Military Tribunes*, and are supported by the *Comitia*. During all this time, *Rome* by great good fortune is not threaten'd with any War from abroad.

378. But at length, when *Sextius* and *Licinius* are just elected *Tribunes of the People* a 46th Military Tribuneship.
379. the Inhabitants of *Velitræ* declare War against the Republick. And this obliges them to desist from their Opposition, and to suffer six *Military Tribunes* to be chosen in the *Comitia*. As the State of Affairs requires able Generals at the Helm, the Choice falls upon six *Patricians*, *L. Furius*, *P. Valerius*, *A. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Valerius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*. As soon as a *Roman* Army appears in the Field, the *Veliterni*, who are sat down before *Tusculum*, raise the Siege; and *Velitræ* itself is soon invested by the *Romans*. But the Place is too strong to be taken before the present *Military Tribunes* are obliged to give place to their Successors.
383. §. 12. And now unfortunately for the *Patricians*, *M. Fabius Ambustus* is chosen a 47th Military Tribuneship.
384. one of the new Governours. His five Collegues are *Q. Servilius*, *M. Cornelius*, *C. Veturius*, *Q. Quinctius*, and *A. Cornelius*. The two *Tribunes of the People*, *Licinius* and *Sextius*, having gain'd over three of their Collegues, and being aided and protected by *Fabius*, frequently assemble the People and press the passing of the three new Laws, and not only so, but propose a fourth Law, *That Decemviri shall be appointed instead of Duumviri to take care of the Sybilline Books and to interpret them; and That five of the ten shall be Plebeians.* However all these new Regulations are suspended during the Siege of *Velitræ*, which is carried on slowly. It is thought necessary to wait for the Return of the Army from before that Place, that the Soldiers may not be excluded from giving their Votes when such important Innovations are on foot.
384. §. 13. In the mean time new Governours are elected, *L. Quinctius*, *Sp. Servilius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *L. Papirius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *L. Veturius*. And now the *Tribunes of the People* being all unanimous, the Cause of the *Patricians* seems desperate. The whole Year is spent in Disputes and Disturbances, and no *Military Tribunes* are chosen for the Year following. However the Republick does not fall into Anarchy. *Camillus* is nominated *Dictator*. But tho' the Authority of the *Tribunes of the People* ought to have ceased from the Day that he enter'd on his Office; they nevertheless continue to assemble the People by Tribes. One Day the Laws had been read to the People, and the first Tribes had already voted in favour of them, when the *Dictator* appears on a sudden attended by a crowd of *Patricians*, and erects his Tribunal in the middle of the *Forum* where the People are assembled. (It was much against his Will that he had accepted the *Dictatorship*, being sure either to disoblige the Commons if he succeeded, or to contribute to the Ruin of his own Party if he fail'd. But his Love for the Publick had made him overlook private Considerations.) A Dispute immediately arises among the *Tribunes of the People*. Some are for going on with the Affair of the four Laws; others are against it. At length

Camillus addresses himself to the People; seems to enter into their Interests; and declares *That he is come to join the Protestors, and That he will never permit one part of the Tribunes, to deprive the other of their Right of Protesting.* *Sextius* and *Licinius* laugh at this artful Speech, and pursue their Measures with Steadiness. But when they are just going on to take the Suffrages of the People, *Camillus*, in a Rage at the Affront put upon him, sends his *Lictors* to drive away the Tribes from their respective Places, and joins terrible Threatnings with his Orders. He declares, that if the Assembly does not immediately disperse, he will summon them to the *Campus Martius*; make them enlist themselves, and march into the Field. In answer to this, the Tribunes give him to understand, that as soon as his *Dictatorship* is expired, they will get him fined five hundred thousand *Asses* of *Brass*. *Camillus* is now grown old, and is afraid of exposing himself to new Indignities. He therefore gives way to the Torrent, and resolves to lay down his Office. He retires to his House; feigns himself indisposed, and soon after abdicates the *Dictatorship*, on pretence, that there had been some Defect in point of Form, with regard to the *Auspices* at his Nomination.

§. 14. An *Interregnum* ensues; and this seems to be a favourable Opportunity for *Licinius* and *Sextius* to get their Laws passed. But the People are zealous only for two of them; that which related to the easing of the Debtors, and that which allowed no Man to possess more than five hundred Acres of Land. The other two they perceive to be calculated only to serve the Ambition of their Tribunes, and are therefore willing to let them drop. But *Licinius* and *Sextius* declare, that they will never consent to separate the Laws; and these Disputes oblige the Republick to nominate a new *Dictator*. *P. Manlius* is the Person chosen, a Man, whose hereditary Affection for the Commons, immediately appears, by his appointing one *Licinius Stolo*, a *Plebeian* (and a Relation of the Tribune of that Name) to be his General of Horse. *Sextius* and *Licinius* think now to carry all before them, if they can get themselves continued in the *Tribuneship*. In order thereto, they assemble the *Comitia* to chuse new Tribunes; expostulate with them, not only on their neglect of their own Interest, but on their Ingratitude towards them, in deferring to pass the four Laws; and lastly declare, that they will accept of the *Tribuneship* no longer, if the People persist in dividing the Laws. These Discourses both provoke and terrify the *Patricians*. *Appius Claudius*, Grandson of the famous *Decemvir*, appears in the Assembly, and in a long Harangue, represents the Tyranny of the Tribunes, and the Unreasonableness of their ambitious Designs; and exhorts the People earnestly, for their own Sakes, to reject the four Laws. The *Comitia* nevertheless pass the Law, prohibiting any Citizen to have more than five hundred Acres of Land; and *Sextius* and *Licinius* are chosen Tribunes of the People the tenth time. Thus the Year is spent, partly under the Administration of two *Dictators*, and partly in a short *Interregnum*, wherein no *Curule* Magistrates are chosen.

§. 15. But now the *Military Tribuneship* is revived; and *A. Cornelius*, *L. Veturius*, *M. Cornelius*, *P. Valerius*, *M. Geganius*, and *P. Manlius*, are all promoted to that Dignity. And during their Administration, it is probable, that *Licinius* and *Sextius* took Advantage of the Report spread of a second Invasion by the *Gauls*, to press the passing of the three remaining Laws. That which discharged the poor Debtors from paying Interest, was passed, before a General was named to march against the *Gauls*. The Approach of these dreadful Enemies, and the Desertions at Home, oblige the Republick to appoint a *Dictator*; and *Camillus*, though fourscore Years old, is raised a fifth time to that Office. He nominates *T. Quinctius* to be his General of Horse. The *Dictator*, before he marches his Army into the Field, provides his Soldiers with proper defensive Arms against the broad Swords of the *Gauls*. He orders them Helmets of Iron, well polished, and adds a Rim of Brass to their wooden Shields. He furnishes them likewise with long Javelins, with which they may reach their Enemies at a Distance, and stab them, while they are slowly lifting up their heavy Swords. As soon as he comes near the Camp of the *Gauls*, which is on the Banks of the *Anio*, he posts the smallest part of his Army on some Hills, and conceals the rest in the Vallies, and behind Rocks. The poor Appearance of the *Roman* Troops, makes the *Gauls* so confident, that they neglect to fortify their Camp; and *Camillus* soon takes Advantage of their Security and Negligence, to fall upon them; and by the Help of the new Arms, with which he has provided his Men, obtains a complete Victory. (The *Gauls*, who escaped from the Battel, dispersed themselves chiefly in *Apulia*; and it is probable, that from thence they at this time began to spread themselves into *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Greece*, and *Asia Minor*.)

§. 16. The *Dictator* leads his Army strait to *Velitrae* (the Siege of which had been interrupted) and takes the City. He then returns to *Rome*, where the Honours of a Triumph are decreed him, by both Senate and People. But the Republick is in too great a Ferment, for the Senate to consent to his immediate Abdication of the *Dictatorship*. On the other hand, the People, proud of their late Victory, are more earnest than ever to have

P. Manlius,
Dictator.

A Plebeian
made General of
Horse.

49th Military
Tribuneship.

Camillus,
Dictator, a
fifth time.

385.

386.

Year of have a *Plebeian* raised to the *Consulship*; and their *Tribunes*, *Sextius* and *Licinius*, are *ROME* so warm in the Pursuits of their Ambition, that they lose all Respect for the *Dictator*, and endeavour to frighten him into an Abdication. As he is one Day sitting on his Tribunal in the *Forum*, *The Tribunes of the People* send an Officer to seize him, but the Officer is repulsed by the *Dictator's* Guards, and by the *Patricians* about him, while the Populace, at the Foot of the Tribunal, cry out, *Carry him off, Carry him off*. *Camillus* takes Refuge in the Senate-House; and there the Pretensions of the People, and of their *Tribunes*, are examined and considered. In the midst of the universal Confusion, the *Dictator* makes a Vow to build a Temple to *Concord*, in case he succeeds in quieting the Commotions. But the People are so furious and obstinate, that the Senate are obliged to comply in some Measure, and to consent, that one *Consul* may be chosen out of the People. This is not granting what the *Tribunes* aimed at, but they are pacified, and the *Consulship* is revived.

387. §. 17. The *Centuries* pitch upon *L. Æmilius Mamercinus* a *Patrician*, and *L. Sextius Lateranus* to be *Consuls*. The latter is that *Tribune Sextius*, who now reaps the Fruit of his vigorous Pursuit of the Laws lately passed. But when his Election comes to be confirmed by the Senate, *The Conscrip Fathers* obstinately oppose it; and the Differences between the *Patricians* and People come to such a height, that the latter are ready to leave *Rome*, and make a new *Secession*, when the *Dictator* proposes an Expedient, to which both Parties agree. Hitherto the *Consuls*, and the *Military Tribunes*, had been Generals of Armies, and Judges of Civil Affairs at the same time; and were therefore sometimes called *Consuls*, and sometimes *Prætors*. *Camillus's* Expedient is to separate the *Prætorian* Functions from the *Consular*, and to make them two distinct Offices. He proposes therefore to the Senate, to consent that a *Consul* be chosen out of the *Plebeians*, on Condition that the *Prætors* be always *Patricians*. This Proposal is accepted, and both Parties are satisfied; the *Plebeians* in being qualified to stand Candidates for the *Consulship*, and the Nobility, in that none but *Patricians* can be admitted to be Judges in civil Causes. Tranquillity being thus established, the *Romans*, in Gratitude to the Gods, order *The Great Games* to be celebrated. They used formerly to last but three Days, but now a fourth Day is added; and on this Account, their Name of *Ludi Magni*, or *Great Games*, is changed into *Ludi Maximi*, or *The Greatest Games*. But the present *Ædiles* (for what Reason is unknown) refuse to take upon them the Care of making Preparations for this Festival; upon which the young *Patricians* cry out, *That since the Matter in hand is the Worship of the Gods, they shall think it no Dishonour to be chosen Ædiles*. Accordingly the *Dictator* proposes to the People two *Patrician Ædileships*, which are agreed to; and upon this the Senate promise, in their Turn, to ratify all that has been done in the last *Comitia*, relating to the Election of Magistrates. Nothing remains, but to fix upon a Place where to build the Temple of *Concord*, which the *Dictator* had vowed; and it is agreed to erect it at the Foot of the *Capitol*, on an Eminence, whence it may be seen in the *Forum*. And now the great *Camillus*, full of Glory and of Years, lays down the *Dictatorship*, and is wholly bent on spending the small Remainder of his Days, in the Tranquillity of a private Life.
- §. 18. Notwithstanding some Alarms from the *Gauls*, and the *Hernici*, the Senate are unwilling to enter upon a War, under the Administration of a *Plebeian Consul*, lest the Glory he should require, should contribute to the Honour of his whole Party; and they therefore apply themselves wholly to settle the Rights of the new Magistrates they had created. As the Great *Camillus* had been the Institutor of the *Prætorship* (the Functions of which are at large described) the Republick chuses his Son, *Sp. Furius Camillus*, to be the first *Prætor*. [The Functions and Prerogatives of the *Curule Ædiles* are described.] But these new Magistrates are scarce settled in their Office, before *The Tribunes of the People* take Umbrage at them, and envy the *Patricians* the sole Honour of the *Curule Ædileship*. The Senate therefore first agree, That the *Curule Ædiles* shall be chosen out of the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* alternately, every two Years; and afterwards, That the People shall have full Liberty to chuse them out of either Body.
- §. 19. These Establishments being made, *Rome* enjoys a profound Peace, under the new *Consuls*, *L. Genucius* a *Plebeian*, and *Q. Servilius Ahala* a *Patrician*. But now a Plague rages on a sudden, which carries off one of the *Censors*, three *Tribunes of the People*, one *Curule Ædile*, and which is the most fatal Stroke of all, the Great *Camillus*. [His Character is given at large.]

89th Consulship.

A Plebeian chosen Consul.

PRÆTORS.

Ludi Maximi.

CURULE ÆDILES.

90th Consulship.

BOOK XV.

§. 1. **N**OTWITHSTANDING so many Victories obtained, so many Towns taken, and so many Colonies planted, the Jurisdiction of the Romans was not at the Death of *Camillus* extended above six or seven Leagues from their Capital. The eternal Jealousies between the Nobility and People, continually checked the Progress of the Republick, and revived the Hopes of the conquered Nations. So that the Romans were almost uninterruptedly running in the same Round of Wars, with the same Enemies, whom they found it easy to subdue, but not possible to keep long in Subjection.

91st Consulship.

Such was the State of Rome, when *C. Sulpicius*, and *C. Licinius Stolo*, took Possession of the Consulship. The latter was that famous *Licinius*, Son-in-law to *Fabius*, who, jointly with his Collegue *Sextius*, had contrived the four Laws, and at the end of ten Years, during which he had been *Tribune of the People*, had obtained the Publication of them. And now the Promise *Fabius* had made to his younger Daughter was fulfilled; and she had the Pleasure of seeing the *Lictors* with their Axes and Fasces march before her *Plebeian* Husband. 389.

*Vide First Vol. p. 575. LUDI SCENICI.

But the Plague still continues, and the Romans have Recourse to their old Superstition of the * *Lectisternium*, to put a Stop to it. This Expiation proving ineffectual, they hope to appease the Gods, by instituting new Sports, called *Scenici Ludi* [which gave Birth to theatrical Entertainments, and which are described at large, with an Account of the † Rise and Progress of the Roman Drama.] §. 2. Rome continues to be afflicted with the Plague a third Year, and during the new Consulship

† Vide p. 84, 85, 86. 92^d Consulship.

of *L. Æmilius*, and *Cn. Genucius*; and all other Expiations failing, the Romans revive an old Superstition, which is said to have succeeded in the like Case. They chuse a *Dictator*, to drive a Nail into that Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which divides it from the Chapel of *Minerva*. (It was the Custom every Year for the Senior Consul to do this, on the *Ides of September*; and it was thus that the Years of Rome, since its Foundation, were marked and registered.) Now it is to be presumed, that when a Year had been distinguished by any publick Calamities, it was superstitiously believed, that the *Auguries*, consulted in the Consecration of the Consuls, had been inauspicious: And therefore a *Dictator* was nominated, to prevent the ill Effects of the *Auguries* of the Consuls, by more happy *Auguries* of his own. Accordingly *L. Manlius Imperiosus* is now appointed *Dictator*, to perform the Ceremony of driving the Nail. The Plague, which had lasted three Years, soon after ceases: But the proud *Dictator* is uneasy to have the whole Business of his Office confined to one religious Ceremony, and therefore commands Levies to be made, in order to march against the *Hernici*, and even uses Violence to make the Citizens enlist themselves. The *Tribunes of the People* oppose this Design; repel Force with Force, and at length oblige the *Dictator* to abdicate. 390.

L. Manlius Imperiosus, Dictator.

93^d Consulship.

§. 3. And the new Consuls, *Q. Servilius*, and *L. Genucius*, are no sooner chosen, than he is cited by the *Tribunes* to appear before the *Curia*. *Pomponius*, one of the College, is his Accuser; and the three Crimes with which he charges him, are, His having assumed the Surname of *Imperiosus*: His having used Violence and Cruelty to make the People enlist themselves: And which is more insisted on, his having basely and barbarously treated his own Son, merely on Account of his natural Defects. This Son was of slow Parts, and had an Impediment in his Speech; and for these Reasons only, his Father confined him to the Country, and made him lead the Life of a Slave among the Cattle. *Manlius* had a Copy of his Accusation given him, and twenty seven Days to prepare his Defence. All are highly exasperated against so severe a *Dictator*, and so barbarous a Father, except the Son himself; whom filial Piety moves to take an extravagant Method to deliver his Father. He leaves the Place to which he is banished, and never stops till he arrives at the House of *Pomponius*, whom he finds in Bed. He desires a private Conference with him, and as soon as they are alone, draws out a Knife, and threatens to stab the *Tribune*, if he does not swear to desist from prosecuting his Father. *Pomponius* swears, and keeps his Oath; and the same Year young *Manlius* is promoted, by the Suffrages of the People, to one of the most important Posts in the Army. Every Roman Legion was commanded by six *Legionary Tribunes*, and these Officers had been hitherto left to the Choice of the Generals. But this Year the People think fit to elect part of them in the *Comitia*. Of twenty four *Legionary Tribunes* appointed at this time, the People choose six, and *T. Manlius* is named the second of the six. We shall soon see his Merit raise him above the Misfortunes of his Education. 391.

§. 4. But while the Romans are preparing for a War with the *Hernici* (the Conduct of which was fallen by Lot to *Genucius*) an unexpected Accident throws the City into a Consternation.

Year of stertation. The Earth opens of a sudden in the middle of the *Forum*, and does not *The Earth*
ROME shut again. Upon this the *Augurs* are consulted, who declare, *That the Gulph will opens in the*
always remain, till the best Thing in Rome be thrown into it; but that such a Sacrifice *Forum.*
will render the Republick immortal. *M. Curtius*, a young *Patrician*, declares his
 Opinion, that a brave Man, completely armed, is the most valuable Thing, of
 which *Rome* is Mistress, and offers himself to be the precious Victim the Gods de-
 mand. Accordingly he puts on his finest Armour, mounts a noble Horse, magni-
 ficently equipped, and having first adored the celestial and infernal Gods, rides full
 Speed into the Gulph. (Some Historians relate, that the Earth immediately closed *Curtius*
 of itself; but the more judicious say, that a vast Quantity of Corn and Fruits was *leaps into*
 thrown into it; and it is probable, that it was afterwards filled up with Earth, and *the Gulph.*
 other Rubbish.) However, after *M. Curtius* has thus devoted himself, the *Romans*
 imagine they shall not fail of a Victory over the *Hernici*. But their Hopes are dis-
 appointed. *Genucius*, the first *Plebeian Consul* that had ever been at the Head of an
 Army, proves unsuccessful. He falls into an Ambuscade; his *Legions* are routed,
 and he himself killed. (The Historians leave it doubtful, whether he did not fall
 by the Hand of a *Roman*.) The *Patricians* rejoice at his Death, and grow more
 proud. They exclaim in all Places, that the Misfortunes of *Rome* are owing to the
 Violation of human and divine Rights, in the Consecration of *Plebeian Consuls*.
 And in order to wipe off the Disgrace which *Rome* has received in the War, it is
 resolved to create a *Dictator*. §. 5. *Appius Claudius*, the most formidable Ene- *Appius*
 my of the *Plebeian Party*, is named by the surviving *Consul*, *Servilius*, to that Of- *Claudius*,
 fice, that he may repair the Losses occasioned by the Mismanagement of a *Plebeian* *Dictator*.
General. While *Appius* is raising Forces at *Rome*, *Servilius* commands the Fugi-
 tive Troops of *Genucius* in the Field, and makes a successful Sally out of his Camp
 upon the Enemy, before they can attack it. The *Dictator*, upon his Arrival, ha-
 rangues his Soldiers, and exhorts his new Army to imitate the Bravery of *Servi-*
lius's Troops. On the other hand, the *Hernici*, in order to preserve the Advantage
 they have gained over *Genucius*, exhaust their whole Country of Men; and among
 the Multitude of their Soldiers, choose out three thousand two hundred, whom
 they divide into eight *Cohorts*, of four hundred each. This was the Flower of
 their Army; and to engage them to behave themselves bravely, their Generals shew
 them Marks of Distinction; promise them double Pay, and except them from all
 laborious Offices. In the Battel, which is soon given, the *Roman Knights* attack
 these eight *Cohorts* with their usual Impetuosity, but cannot shake them. By or-
 der therefore of their General they dismount, and place themselves in the first Line
 of the Foot. The eight *Cohorts* make Head against them, so that the Flower of
 both Nations come now to a close Engagement. The Victory is a long time doubt-
 ful; and it is only the good Fortune of the *Romans*, which seems to determine it in
 their Favour. However, they lose a fourth Part of their Army, and a great Num-
 ber of *Roman Knights*. *Appius* has no Triumph granted him, which can be im-
 puted to nothing but the Unwillingness of the People, to do Honour to the most
 declared Enemy of the *Plebeian Party*. §. 6. And now, notwithstanding the
 Misfortune of *Genucius*, and the Murmurs of the Nobility, the *Centuries* choose
 392. another *Plebeian Consul*. *Licinius Stolo* is elected a second time; and with him is 94th Con-
 joined *C. Sulpicius*, surnamed *Peticus*. Under these Generals the *Romans* advance *fulship*.
 into the Country of the *Hernici*, but find no Enemy in the Field. They take *Fe-*
rentinum, and then march to *Tybur*, the Gates of which they find shut against
 them. The *Tyburtes* are in secret Intelligence with the *Gauls*; and the *Romans* be-
 ing therefore apprehensive of a dangerous War, create a *Dictator*, *Quinctius Pen-* *Quinctius*
nus, who appoints *Servius Cornelius* to be his General of Horse. And while Pre- *Pennus*,
 parations are making at *Rome* for the War, the *Gauls* advance as far as the Banks *Dictator*.
 of the *Anio*. The *Roman Army* appears on the opposite side; and the two Camps
 are divided by a Bridge, which neither Party endeavours to break down, lest it
 should seem to argue Fear. This Bridge becomes the Scene of many Combats be-
 tween the Champions of both Armies. And one Day a *Gaul*, of a gigantick Sta-
 ture, challenges the bravest Man of the *Roman Troops* to single Fight. Young
Manlius, who had formerly signalized his Piety to his Father in so remarkable a
 manner, is the only one who dares except the Challenge. He kills the *Gaul*, and
 gets the Name of *Torquatus*, from the *Torquis*, or Collar, which he took from his
 Adversary. The *Gauls* are so discouraged, that they desert their Camp the next
 393. Night, and disperse themselves in *Campania*. §. 7. As soon as the *Consuls* for 95th Con-
 the new Year, *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *C. Postelius Libo*, enter upon their Office, *fulship*.
 they are ordered to march, the first against the *Hernici*, the second against the *Ty-*
burtes. *Rome* is at this time destitute of all Assistance from Abroad. The very
Latins, formerly so attached to her, stand absolutely neuter. In the mean time the
Gauls venture to advance again to the very Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and block up
 the Gate *Collina*. To make Head against these dangerous Enemies, the Republick
 nominates

nominates *Servilius Ahala*, *Dictator*, without recalling either of the *Consuls*. *Servilius* comes to an Engagement with the Enemy, under the very Walls of *Rome*, where the *Romans* fighting, within sight of their Fathers, Wives, and Children, are invincible. The defeated *Gauls* fly towards *Tybur*, and being favoured by the *Tyburtes*, who make a Sally to facilitate their Retreat, enter it, notwithstanding the Opposition of *Pætelius*, who nevertheless obtains a Triumph, while his Colleague, *Fabius*, who had fought with Success against the *Hernici*, has only an *Ovation*. The *Dictator*, who had most deserved a Triumph, declines that Honour, and lays down his *Dictatorship*. §. 8. The *Tyburtes* had made a Jest of *Pætelius*'s Triumph, and had threatened to be soon again at the Gates of *Rome*. This made the *Romans* sensible, that they were neither conquered, nor humbled. And the new *Consuls* therefore, *M. Popilius Lænas*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*, expect to march strait into the Territory of *Tybar*, but are diverted from it by a sudden Sedition in the City, of the People against the Senate. *Popilius* is *Pontifex* to the Goddess *Carmenta*, as well as *Consul*, and is just offering a Sacrifice, when he receives the News of the Commotion. He runs in his Pontifical Robe to the Place where the People are assembled; and by his Influence, puts a Stop to the Sedition. And because the Robe he then wore was of Wool, called *Læna*, not *Lana*, he thence gets the Name of *Lænas*. But *Popilius* is very soon obliged to assume the Soldier. A handful of *Tyburtes*, out of a Bravado, and to make good their late Threatenings, come in the dead of the Night to the very Gates of *Rome*, and alarm the City. But the two *Consuls*, as soon as it is Day, march out at different Gates, and easily repulse these bold Enterprizers; whose Attempt serves only to re-establish Tranquillity in *Rome*, and totally extinguish the Sedition. And now the *Tarquinienses*, a People of *Hetruria*, enter the *Roman* Territory in Arms; but the *Romans* postpone their Revenge, till they have chosen new *Consuls*. §. 9. The Persons elected are *C. Fabius Ambustus*, and *C. Plautius Proculus*. The latter marches against the *Hernici*, and totally subdues them. But *Fabius* is not so successful against the *Tarquinienses*, who, to shew their Contempt of the Republick, cut the Throats of three hundred and seven *Roman* Prisoners, after having treated them very ill. The Disadvantage *Fabius* has suffered, is followed by a new Alarm from the *Boii*, who appear on a sudden in the Plain of *Præneste*; and advance as far as *Pedum*. But the *Latins* at this time (for what Reason is uncertain) very seasonably renew their ancient Treaty of Alliance with *Rome*, and furnish her with the same *Quota* of Men as formerly. With this Reinforcement she is in a Condition to make Head against the *Boii*; but the two *Consuls* being employed, she names a *Dictator* to command the Troops, which are to oppose their Hostilities. *Sulpicius Peticus* is the Person nominated; and he, with the best *Legions* of the *Consular* Armies, and the *Latin* Auxiliaries, marches against the *Gauls*. Both Armies are very ardent to engage; but the *Dictator* restrains the Impetuosity of his Troops, thinking it better Policy not to run the Hazard of a Battel, since the *Gauls* must necessarily be distressed for want of Provisions, having prepared no Magazines, and being no longer supplied by the *Latins*. The Soldiers however do not enter into their General's Views, and universally murmur against him, as a timorous Commander of brave Men. They come in Crouds to the *Dictator*'s Quarters, and demand Access to him, having named *Sextius Tullius* (a Man of distinguished Courage, and who, for seven Years past, had been first Captain of the first *Corps* in the Army) to be their Speaker. *Sulpicius* is surpris'd to find himself surrounded by a Number of Mutineers, and especially to see *Sextius* at their Head, whom he had thought an unblameable Officer. *Sextius*, in the Name of the Army, reproaches him with the disadvantageous Opinion he seems to have entertained of the Valour of his Troops, and urges him to lead them on to fight. His Speech to the *Dictator* is followed by the Acclamations of the Multitude, who all desire Leave to arm, and march to Battel. *Sulpicius* is obliged to promise to comply with their Desires; but then, taking *Sextius* aside, he asks him, *What it is that has put him at the Head of a Faction?* The brave *Centurion* replies, That it is not any want of Respect to his General, or Ignorance of the martial Laws, but to prevent the Soldiers chusing an insolent Leader, who might do something injurious to the Dignity of the *Dictator*. He then advises *Sulpicius* to yield to the Desires of his Soldiers, who otherwise seem inclined to seize the first Opportunity of fighting, without asking Leave. The *Dictator* is by an Accident soon satisfied of the Truth of this, and therefore gives Notice that he will offer Battel the next Day. But being inferior to the *Gauls* in Number, he makes use of a Stratagem, which had never been practis'd before. He orders his Muleteers to put upon their Mules the Furniture of War Horses, to mount them, march silently up to the Hills, and hide themselves in the Woods, till they receive farther Orders. By this Stratagem, and a new Method in giving the first Attack, he gains a complete Victory.

Year of ROME And now the *Hernici* being subdued, the *Latins* reconciled, and the *Gauls* vanquished and dispersed, *Rome* is again almost upon as good a Foot as before it was taken by the *Senones*. For this Prosperity the Publick is chiefly indebted to *Sulpicius*, who having been honoured with a Triumph, and having made a Present of some of the Spoils to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, abdicates the *Dictatorship*; and the Government returns into the Hands of the two *Consuls* for the Year.

Some *Roman Citizens* being at this time sent into the *Pomptin* Territory, to stop the Incurfions of the *Veliterni*, and *Privernates*, form a new *Tribe* there, which, with the *Tribe Publicia*, or *Popilia*, lately established, make the whole Number of Tribes increased to the Tribes, twenty seven.

At this timelike, the first Law is made against openly canvassing for Votes. It is occasioned by the Ambition of the *Novi Homines*, or upstart Gentlemen, who, not content with soliciting Suffrages in the *Forum Romanum*, go even to the Country Fairs, and other publick Meetings, to buy Voices. §. 10. Under the following Administration of *C. Marcius Rutilus*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*, the Interest of Money, which before was arbitrary, is settled at one per Cent. But this Regulation is so displeasing to the avaricious *Patricians*, that to revenge themselves on the *Plebeians*, they cite the famous *Licinius Stolo* to answer for the Breach of one of the four Laws (which he himself had so zealously promoted) prohibiting any *Citizen* to possess more than five hundred Acres of Land. *Licinius* actually possessed a thousand, but to cover his Breach of the Law, had put his Son in the nominal Possession of one half of them. However, he is convicted of Fraud, and fined ten thousand *Asses* of *Brass*.

After these intestine Commotions are over, the *Consul Marcius* is ordered to conduct an Army into the Territory of *Privernum*, to revenge the Cause of *Rome*, on the Inhabitants of that City. The *Romans* on this Occasion shew, that they are not led to Victory so much by the Love of Glory, or of their Country, as by the Hopes of Plunder. The City surrenders; and *Marcius*, on his return to *Rome*, has the Honour of a Triumph.

But *Cn. Manlius*, the other *Consul*, gains little Glory in his Expedition against the *Falisci*, whom he had been sent to punish for several Insults on the Republick. Nothing is talked of in *Rome*, but his Attempt upon the Constitution. He had ventured to assemble the Tribes near *Sutri*, and had there made a Law in his Camp, That the twentieth part of the Price of every Slave, thereafter sold, should be payed into the publick Treasury. The Senate had consented to this Law, notwithstanding the Irregularity of holding the *Comitia* by Tribes in the Camp. But The Tribunes of the People think this Step of the *Consul*, of dangerous Consequence to the publick Liberty; and therefore get a Law past, forbidding any Man to assemble the People in *Comitia*, any where but in *Rome*, upon Pain of Death. However, we are not told, that the Law relating to the twentieth part of the Price of Slaves was repealed. §. 11. The *Consuls* for the following Year, *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *M. Popilius Lænas* (both a second time) are no sooner entered on their Office, than they choose their military Employments by Lot. *Popilius* commands the Army, which is to act against the *Tyburtes*; he finds them shut up within their Walls, and ravages their Lands, without Opposition. But *Fabius* has a more difficult War to manage against the united *Falisci* and *Tarquinienses*. They stir up all *Hetruria* against the Republick. The *Hetrurians* advance towards the *Roman* Territory, as far as the *Salt-pits*, on the Banks of the *Tyber*; and their Approach obliges the *Romans* to have recourse to the usual Remedy in great Emergencies. The *Consul Popilius* is ordered to name a *Dictator*; and as he is a *Plebeian* himself, he pitches upon *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the *Plebeian Consul* of the last Year, to raise him to that Dignity. The *Dictator* likewise chooses a *Plebeian*, *C. Plautius Proculus*, to be his General of Horse: So that the Government of the Republick is almost entirely in the Hands of Men of true Merit, chosen out of the People. The *Patricians* are stung with Jealousy at these Promotions, and do all they can to hinder the *Dictator* from having the Necessaries for the War. On the other hand, the People hasten the Preparations for the Campaign, and the General marches out to meet the Enemy. He surprises their Camp; forces it, and takes eight thousand Prisoners. Notwithstanding so complete a Victory, the Senate oppose the Triumph of a *Plebeian Dictator*; but the People do him Justice, and he enters *Rome* triumphantly, the Day before the Nones of May.

And now the time drawing nigh for electing new *Consuls*; and *Fabius* not being at *Rome*, the Nobility pretend, That it is unlawful for any *Plebeian*, though a *Dictator*, to preside in the *Comitia*; because by the *Pontifical* Laws, the Election of chief Magistrates should be consecrated by *Auguries*; and *Auguries*, say they, belong of right only to *Patricians*. And for this time they prevail. The Republick has recourse to an *Interregnum*; and which is very extraordinary, the *Plebeians* are in the very Year, in which they triumphed most, excluded a Share in the Government.

- ment; and two *Patricians* are chosen *Consuls* in the ensuing *Comitia*. The *Tribunes* Year of
of the People exclaim against the Election, as contrary to the Custom practised for ROME
eleven Years past, during which time one of the *Consuls* had always been a *Plebeian*.
But the President in the *Comitia* silences their Clamours, by citing a Law of the
Twelve Tables; That only the last Edit of the People should be of Force, and render all
preceding ones null. And they infer, that the People, by choosing two *Patricians*,
100th Con- had, in effect, abolished the former Custom. §. 12. The new *Consuls*, C. Sul- 398.
sulship. picius Peticus, and M. Valerius Poplicola, after a slight Battel, take *Empulum* from
the *Tyburtes*, but do nothing else remarkable Abroad, during their Administration.
Their chief View is to keep the *Consulship* in *Patrician* Hands; and when the time
comes for new Elections; they declare, that they will never resign their Dignity to
any other than *Patricians*. This occasions great Commotions and Tumults in the
Campus Martius, insomuch, that the greater Number of the People cry out, that
a *Secession* is necessary, and in reality quit the Assembly, leaving only the least passi-
onate behind them. These give their Suffrages for two *Patricians*; and thus the
101st Con- Nobility carry their Point. §. 13. M. Fabius Ambustus, and T. Quinctius 399.
sulship. Pennus the new *Consuls*, both take the Field, the former against the *Tyburtes*,
whom he totally subdues, the latter against the *Tarquinienses*, on whom the *Romans*
now revenge the Cruelty committed on the three hundred and seven *Roman* Sol-
diers formerly mentioned. Quinctius puts all the Prisoners he takes to the Sword,
except three hundred and fifty eight, whom he sends to *Rome*, where, by order of
the Senate, they are first beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. These Victories
extend the Reputation of the *Romans*; insomuch, that the *Samnites* send an Em-
bassy to the Republick, court her Friendship, and conclude an Alliance with her
(probably upon the same Foot as that with the *Latins* and *Hernici*.) §. 14. 400.
102d Con- Though the People continue still inclined to have one of the *Consuls*, *Plebeian*, the
sulship. Nobility, as their Creditors, have them so much under at this time, that they keep
the *Consulship* in their own Hands; and C. Sulpicius Peticus, and M. Valerius Pop-
licola, both *Patricians*, are again promoted to that Dignity. And while the Re-
publick is preparing to revenge her self on the *Tarquinienses*, she receives Advice
from the *Latins*, that the *Volschi* are upon the Point of entering the *Roman* Ter-
ritory; and this obliges her to divide her Forces between the two *Consuls*. Sulpi-
cius marches into *Hetruria*, and Valerius against the *Volschi*. The latter is already
encamped on the Confines of the Territory of *Tusculum*, when he is recalled to
Rome to nominate a *Dictator*. This was occasioned by Letters from Sulpicius,
which imported, that the *Cerites* were undoubtedly disposed to take part with the
Tarquinienses. It is therefore judged necessary to raise a third Army, and to name
a *Dictator*, to lead it against the *Cerites*. T. Manlius Torquatus, though he had
never been *Consul* (a necessary Step to rise regularly to the *Dictatorship*) is nominated,
and he appoints Cornelius Cossus to be his General of Horse. The Inhabitants of
T. Manlius *Cære*, intimidated by the Preparations made against them, send an Embassy to im-
Torquatus, plore the Clemency of the *Romans*. The Senate refer the Deputies to the People;
Dictator. who are moved to Compassion by the Repentance of the *Cerites*, and especially
when reminded that *Cære* had been formerly the Asylum of the *Vestals*, and the
Receptacle of their Gods. A Truce is granted them for a hundred Years; and the
Dictator, instead of marching against them, leads his Troops against the *Falisci*. But
finding no Enemies in the Field, he only lays their Country waste, and then returns
to *Rome*. All things are quiet in the City, till the time comes for new Elections.
The *Dictator*, who is to preside in the *Comitia*, intends to prevent any *Plebeian*
being chosen to the *Consulship*; but The *Tribunes of the People* perceiving his De-
sign, oppose the assembling of the *Centuries*, till the Expiration of his *Dictatorship*,
and of the *Consuls* Year, both which end at the same time. An *Interregnum* en-
sues, and the two Parties are irreconcilable. The People seem inclined to a Revolt,
and begin to make Complaints about their Debts, as well as of the Infraction of
The *Licinian Law*, relating to Elections. This induces The *Conscript Fathers* at
length to let that Law take Place, and to permit one of the *Consuls* to be chosen
out of the *Plebeians*. §. 15. P. Valerius Poplicola, and C. Marcius Rutilus, 401.
103d Con- are elected; and their first Care is to unite the two Parties, by easing the Debtors.
sulship. To this end, they choose out five Men of known Probity, to take an Account of
all Debts, and discharge them. These five are called *Bankers*, and they have the
Command of the publick Treasury, to enable them to perform their Commission,
which they do to the Satisfaction of all Parties. They advance Money to some of
the Debtors, on Security, and so relieve them, without losing any of the Money
so advanced. And the rest deposite the Value of their Debts in their Creditors
Hands, in Effects, which are valued by the *Bankers*.
Rome is now in perfect Tranquillity at home; but is of a sudden alarmed with a
Report, that the twelve *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria* are going to make War against
her. The Republick, not to be wanting in Caution, immediately names Julius
Iulus,

Year of *Iulus, Dictator*. But the Report proves groundless, having been (probably) raised Julius *Iulius* by *Patricians*, only to get a Man at the Head of Affairs, who might prevent the *Licinian Law* from taking Place in the ensuing Elections. And indeed he employs all his Credit and Power to that end; but is so warmly opposed, that both he and the *Consuls* go out of Office, before they can get the *Comitia* assembled.

402. An *Interregnum* ensues, in which *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *Fabius* govern by Turns. The Commons have more Complaisance for these, than for the *Dictator*, and suffer num. two *Patricians* to be raised to the *Consulship*. §. 16. *Sulpicius* himself is one of 104th *Consulship*. them, and *T. Quintius Pennus* the other. The former marches against the *Tarquinienses*, and the latter against the *Falisci*. But these two Nations being tired out by the Calamities of War, submit to the Republick, and obtain a Truce for forty Years.

And now the *Romans* thinking this Interval of Peace a proper Season to elect new *Censors*, appoint a Day for it; and for the first time, a *Plebeian* stands Candidate for this important Office. *C. Marcius Rutilus* having been twice *Consul*, and once *Dictator*, thinks he may well aspire to any Office in the Republick; and accordingly he, with *Cn. Manlius* a *Patrician*, are chosen in the *Comitia*, to be the two *Censors*. Nor is this all. The Commons being willing to give a new Lustre to an Office, to which a *Plebeian* has just been promoted, *Ovinus*, one of their *Tribunes*, proposes to deprive the *Consuls* of the Prerogative of filling up the Senate, and to lodge this Power in the *Censors*; and, which is very extraordinary, this important Change is made in the Republick, without causing any Disturbance. [The manner of making and of degrading a Senator is described.] And now the *Consulship* being open to the *Plebeians*, the *Patricians* are afraid, lest they should get likewise into the *Consulship*, by vertue of the *Licinian Law*. And the better therefore to secure that Dignity totally to the Nobility, the present *Consuls* nominate a *Dictator*, to preside at the next Election; imagining, that an absolute Governor will be more respected in the *Comitia*, and have more Influence. The Person fixed upon is *M. Fabius Ambustus*, who has been thrice *Consul*. §. 17. But notwithstanding these Precautions, *M. Popilius Lænas*, a *Plebeian*, is now chosen 105th *Consulship*. *Consul* a third time. And his Colleague, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, falling sick soon after his Election, and when he should take the Field, the Senate have the farther Mortification of seeing the *Plebeian Consul* sole General of the Troops. The Soldiers who have enlisted themselves, are so numerous, that *Popilius*, by Order of the Senate, divides them into two Armies, and leaves one to guard the City, under the Command of *M. Valerius Poplicola* the present *Prætor*. And this is the first time that a *Prætor* is seen at the Head of an Army. The *Consul*, with four *Legions*, and some Auxiliaries, marches against the *Gauls*, who, upon his first Appearance, offer him Battel. But *Popilius*, who knows their Temper, is willing to let their first Heat abate, before he engages; and therefore keeps within his Camp, which he fortifies. The *Gauls* think the *Romans* afraid, and therefore attack them, while they are busy in raising their Works; but the latter having the Advantage of being posted on an Eminence, repulse their Enemies, and make a considerable Slaughter of them. In the beginning of a second Attack, *Popilius*, exposing himself so much, is wounded, with a Javelin, and carried out of the Field to have his Wound dressed. This Accident suspends the Ardor of the *Romans*; but as soon as their General appears again, they renew the Charge, drive the *Gauls* into the Plain, and there drawing up in the Form of a Wedge, they penetrate into the main Body of the Enemy, and totally disperse them. The *Consul* does not think proper to pursue the Fugitives, but having plundered their Camp, leads back to *Rome* his victorious Army, enriched with Spoil. §. 18. *Popilius* had deserved a Triumph, and it is decreed him: But he not being cured of his Wound, and *Cornelius Scipio* continuing still sick, they name *L. Furius Camillus* (Son of the Great *Camillus*) *Dictator*, to preside at the Election of new *Consuls*. The *Dictator* prevails to have himself elected one of them; and *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Crassus*, another *Patrician*, is appointed his Colleague. And now the *Senones*, who had fled for Refuge to the Hills of *Alba*, come down again, and spread themselves upon the Sea Coast in the Country of the *Latins*. At the same time, some *Greeks* (from what Part is uncertain) make a Descent on the very same Coast, where the *Gauls* are committing Rapine, *i. e.* from the Mouth of the *Tyber* to *Antium*. The latter, jealous of their Booty, force these new Invaders back to their Ships. But as the *Gauls* continue still in *Latium*, and the *Greeks* are still hovering about the Coast, the *Romans* are at a Loss for two Generals to act against these two Parties of Robbers; for *Appius*, one of the *Consuls*, is just dead. It seems necessary to nominate a *Dictator*, to act in concert with the surviving *Consul*, but then they are unwilling to offer *Camillus* such an Affront, as to make any Man his Superior. They remember his personal Merit, his Experience, and that he had been *Dictator* the last Year; and his very Name of *Camillus* being a good Omen in a War with the *Gauls*, all these

Considerations make them accept of him as sole Governor of the Republick; so Year of that he wants little more, than a greater Number of *Lictors* to commence a regular *ROME Dictator*.

§. 19. His first Care is to raise two Armies. The *Latins* are summoned to furnish their Contingent of Auxiliaries: But they refuse to be commanded by a *Roman* General; and in a national Diet, resolve to shake off the dishonourable Yoke. However, the *Consul* finds Troops enough in *Rome*. Ten *Legions* are raised, amounting to forty five thousand Men. *Camillus* leaves two of these *Legions* to guard the City; gives four to *L. Pinarius* the *Prætor*, whom he sends to defend the Sea Coast against the *Greeks*, and he himself encamps with the other four in the *Pomptin* Territory, a Country full of Marshes and Rivers. For he has no Design of coming to a Battel; but only to harass the Enemy in their Posts, intercept their Convoys, and, if possible, to starve them. But while both Armies continue unactive, a fierce *Gaul* of a gigantick Stature, appears between the two Camps, defying the bravest Man in the *Roman* *Legions* to single Combat. *M. Valerius*, a *Legionary Tribune*, Grandson to the famous *M. Valerius Volusus*, accepts the Challenge, and is said to have obtained the Victory by means of a Raven, which had perched upon his Helmet, ever since Day-break; and which, during the Fight, so blinded the Giant with his Wings, that it was easy for *Valerius* to stab him. The *Gauls* immediately croud round his Body, to hinder him from being stript of his Armour; and the *Romans* at the same time running to defend their Champion, this brings the two Armies to a Battel. The *Senones* are routed; and taking their Way through the Country of the *Volsci*, retire as far as to the Coasts of the *Adriatick Sea*. After the Victory, *Camillus* rewards the brave *Valerius* with a Crown of Gold, and two Oxen: And he ever after bears the Name of *Corvus*.

§. 20. And now, the time for the new Elections drawing on, the *Consul* nominates *Manlius Torquatus*, *Dictator*, to preside at them. *Manlius*, pleased with the Exploit of *Valerius*, so much resembling his own former Victory over a gigantick *Gaul*, find Means to prevail with the People to chuse him one of the *Consuls*, though but twenty three Years of Age, and too young to have a Place in the Senate. With him is joined

107th Consulship.

Popilius Lenas, now *Consul* a fourth time. As for *Camillus*, he makes so good an Appearance on the Coast, that the *Greeks* dare not come ashore; and at last wanting fresh Water, and other necessary Provisions, they put out to Sea.

405.

A Treaty of Navigation and Commerce made with Carthage.

* Vide p. 125, 126.

108th Consulship.

§. 21. The *Romans* enjoy now an Interval of profound Peace. But their Happiness (as had been almost always their Fate) is interrupted by a Plague. At this time Ambassadors arrive from *Carthage*, to renew and confirm a Treaty (with some little Alterations and Additions) made with *Rome* the first Year after the Expulsion of the Kings. [The * Particulars of this Treaty are related with the Additions to it.] It appears by the present Negotiation, that *Carthage* was at this time Mistress of the Seas, and that the two Republicks were jealous of each other, and Rivals for Power; though *Carthage* seems much the more considerable of the two, having all *Sardinia*, and a part of *Sicily* under her Dominion, besides large Possessions on the Continent of *Africa*.

§. 22. The *Consuls* chosen for the new Year are *C. Plautius Hypsæus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who, though twice *Dictator*, had never been *Consul* before. Nothing remarkable is done under their Administration, except reducing the Interest of Money from one per Cent. to one half per Cent.

406.

109th Consulship.

§. 23. When *Valerius Corvus*, and *C. Pætelius Visolus* are *Consuls*, a new War breaks out with the *Volsci*. The City of *Satricum*, formerly belonging to them, had been destroyed by the *Latins*, above thirty Years since. The *Antiates*, a People of the *Volsci*, had within three Years past rebuilt and repeopled it; and had made it a Place of Rendezvous for their Confederates. They had likewise endeavoured to stir up all the *Latin Cantons* against *Rome*. *Corvus* marches against them upon the first News of their Motions, routs them, and takes *Satricum*, which he burns; sparing only the Temple of the Goddess *Matuta*. He returns to *Rome*, and enters it in Triumph, with four thousand Captives before his Chariot.

407.

† Vide p. 128, 129.

110th Consulship.

It is pretended, that the † *Secular Games* were now celebrated for the second time; having been first instituted in the Year of *Rome* 297.

§. 24. The *Romans* are no sooner delivered from the *Volsci*, but they are attacked by the *Aurunci*, a petty Nation on the Confines of *Latium*, and on the Coast of the *Tyrrhenian Sea*. And the Republick is struck with more Terror than she ought to be, by an Enemy so little formidable. She is now governed by two *Patrician Consuls*, *M. Fabius Dorso*, and *Sulpicius Camerinus*, whom the Senate force to nominate a *Dictator*. *L. Furius* is promoted to that Office; and the Fright is so great in *Rome*, that all the Courts of Justice are shut up, and the Levies are made with the utmost Rigour. When the *Dictator* comes in sight of the Enemy, they appear only like a Company of Robbers; but he suspects that they are assisted by the Troops of a more considerable Nation, who lie concealed, and is confirmed in this Suspicion, when he sees that they offer him Battel. The *Aurunci* being so few in Number, must certainly, though beaten, have performed Wonders in the Action, to have forced

408.

L. Furius, Dictator.

Year of forced the *Dictator* to have recourse to his Gods, and to vow a Temple to
 ROME * *Juno Moneta*. On his return to *Rome* he builds this Temple on the *Capitol* in the * Vide p.
 same Place, where the House of the rebellious *Manlius* had stood; and in it were 130.
 kept those mysterious Books, in which the Fate of *Rome* was pretended to be fore-
 told. (Afterwards, the Temple of *Juno Moneta* became a publick Mint; and from
 thence the Medals, which were stamped for current Coin in Trade, took the Name
 409. of *Moneta*, or *Money*.) §. 25. The succeeding *Consuls*, *C. Marcius Rutilus*, 111th Con-
 and *T. Manlius Imperiosus* consecrate this new Temple; and immediately the Ro- sulship.
mans imagine, that the Goddess, agreeable to her Name *Moneta*, admonishes them
 of the impending Wrath of the Gods, by sending large Hail-Stones, &c. They
 therefore nominate a *Dictator*, whose chief Business is to order the Solemnization
 of *Feriae*, or Holidays; and they hope that he will have Credit enough to bring all
Latium into the Observance of them. Accordingly, *Supplications* are appointed, *Q. Fabius*
 the Temples opened, Victims slain, &c. and the *Romans* spend near a Year in tak- Ambustus,
 ing Advantage of the pretended Admonitions of an imaginary Goddess, to preserve Dictator.
 themselves from the fancied Threatnings of Heaven.

B O O K XVI.

§. 1. THE *Dictator* of the preceding Year having brought the Government to
 an *Interregnum*, the President of it holds the *Comitia by Centuries*, for Interreg-
 electing new *Consuls*. *M. Valerius Corvus* is chosen a third time, and *Cornelius* num.
 410. *Cossus Arvina* is appointed his Colleague. Under their Administration it is, that the 112th Con-
Romans and *Samnites* first become Enemies; and a City scarce known to the Ro- sulship.
mans, sows those Seeds of Discord between them, which produces a lasting
 Hatred.

§. 2. The *Sidicini*, a People of *Aufonia*, who dwelt beyond the *Liris*, and whose
 chief City was *Teanum*, were in War with the *Samnites*, who unjustly attempted
 the Conquest of their Country. It was the Interest of the People of *Campania* to
 assist their Neighbours, the *Sidicini*, who had recourse to them for Assistance, and
 to stop the Progress of the *Samnites*. But the *Campanians* lived in a Climate, where
 the very Air they breathed inclined them to Effeminacy, and enervated their Cou-
 rage. They were by no means a Match for the robust and rugged *Samnites*, who
 had been inured to War. A Battel is fought in the Plain between Mount *Tifata*
 and *Capua*, where they are routed, and forced to fly within their Walls for Refuge.
 In this Distress they send Ambassadors to *Rome* to implore the Protection of the
 Republick, to offer her an eternal Friendship and Alliance, and to put *Capua* into
 the Hands of the *Romans*. The Senate are inclined, both by Compassion and Inte-
 rest, to accept the Proposal. But the Faith of former Treaties with the *Samnites*,
 prevails over all other Considerations. And the *Consul Valerius* therefore, in the
 Name of the *Conscript Fathers*, gives the *Capuan* Ambassadors this Answer. *The*
Senate of Rome think you worthy of their Protection. But we must have regard to our
old Friendship with the Samnites. We will not therefore take Arms in your Favour;
it will offend the Gods: But we will entreat our Friends, the Samnites, to put an end to
their Hostilities. The *Capuan* Deputies, had hitherto spoken only of an Alliance
 and Confederacy with the *Romans*. But now, not thinking the Answer they had
 received sufficient to build great Hopes on; they, pursuant to the Powers
 with which they had been invested, make this farther Declaration. *Since the Ro-*
mans are scrupulous of openly attacking the Samnites, contrary to the Faith of their
Treaties, let them at least not be afraid to defend their own Property against the Usur-
pation of their Enemies. Capua and Campania are theirs. Romans, we this Day
subject them to you, and from this time therefore all our Losses will be yours. This
 Donation, in due Form, by Ambassadors authorized to make it, makes new Im-
 pressions on the Minds of the Senators; and, in short, they send away Deputies,
 with Instructions to entreat the *Samnites* as Friends, to spare a Province which be-
 longs to *Rome*; and in case of Refusal, to give them Notice, in the Name of the
 People and Senate of *Rome*, to quit the Country immediately. But the *Samnite*
 Magistrates are so far from being intimidated by the Majesty of the *Roman* Name,
 that in the very Presence of their Deputies, they order the Commanders of their
 Troops to go instantly and ravage *Campania*. This Insult fills both the People and
 Senate with Indignation; and the *Romans* apply themselves wholly to the making
 Preparations for a War. §. 3. But before entering upon Action, all the due
 Forms of demanding Satisfaction and proclaiming War by the *Feciales* are observed.
 And then, the two *Consuls* take the Field, each at the Head of an Army. It falls
 to *Valerius's* Lot to command in *Campania*; and *Cornelius* is to enter the Country
 of the *Samnites*. *Valerius* posts his Troops on that Mount *Gaurus*, which lay be-
 tween

* Vide p.
139.

tween *Puteoli* and *Baia*; and being there advantageously situated, is in no haste to Year of come to a Battel, but tries the *Samnites* in little Skirmishes. At length he assem- ROME
bles his Troops, exhorts them *not to be afraid of new Enemies, or of a new Way of Fighting*; bids them remember *their former Victories, and the General who commands them*; that it is *Valerius, who has thrice obtained the Consulship, not by Intrigue, or the Nobleness of his Birth (to which Rome has now no Regard) but by his Bravery alone*; reminds them, *that he is descended from the Great Poplicola, and has himself been always a true Poplicola in the true meaning of the Word*; Go then Romans, and adds, *fall upon the Enemy, and in return for my Affection to you, gain me the Honours of a Triumph*. When the two Armies are drawn up in *Battalia*, and face each other, their Numbers appear to be pretty equal. The Battel [*which * is at large described*] is fought with wonderful Resolution on both sides, and the Night puts an end to the Victory of the *Romans*. They had never fought with more fierce or more intrepid Enemies, and would not have known their Victory to have been complete, if the *Samnites* had not deserted their Camp in the Night, and abandoned it to the Conqueror.

§. 4. But whilst *Valerius* is signaling his Courage in *Campania*, his Colleague *Cornelius Cossus*, who had been advantageously posted near *Saticula*, on the Confines of *Samnium*, leaves his Camp (for what Reason is unknown) and marches his Troops through a mountainous Country into a Forest, all the Roads of which are narrow, and out of which there is but one Passage, and that through a deep Valley. It is not in his Power to alter his March, when he discovers, that both the Wood and the Valley are lined with *Samnites*, and that he is surrounded by the Enemy. In this Distress, *P. Decius Mus*, a *Legionary Tribune*, proposes to the *Consul*, as the only Resource in so great a Danger, to detach him with the two first Lines of a *Legion*, to take Possession of an Eminence, which the *Samnites* had neglected, and which commanded their Camp. *When you see me posted there*, adds he, *continue your March, without Fear, through the Valley; the Enemy will not dare to attack you, when exposed to our Darts*. The *Consul* approves of the Motion, and *Decius* puts his own Scheme successfully in execution. He is not discovered by the Enemy, till he has just gained the Eminence; and then the *Samnites* are in such a Surprise, that they can come to no Determination what to do, whether to attack the *Consul*, or *Decius*. In the mean time *Cornelius* takes Advantage of their Irresolution, and marches through the Valley, without Molestation. *Decius* expects every Moment to be insulted by the Enemy on his Rock; or at least, that they will shut up all the Avenues to it. But not perceiving that they come to surround him, he assembles his Soldiers, and exhorts them not to follow the Enemy's Example, but to form some Design with Expedition, and to execute it with Courage. He then changes his Clothes with a private Soldier, and orders his *Centurions* to do the same, and follow him. He takes a View of all the Avenues to the Hill, and places Centinels at them, with Orders to return silently to the main Body, at the second Watch of the Night. When all his Men are got together, he lays before them the Necessity of leaving the Place where they are, and puts it to the Vote, whether to stay for Day-light, or march off immediately, and force a Way through the Enemy, while they are asleep. The latter is universally approved. *Decius*, at the Head of his Troop, comes down from the Rock in great Silence, and has already got half through the Enemies Camp, when a *Roman* Soldier strikes his Foot against the Buckler of a *Samnite*; and the Noise gives the Alarm in that Quarter. The *Samnites* run to Arms, without knowing whether it be *Decius*, or the *Consul*, or some *Samnite* of the Camp, that had disturbed their Rest. In the midst of this Uncertainty, *Decius* orders his Men to give a great Shout, which so encreases the Consternation of the *Samnites*, that they are frozen with Fear; and the *Romans* easily make their Escape. When come near the *Consul's* Camp, *Decius* commands a Halt. *You have deserved*, says he to his Men, *to enter the Camp in a more glorious manner, than in Silence and Darkness; rest yourselves therefore here till the Light returns*. The next Morning *Decius* and his Troop enter the Camp, with the Acclamations of the Army, who call them their Preservers, and give Thanks to the Gods for their happy Return. But when the *Consul* (having summoned all his Soldiers to hear his Harangue) is beginning to make the Panegyrick of *Decius*, this brave *Tribune* advises him, *instead of losing time in Panegyricks, to march away immediately, and surprise the Camp of the Enemy, who, in all Probability, have sent out Detachments into the Wood, in quest of him*. This Advice is followed; the Entrenchments of the *Samnites* are surprised and taken, and thirty thousand of the Enemy, who being dispersed about the Hills and Woods, hasten back in Disorder to defend their Camp, are cut in pieces. By this Success the Glory of *Decius* is much augmented, and he is honoured with all the military Rewards which were ever given to a Subaltern. Besides a Crown of Gold, he receives from the General a Present of a thousand Oxen, and a white Bull, with gilded Horns. The Army likewise shew their Gratitude to *Decius*, their Deliverer,

by

Year of by putting on his Head a Crown of *Gramen*. And lastly, his own Detachment, *ROME* which he had brought safely out of the Danger into which he had led them, bestow a Mark of Distinction on their Leader, and crown him with a *Civic Crown*, or a Crown of Oak-Leaves, which was deemed the most honourable of all Rewards. Thus adorned with three Crowns, he offers up his white Bull in Sacrifice to *Mars*, and distributes his hundred Oxen among the Companions of his Danger, and Sharers of his Glory.

§. 5. But the Campaign is not yet ended. The *Samnites* having recovered their Courage, and raised new Forces, appear before *Suessula*, a City situated between *Nola* and *Capua*. *Valerius* marches against them; and when he comes within reach of them, chooses as narrow a Spot of Ground to encamp on, as he can well croud his Cavalry and Infantry into, and by this he deceives the Enemy. For they marching round his Camp, and finding it so little, imagine the *Romans* to be but weak in Number; and the *Samnite* Soldiers are for immediately forcing their Enemies Lines. But the Officers restrain their Impetuosity; and believing that the *Romans* must soon want Provisions, they judge it a wiser part to continue still in their Camp, and watch them. But they do not reflect that the *Romans* are in a Friend's Country, whose Interest it is to support them. In short, the *Samnites* themselves are the first who want Necessaries, and are obliged to send out large Detachments to convoy Provisions to their Camp. *Valerius* observing this, seizes the Moment when the greatest part of the Enemy's Troops are dispersed about the Country, attacks their Camp, forces it, makes great Slaughter there, and then with his Cavalry, chases the several Parties which are abroad foraging. In this Action two hundred and twenty Standards are taken from the *Samnites*.

These Successes of *Valerius* and *Cornelius* make the Republick respected Abroad. The *Falisci* enter into a Treaty of Alliance with her, and that whole *Lucumony* of *Hetruria* becomes *Roman*. The *Latins*, who had stood neuter to see the Event of the War, commence Hostilities against the *Peligni*, a *Samnite* Nation, as it were to assist the *Romans*. And lastly, the *Carthaginians* send a Compliment of Congratulation to the *Romans*, with a Present of a Crown of Gold of twenty Pounds weight, to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of Thanksgiving for their Victories.

411. By a *Census* taken this Year, it appears, that the Number of *Romans*, able to bear Arms, amounts to a hundred and sixty thousand. § 6. The *Consuls* for 113th Con-
the new Year are *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a *Plebeian*, now raised to that Dignity a fourth *Consulship*.
time, and *Q. Servilius Ahala*, a *Patrician*. The latter stays encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, while the former marches into *Campania*. But when *Marcius*

arrives at *Capua*, he finds a great Alteration in the *Romans*, who had spent the Winter there. Discipline had been neglected; their Austerity of Manners was changed into Effeminacy, and their Sobriety into Intemperance. The Charms of the Climate, and the Air, which they breathed in Idleness, had so far bewitched them, that they did not care to hear their own Country mentioned. They entered into a Plot among one another, to drive the Natives out of *Campania*, and seize it for themselves. *Marcius* is informed of all this; and as he is a Man of great Experience and Prudence, he makes use of the gentlest Methods to induce them to drop their Design. He indulges them in the Hopes that they may put their Scheme in execution the next Year, and by this means puts a Stop to the Sedition for the present. In the mean time he contrives, upon various Pretences, to send away the most factious at first, one by one, but afterwards whole *Cohorts*; yet so as no Soldier is dismissed with Disgrace. But at length the Troops observe the General's Conduct, and penetrate into his Intentions. They presently imagine that their Companions have been tried and condemned at *Rome*, and that they must undergo the same Fate. In this Apprehension, the first Expedient that occurs to them, is Desertion; and one *Cohort* is so bent upon it, that they strait march away, and post themselves near *Anxur*, in *Lautula*, which was the Name the *Romans* gave to the narrow Pass which lay between the Sea, on one side, and high Mountains, on the other. To these Deserters, all those whom the *Consul* had dismissed, or who were oppressed by Debts, resort; and by new Desertions, the *Malecontents* increase to a moderate Army. But still they are at a Loss for a Leader; and to supply this want, they surprise by Night in his Bed one *T. Quinctius* (an eminent Soldier, who had retired from publick Life to his Farm) force him to go along with them, and to lead them as their General to *Rome*.

§. 7. The City is so terrified at their Approach, that a *Dictator* is named. *Valerius Corvus* is the Man pitched upon, *Valerius* and he at the Head of an Army meets the Rebels eight Miles from *Rome*, in *The Corvus*, *Appian Way*. The *Dictator* had always distinguished himself by a tender Love for *Dictator*. his Soldiers; and these very Mutineers were a part of the victorious Army which he had commanded the last Year. He endeavours therefore to bring them back to their Duty by gentle Methods; and, advancing into the middle Space between the two Armies, makes a long Harangue † to the Rebels; expostulates with them on † Vide p. their 149.

their Behaviour; and concludes, with addressing himself to *Quintius*, as the Mouth Year of and Interpreter of the whole Faction. *Make your Demands*, says he to him; *ask ROME any Conditions, which are reasonable, and they shall be granted you. But what say I? Would it not be better to grant you even unreasonable Terms, than to spill your Blood?* At these Words, *Quintius* (who had been forced to take on him the Part he was acting) turns to the Rebels, tells them, that he can be of no Service to their Cause, unless in obtaining for them an advantageous Peace; and advises them to put themselves entirely into the Hands of the *Dictator* (who has a fatherly Affection for them) and to leave it to him to manage their Interests at *Rome*. *Quintius's* Motion is followed by a Shout of Approbation; and then the *Dictator* having given the Mutineers hopes of all reasonable Concessions, returns to the City, and obtains from the Senate, an Act of Grace, which is afterwards confirmed by the People in *Comitia*. And in the same Assembly, and at the Request of the Rebels, are passed some new military * Laws, which Revenge alone inspires them to demand. Particularly, they insist, that the Pay of the Cavalry be reduced: And this, because not one single Man of that *Corps* had joined them in their Revolt. (It is probable, that at this time likewise all Usury was abolished in *Rome*, and every *Roman* forbidden to lend Money upon Interest. Some Authors say, that two other Laws were also made at the Motion of *Genucius*, *The Tribune of the People*. 1. *That no Man should have the same Office twice within ten Years, or possess two different Offices in the same Year.* 2. *That the two Consuls might be both chosen out of the Plebeians.* But if these Articles were obtained at this time, it is evident, that the Rebel Army must have been exceedingly formidable.)

* Vide p.
150.

Usury pro-
hibited.

114th Con-
sulship.

Thus is Tranquillity re-established in *Rome*; but the Republick, by such Condescensions to Rebels, loses Credit among her Neighbours. §. 8. The *Pri-vernates*, in the following Consulship of *C. Plautius Hypsæus*, and *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, revolt, but are easily subdued by the Troops, which *Plautius* marches against them. He takes *Privernum*, and places a strong Garrison in it. §. 9. On the other hand, *Æmilius* spreads Terror in the Provinces of the *Samnites*, who are so weakened, by the Overthrows given them by *Valerius* and *Cornelius*, that they suffer their Lands to be laid waste, without Opposition; and at length sue to the Consul for a Peace. He refers their Deputies to the Senate, of whom they demand two things; *to be admitted into the Favour of the Republick, and to be allowed to make War on the Sidicini.* Both these Requests are granted, on the *Samnites* giving the *Roman* Troops a Year's Pay, and furnishing them with three Months Provisions.

412.

A Peace being thus settled with the *Romans*, the *Samnites* turn their Arms against the *Sidicini*; and these, in their Distress, have recourse to the Republick for Protection, and make the same Surrendry of themselves, as the People of *Campania* formerly did. But the *Conscript Fathers* having given their Word so lately to the *Samnites*, refuse the Donation, and leave the *Sidicini* exposed to the Fury of their Enemies. (Perhaps indeed the Republick might not think her self in a Condition to support a War with *Samnium*, and reduce the *Latins* (who had just taken Arms against her) at the same time; and especially since the ungrateful *Campanians* had joined the *Latins* in their Rebellion, to revenge the Indignities done the *Sidicini* by the Senate.)

The *Latins* form a great Army of the united *Campanians*, *Aurunci*, and *Sidicini*, and place one of their own Nation at the Head of it. However, these don't immediately enter the *Roman* Territory. They commit their first Hostilities in *Samnium*: But not being able to bring the *Samnites* to a Battel, they soon retire out of their Country. In the mean time the *Samnites* send a Deputation to *Rome*, to learn the real Dispositions of the Senate towards them. The Deputies address themselves to the *Conscript Fathers* in the following manner. *If the Latins and Campanians are subject to you, why don't you forbid them to molest us in a hostile manner? If they are Rebels, why don't you chastise them?* These Questions puzzle the Senators, who are unwilling to own their Weakness; and therefore the Consul *Plautius*, in their Name, gives an ambiguous Answer. *The Campanians*, says he, *are our Subjects, and we will therefore force them to desist from troubling you: But as for the Latins, our Treaty of Alliance with them, does not oblige them not to enter into any War, without our Consent; and therefore we can promise nothing in relation to them.* Thus the *Samnites* are left in a melancholy Uncertainty, with relation to the Intentions of the Republick. In the mean time the *Latins* and *Campanians* secretly combine together to fall upon the *Romans*, though, in Appearance, their Preparations are only against the *Samnites*. The Senate being fully informed of their Intentions, by some Friends to *Rome* among them, is for preventing the Enemy; and, in order thereto, for bringing on the Election of new Consuls before the usual time. But some religious Scruples, concerning the present Consuls holding the *Comitia*, being thrown in the Way, the Government is first reduced to an *Interregnum*; and then the

Centuries

Year of Centuries choose *Manlius Torquatus*, and *Decius Mus*, to be *Consuls* for the next 115th Con-
ROME Year. §. 10. At this time, *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and Brother to *Olympus*.

413. *pias*, the Mother of *Alexander the Great*, comes into *Italy*, being invited hither by the *Tarentini* to assist them against the *Bruttii*. He hopes to find as plentiful a Harvest of Glory in *Sicily*, *Italy* and *Africa*, as his Nephew would reap in *Persia*, and the rest of *Asia*. But though he gains some slight Victories over the *Lucani* and *Bruttii*, at his first coming, he is forced to seek the Friendship of the more powerful Nations of *Italy*, and particularly of the *Romans*, who readily make an Alliance with him, it being of more Importance to them to suppress the Revolt of the *Latins*, than to protect the *Bruttii* from the *Greeks*. And the first Step the *Consuls* take in order thereto, is to cite ten of the chief Leaders of the *Latins* to appear at *Rome*, and give an Account of the Preparations they are making against the *Samnites*. The *Latins* had chosen themselves two *Prætors*, or Presidents of their Diet (who were likewise to be the Managers of the War) *L. Annius*, and *L. Numicius*. These two being especially summoned by Name, assemble the Diet; acquaint them with it; point out the Heads upon which they presume their Examination will turn, and ask what Answer they shall make to the Senate. The Members of the Diet are divided in Opinion; upon which *Annius*, in a long + Har- + Vile p.
rangue, exhorts them to shake off all Dependance upon *Rome*, and to have no Al- 156.
liance with her, unless she will consent, that one of her *Consuls*, and the half of her Senate, be for the future chosen out of the *Latins*. And he offers to go in Person to *Rome*, and make this Demand in the Presence of the Senate and People, and even of *Jupiter Capitolinus* himself. This Motion is universally approved; and *Annius*, with nine more Envoys, appears before the *Conscript Fathers*, assembled in the *Capitol*. *Manlius*, the *Consul*, speaks first; and, in the Name of the Senate, forbids the *Latins* to make War with the *Samnites*. *Annius*, with all the Pride of a Conqueror, rather than the becoming Confidence of an Ambassador, answers, *That the Romans have chosen an ill time to give their Orders in such an absolute manner, when the Latins are in nothing inferior to them*. And then, he makes the Demand, before mentioned. *Manlius* is so provoked at his Insolence, that he declares, *That if the Senators should be mad enough to receive this Proposal, he would himself enter the Senate-house Sword in Hand, and kill every Latin he should find there*. He then invokes the Gods to be Witnesses of the Pride and Ingratitude of the *Latins*. Upon this *Annius*, no less transported with Rage, leaves the Temple, and retires with such Precipitation, that he falls from the Top of the Steps to the Bottom, and for some time lies senseless. *Manlius* coming out of the Assembly to dismiss the Ambassadors, and seeing *Annius* lying stretched on the Ground, cries out, *Happy Omen for the War we are going to begin! Can we any longer doubt whether there be a God, that governs the World; or whether we have Reason to dedicate this Temple to Jupiter? Why do we delay one Moment to take Arms, after so happy an Augury, so plain a Declaration of the Will of the Gods? I will hereafter lay the Latin Troops as low, as you see here one of their Commanders*. These Words inspire all present with an Ardour for fighting. The Senate instantly pass a Decree for a War with the *Latins*; and the People ratify it in their *Comitia*. The *Consuls* raise two Armies, consisting entirely of *Romans*; because they are now going to engage with their old Allies, and their usual Companions in Victory. §. 11. *Manlius* and *Decius* march into *Campania*, and encamp near the Enemy, at the Foot of Mount *Vesuvius*; and there, the Night before the Battel, they are said to have both dreamt the same Dream. A Man of a gigantick Stature, and majestick Look appears to them, and tells them, *That the Victory is decreed to that Army of the two, whose General should devote himself to the Dii Manes*. As soon as it is Day, the Generals communicate their Dreams to each other; and the *Aruspices*, being consulted, pretend to make such Discoveries in the Entrails of the Victims, as confirm the Dreams. Upon this it is agreed, in a Council of War, that *Manlius* shall command the right Wing, and *Decius* the left; and that he, whose Troops shall first give Way, shall rush into the midst of the Enemy's Battalions, and devote himself to certain Death, to save his Country.

In the same Council of War it is determined, that the ancient strict Discipline shall be observed; and that no Officer, or Soldier, shall dare to strike a Stroke, without express Orders, or out of his Rank. (This Precaution was necessary, at a time when the *Romans* were at War with the *Latins*, who observed the same way of fighting, and of marshalling their Troops, and spoke the same Language. But it proves fatal to young *Manlius*, the *Consul's* Son. Being at the Head of a Detachment of Horse, he accidentally meets an advanced Squadron of the Enemy, whose Commander challenges him to single Combat. *Manlius* accepts the Challenge, kills his Adversary, strips him of his Armour, and, loaded with the glorious Spoils, comes strait to his Father's Tent. Sir, says he, *I have followed your Example; I was challenged, like you, by a proud Enemy; and I here lay his Spoils at your*

your Feet. The Consul turns his back upon his Son, orders the Troops to be assembled, and then, in their Presence, makes him this Reply. *As you have been both victorious and disobedient, you deserve to be rewarded, and you deserve to die: You shall be crowned as a Conqueror, and punished as a Rebel, &c.* * When he has done speaking, he first crowns his Son as a Victor, and then orders the *Lictors* to tie him to a Stake, and strike off his Head. The Soldiers present are so moved at the Sight, that nothing but their Surprise hinders them from immediately revolting. §. 12.

* Vide p. 160.

† Vide p. 161, 162.

‡ Vide p. 166.

Decius devotes himself to the Dii Manes.

‡ Vide p. 168.

However, it is not to be imagined how tractable this Severity of *Manlius* makes his Army for the future, and how much it contributes to the Victory obtained a few Days after. [† *A Description is here given of the Order of Battel, in which both the Roman and Latin Armies, in Manlius's time, used to be drawn up before an Engagement.*] §. 13. The Signal being given for the Battel, the two Armies engage; and the left Wing, which *Decius* commands, being hard pressed by the *Latins*, loses Ground. This Disadvantage puts *Decius* in mind of his Agreement with his Collegue, and he prepares to make his Devotement to the *Dii Manes*. [‡ *The Ceremonies and Circumstances of this Action are described at large.*] The Death of *Decius* gives new Courage to the *Romans*, who, by the excellent Conduct of *Manlius*, obtain a complete Victory. Not a fourth part of the *Latin* Army escapes. [The Particulars of the ‡ *Action are related.*] §. 14. The routed *Latins* retire for the most part to *Minturnæ*, where *Numicius* (who seems to have been the sole General of their Army) exhorts and encourages them to try the Fortune of their Arms once more with the *Romans*. The Proposal is approved, and *Numicius* marches towards *Capua*, without Delay. *Manlius* being informed of the Enemy's Motions, hastens to meet them; gives them another Overthrow, and then enters *Latium* to lay it waste. He meets with no Resistance; the *Latin* Towns surrender at Discretion; as does *Privernum* in the Territory of the *Volschi*. *Campania* is likewise totally brought into Subjection to its former Masters. And now, the Consul makes it his whole Business to punish the Guilty, and reward the Deserving. He dispossesses the Inhabitants of *Capua*, *Latium*, and *Privernum*, of their Estates, and distributes them among his victorious Soldiers. However, the *Latins* and *Campanians* are not all deprived of their Estates, without Distinction. The *Laurentini* in *Latium*, and the *Campanian* Knights, to the Number of one thousand six hundred, had not been concerned in the Revolt; and they are therefore continued in their Possessions and Privileges. Nay, the latter are made *Citizens* of *Rome*; but without Right of Suffrage: And an annual Pension, to the Value of near forty Shillings, is assigned each of them for ever, out of the publick Revenues of *Campania*.

[*Manlius* had deserved the Honours of a Triumph, and doubtless he obtained them: But he could not recover the Good-will of the *Roman* Youth, who bore him an eternal Hatred for his Severity. It is possible, that his Uneasiness at this might have an effect upon his Health; for he soon after fell sick: And though his Presence was wanted in the Field, to oppose some fresh Incursions of the *Antiates*, he chose rather to name a Dictator, than return to the War.] He nominates *L. Papirius Crassus* to the Dictatorship, who keeps his Troops some Months in the Field at free Quarter, and then returns to *Rome* to preside at the Election of new Consuls. §. 15. It had been customary for some time past to choose one of the two Consuls out of the *Plebeians*. Accordingly *Q. Publilius*, a *Plebeian*, is now joined with *Tib. Æmilius*, a *Patrician*. And the former proving successful in an Expedition against a Body of *Latins*, who had got together near *Ferentinum*, obtains the Honours of a Triumph. *Æmilius*, jealous of his Collegue's Glory, demands the same Honours, though he has not finished his Expedition against another Body of *Latins*, assembled near *Pedum*. But The Conscrip Fathers absolutely refuse him a Triumph, till he has taken that Place, either by Surrender or Assault. *Æmilius* highly resents this Refusal; nor did ever any Tribune of the People inveigh more bitterly against the Nobility, than the *Patrician* Consul now does. The Subject of his seditious Harangues is the unequal Distribution the Senate had made of the Lands in *Latium*; and he begins to create a Disturbance. The Senate, to put a Stop to it, order him to name a Dictator, under Pretence of carrying on the War with the *Latins*. *Æmilius*, to revenge himself on The Conscrip Fathers, nominates his *Plebeian* Collegue, *Publilius*, who appoints *Brutus Scæva* to be his General of Horse. *Publilius* immediately seizes this favourable Opportunity to establish the Rights of the People on a solid Foundation, and to make them equal to those of the Nobility in every Particular. And this he does; First, by reviving an old Law, That the Decrees made by the People, at the Request of their Tribunes, should be observed by all the Subjects of the Republick in general. Secondly, by ordering, That for the future, the Senate should consent to the Laws before they were brought to the Comitia; and That the People should put the last Hand to them by their Approbation: Whereas before, the Comitia drew up the Laws, and the Senate had a Power of accepting or rejecting them. And Thirdly, by getting it enacted, That

116th Consulship.

Q. Publilius, Dictator.

The Plebeians obtain new Privileges.

414.

Year of one of the Censors should always for the future be a Plebeian. §. 16. The Senate being much mortified at this downfall of the *Patricians*, resolve to revenge themselves on *Æmilius*; and knowing how tender he is of his Honour, attack him on that side. To shew the *Romans* how negligently he had conducted the War against the *Latins*, they order the new Consuls, *L. Furius Camillus*, Grandson of the 117th Consul, Great *Camillus*, and *C. Mænius*, a *Plebeian*, to undertake the same Enterprize, and to lay Siege to *Pedum*. And that the Generals may not be foiled in the Attempt, they plentifully furnish them with Men, Ammunition, Arms, and proper Engines. Upon the Report of *Camillus's* march to besiege *Pedum*, the Inhabitants of *Tybur*, *Præneste*, *Aricia*, *Lavinium*, *Velitræ*, and *Antium*, hasten to relieve the Place. But these Troops are defeated; and *Camillus*, the same Day, takes the Town by Assault. The Consuls having finished the War, and totally subdued *Latium*, return to *Rome*, where they not only have the Honours of a Triumph, but, by order of the Republick, two *Equestrian* Statues are erected for them in the Place of Harangues. And now the great Affair in the Senate is to determine the Fate of the Conquered; whether utterly to exterminate them, or to admit them to the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*, and thereby increase the Number of the Subjects of *Rome*. *Camillus* moves for the latter; and the Senate in general are inclined to Clemency: But as some of the *Latin* Cities have been more criminal than others, they make a Distinction in their Treatment of them. *Lavinium*, *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, are made *Roman Municipia*; the Soldiers are incorporated in the *Legions*, and are no longer upon the Foot of Auxiliaries. *Tusculum* had had the same Privilege before, and it is now confirmed. But *Velitræ* is razed, and its Senate and Inhabitants banished to another City, beyond the *Tyber*; because it had rebelled, after it had been a *Roman Colony* a hundred and fifty Years. *Antium* is not destroyed; but its Fleet is partly burnt, and partly carried away. With the brass Beaks of these Vessels, the Consul *Mænius* adorns The Tribune of Harangues, and from thence it is ever after called The *Rostra*. The Inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Præneste* are deprived of all their Lands, having formerly assisted the *Gauls*; and lastly, all the *Latins* in general are forbidden to assemble their Diets as usual, to marry out of their respective Cities, or to have common Markets and Fairs for Trade. The Cities of *Fundi* and *Formiæ* have the Right of *Citizenship* granted them, but not the Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia* by Tribes, or *Centuries*. They are thus rewarded, for having always allowed the *Romans* free Passage through their Lands. As for *Cumæ*, and *Suessula*, and the other Cities of *Campania*, they are put upon the same Foot as *Capua*, i. e. their Lands are all divided among the *Romans*. Thus a three Years War ends in the subduing of two fine Countries to the Republick; and the *Latins*, from being the Allies of *Rome*, become her Subjects. *Latium and Campania totally subdued.*

BOOK XVII.

§. 1. *R*OME had never been in a better Condition to attempt the Conquest of all *Italy*, than now; when the Equality, established between the two Orders of Men in the Republick, produced a perfect Tranquillity at home. Intestine Broils, and civil Contentions for Power, had often retarded her Conquests abroad. But now the *Plebeians* shared all the great Offices in the State, with the *Patricians*; the Consulship, *Quæstorship*, *Ædileship*, and *Censorship*. And tho' for the most part the Senators were chosen out of the Nobility, yet the People on the other hand, had their *Tribunes* and *Comitia*, with a Power to annul or confirm the Decrees of The *Conscrip*t Fathers; and this was so weighty a Prerogative, that the *Plebeian* Party might be said to have had the Advantage over the *Patrician*, had not the *Prætor*, who was the sole Judge in civil Causes, been chosen only out of the latter.

416. §. 2. And now, when *C. Sulpicius Longus*, and *P. Ælius Pætus* are Consuls, *Rome* has no Enemies. Her Neighbours seem all to respect and fear her; but at the same time quarrel among themselves. The *Sidicini* take Arms against the *Aurunci*, who had submitted to the *Romans*, in the Consulship of *T. Manlius*, and had continued faithful to the Republick amidst all the Confusions of the *Latin* War. The Consuls are ordered to raise an Army for the Defence of these faithful Allies, but are so indolent in the Matter, that they suffer the *Sidicini* to dispossess the *Aurunci* of their capital City, without moving to their Relief. This is such an Indignity, brought upon the Republick by her Governors, that to punish them for it, she obliges them to name a *Dictator*: But upon some pretended Defect in the Inauguration of this new Magistrate, the Consuls enter again upon their Office. *118th Consulship.*

h

And

And now the People give the last Wound to the Power of the Nobility. The Year of *Prætorship* is the only great Dignity, which the *Plebeians* do not share with the *Patricians*. *Publius* stands Candidate for that Office; and though the *Consul Sulpicius* refuses to admit his Name among those of the other Candidates, yet upon a *Plebeian* Hearing before the Senate, *The Conscrip Fathers* pronounce in his Favour. They judge it unreasonable that a *Plebeian*, who has been *Consul* and *Dictator*, should be excluded the *Prætorship*. And thus the People being arrived at the height of their Desires, all Pretences for Faction are entirely taken away. From this time the Republick makes it her Business to honour Merit only, without regard to the Condition of the Person in whom it is found. So that this may more properly, than any of the former, be called, *The Age of Roman Virtue*.

119th Consulship. §. 3. The Republick had neglected the last Year to revenge the *Aurunci* on their Enemies, the *Sidicini*. But now the new *Consuls*, *L. Papirius*, and *Cæso Duilius*, are ordered to march an Army to the Assistance of her Allies. The *Aufones* had joined the *Sidicini*, but these united Forces are easily defeated; the near Neighbourhood of their Cities make them the more ready to fly and seek Shelter behind their Walls. So that the *Consuls* return without reaping much Glory from the Campaign. § 4. 417.

120th Consulship. But in the following Consulship of *M. Valerius Corvus*, and *M. Attilius Regulus*, the former (to whom his Coll-gue, at the Request of the Senate, had yielded the Command of the Army, without drawing Lots) lays Siege to *Calé*, the only City of the *Aufones*. He invents * Covered Galleries, and Moveable Towers, for the screening of his Men, and the better carrying on of the Attacks; and at length takes the Place by Assault. After this, both *Consuls* march against the *Sidicini*, having first nominated a *Dictator* to preside at the ensuing Elections. And notwithstanding that *Valerius* and *Attilius* use all Expedition to finish their Conquest before the Expiration of their Year, they are forced to leave the Completion of it to *T. Veturius Calvinus*, and *Sp. Postumius Albinus*, their Successors. §. 5. As soon as these new *Consuls* are named, they, to make themselves acceptable to the Commons, sollicit and obtain a Decree for settling a Colony of *Roman Citizens* at *Calé*, and dividing the District of that City among them. And that the Distribution of the Lands may be made the more equally, the Senate chuses out three Men of known Equity to conduct and settle the Colony, consisting of two thousand five hundred Men. 418.

* Vide p. 190.

121st Consulship. 419.

The *Romans* seem at this time to have made some Alterations in their Customs. Formerly the new *Consuls* raised a new Army upon every Succession: But now an Army, once raised, passed from one *Consul* to his Successor, at least till the end of the War which had been begun. Accordingly, *Veturius* and *Postumius* put themselves at the Head of the Troops which *Corvus* had commanded, and enter the Country of the *Sidicini*; who avoid a Battel, suffer their Territory to be laid waste, and appear no more in the Field. Nevertheless, a Report is spread at *Rome*, after the return of the *Consuls*, that the *Sidicini* have assembled a formidable Army, and are joined by the *Samnites*. Upon this the *Consuls*, by order of the Senate, nominate a *Dictator*; but he soon abdicates, upon some pretended Defect in his Inauguration. Nay, Superstition prevails so far at this time, that because a Plague rages at *Rome*, and because the College of *Augurs* declare, that all the *Auspices* of the Year have been infected by the contagious Air, the chief Magistrates are all displaced, and the Republick falls into an *Interregnum*.

122d Consulship. [§. 6. Livy says nothing of what happened in the Year 420. when *L. Papirius* 420.
Cursor, and *C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus* were *Consuls*, according to the *Fasti Capito-*

123d Consulship. lini. It was probably a Year barren of Events.] §. 7. In the succeeding Consulship of *A. Cornelius*, and *Cn. Domitius*, the Republick is alarmed by a Rumour, that those terrible Enemies, the *Gauls*, are preparing for a War. A *Dictator* is immediately nominated; but while he is raising an Army, News comes that all is quiet among the *Gauls*, but that the *Samnites* are forming ill Designs against the *Roman* State. These were indeed forming an Army, but it was to defend *Italy* against *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; who, under pretence of succouring the *Tarentini*, then at War with the *Lucani* and *Bruttii*, had made a Descent at *Pæstum*, and began to grow formidable to all the eastern Parts of *Italy*. [What suspended the Progress of his Arms, is unknown; but after some small Advantages obtained against the Enemies of the *Tarentini*; and after making a Treaty with the *Romans*, *Metapontini*, and *Pedicoli*, he left *Italy*.] And now the *Romans* being freed from the Fear of the *Gauls* on one hand, and of the *Samnites* on the other, apply themselves to works of Peace. The late Addition of so many new *Citizens*, makes it necessary to take a new *Census*, and to increase the Number of the *Tribes*. To the twenty seven already in being, are added the *Mæcian* and the *Scaptian*; the first near *Lanuvium*, the second between *Tybur* and *Præneste*. §. 8. But in the beginning of the following Consulship of *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Valerius Potitus*, and while the Republick is enjoying perfect Tranquillity, a new kind of Monsters spring 421.

124th Consulship. 422.

Year of spring up in her Bosom, which she had never heard of before. Some Women of *ROME* Distinction, to the Number of a hundred and seventy, according to some, or three hundred and sixty, according to others, form a Plot to poison their Husbands, and take the Opportunity of an epidemical Diltemper to put their Design in execution. Their Wickedness is discovered to *Fabius*, the *Curule Ædile*, by a Slave of one of the Ladies; and two of the Prisoners, *Sergia* and *Cornelia*, are brought before the Assembly of the People, where they deny, that in the Medicines, which they have prepared, and which have been found with them, there are any poisonous Ingredients. The Slave, to verify her Accusation, proposes, that the two Ladies should take their own Potions, and the Experiment is ordered to be made. Upon this, *Cornelia* and *Sergia* desire to confer with their Accomplices, which being granted, they all agree to drink their own Poison, and so deliver themselves from a more lingering Death. The Republick ascribe this unheard of Prodigy to a Spirit of Madness, sent as a Punishment from the angry Gods; to appease whom, they nominate a *Dictator*, to drive a Nail into the Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

423. §. 9. But this transient *Dictatorship* soon gives way to the *Consulship* 125th Con-
of *L. Papirius Crassus*, and *L. Plautius Venno*; in the beginning of whose Admi-
nistration, a Deputation comes from the *Poluscani*, and the Inhabitants of *Fabra-*
teria (both in the Territory of the *Volscei*) to demand Protection against the *Sam-*
nites. The *Romans* desire the latter to put a Stop to their Hostilities. The *Sam-*
nites comply, and the Republick immediately turns her Arms against the *Priver-*
nates. These Rebels, in Conjunction with the Inhabitants of *Fundi*, are headed by
Vitruvius Vaccus, a *Roman Citizen*, who, through the Vanity of commanding an
Army, had engaged some of his Countrymen to revolt: But he dares not keep the
Field when the *Consuls* appear. He flies for Refuge to *Privernum*. *Plautius*, with
one part of the Army, enters the Territory of *Fundi*, the Senators of which City
come out to meet him, and excuse themselves from having any Share in the Re-
volt. The *Consul* writes to *Rome* in their Favour, and then marches to rejoin his
Colleague, who has already blocked up *Privernum*. But while that Siege is carrying
on, one of the *Consuls* is called back to *Rome*, to preside in the *Comitia* for electing
new *Consuls*. The *Romans* were the Terror of their Neighbours, but the *Gauls* in
Italy were the Terror of the *Romans*. And the latter being alarmed at the News
of the former's being in motion, think fit to bring on the Elections before the
usual time, in order to provide fit Generals for so important a War. Nevertheless,
in the midst of these Apprehensions, they don't forget their Diversions. They
build sumptuous Porticoes at the Entrance of the *Circus*, for a Shelter to the Hor-
ses, which were before so exposed to the Sun, that they were often fatigued before
they began the Race.

424. §. 10. But now the Siege of *Privernum*, and the
Threatnings of the *Gauls*, engage all the Attention of the *Romans*. *L. Æmilius* 126th Con-
and *C. Plautius* enter upon the *Consulship* the very Day of their Election, and they
draw Lots for their Commands. It falls to *Æmilius* to act against the *Gauls*, while
his Colleague is to carry on the Siege of *Privernum*. How much the very Shadow
of the *Gauls* terrified *Rome*, may be judged of by the extraordinary Preparations
made at this time to oppose them. The Levies are made with the utmost Rigour.
No Excuse is allowed. The meanest Artificers, and those of sedentary Occupati-
ons, are all put into the Roll. But after all these, and many more Precautions, ad-
vice comes that the *Gauls* are quiet; so that *Æmilius* joins his Colleague before *Pri-*
vernum. The Town is taken; and the Rebel *Vitruvius* being made Prisoner, is
condemned by the Senate to be first beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. *Æmi-*
lius and *Plautius* both Triumph on account of the new Conquest; but the former,
who had spent but little time before the Place, obtains the Surname of *Privernas*.
[And it is here to be observed, that the *Romans* are sometimes reproached with un-
justly giving all the Glory of an Enterprize to the last General concerned in it, and
who finished it; notwithstanding that the former Commanders had brought it to
such a Maturity, as to be past the Danger of a Miscarriage. But it is not consid-
ered that this Conduct was founded on wise Policy. By giving all the Honour of a
War to him who ended it, they excited all their Generals to do their utmost to put
a speedy Conclusion to their Expeditions.] §. 11. What now remains is to
punish the *Privernates*. The Magistrates are treated as those of *Velitrae* had been,
and are banished beyond the *Tyber*. But *Plautius* intercedes with the Senate for
those who have been taken in War. However, the Senators are divided in Opini-
on; and one of the Prisoners, by a haughty Answer, endangers all his fellow-Cap-
tives. Being asked by one of the Senators (who is for putting them all to Death)
what Punishment he and his Companions deserved. *The Punishment*, replies the in-
trepid *Privernas*, which is due to Men who are jealous of their Liberty, and think
themselves worthy of it. This Answer exasperates some of the Assembly, but the
wiser part cry out, That a Nation, whose only Desire is Liberty, and whose only Fear
is that of losing it, is worthy to become Roman. So that a Decree is past in favour
of

of the Prisoners ; and *Privernum* is made a *Municipium*.

§. 12. It was now

127th Con-
sulship.

customary for the *Romans*, either to send *Colonies* to the conquered Cities, or to give the Inhabitants the Right of *Roman Citizenship*. For they had found, to their cost, the ill Consequences of that Independence, in which they had left the *Latins*, after they had subdued them. In pursuance of this new Policy, they, in the Consulship of *C. Plautius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula*, send a Colony of *Romans* to *Fregellæ*, a City in the Territory of the *Sidicini*, which the *Samnites*, who were the last in Possession of it, had razed. The repairing and fortifying of this Place, and the planting a Colony in it, give Umbrage to the *Samnites*, and prove the Occasion of that furious War, which soon breaks out between them and the Republick. In the mean time the Inhabitants of *Palæpolis* make Incursions into the *Roman* Territory. (These People were originally *Eubæans*, who came into *Italy*, and built *Cumæ*. From thence they spread themselves farther; and a Colony of *Cumans* built *Naples*, or *Neapolis*, i. e. *The New City*. And finding in the Neighbourhood of *Naples* a Place ready built, they possessed themselves of it, and called it *Palæpolis*, or *Palaiopolis*, i. e. *The Old City*.)

425.

§. 13. The News of this Irruption of the *Palæpolitani* is brought to *Rome*, just when Preparations are making for a new Election of *Consuls*; but this Election is preceded by an Election of *Tribunes of the People*, in the *Comitia by Tribes*. And here, which may seem surprising, one *Q. Flavius*, a Man of an infamous Reputation, is chosen a *Tribune*. But the Case was this. He had been accused, not long before, of offering Violence to a Lady. *Valerius*, the *Curule Ædile*, was his chief Prosecutor; and the Evidence was so clear, that fourteen of the twenty nine *Tribes* had already voted him guilty. The Accused, in order to move the rest of his Judges to favour him, makes vehement Protestations, and calls Heaven and Earth to witness his Innocence. Upon this *Valerius* cries out with a louder Voice, *What is it to me, whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou art destroyed?* The *Tribes* are so enraged at these Words, that they acquit the Criminal by a Majority of Suffrages. *Flavius* soon after this loses his Mother; and it being then customary to offer Sacrifices in Honour to the Dead, he offers a great Number of Victims; and, in Gratitude to the People for their late Favour, distributes the Flesh among them. They, in return, now chuse him *Tribune*, though absent.

128th Con-
sulship.

§. 14. In the ensuing *Comitia by Centuries*, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, are chosen *Consuls*. *Publilius* marches towards *Palæpolis*; but finding that this Place would be difficult to be taken, while supplied with Men and Provisions from *Naples*, he prudently comes and posts himself in the narrow Tract of Ground between the two Cities. In the mean time *Cornelius*, who had posted himself near *Capua*, to keep the *Campanians* in Awe (who are thought to be gained over by the *Samnites* to join them against *Rome*) receives undoubted Intelligence, that the *Samnites* openly sollicite the *Roman Colonies* to revolt. Upon this, Ambassadors are sent to *Samnium*, and there meet with a haughty Reception. The *Samnites* complain of the Proceedings of the Republick, and particularly of the rebuilding and fortifying of *Fregellæ*, which, they say, is a Wrong done to the *Samnite* Nation; and they both reproach and threaten the *Romans*. The Ambassadors, without losing their Temper, propose to refer the Matter to the Arbitration of their common Allies. *Arbitrators*, cry the *Samnites*, *we will have none, but the Gods and our Swords! Battels will determine our Pretensions better than Words and Judges. Mars shall put an end to our Disputes in the Plains of Campania. Go, Romans, tell your Consuls, we wait for them between Capua and Suessula. The Ambassadors reply, We shall not observe your Orders in the choice of a Field of Battel. Our Generals will lead us where they think fit, and we shall follow them.*

426.

Such is the Situation of Affairs abroad, when the time comes for new Elections; and without recalling the *Consuls*, the Senate order a *Dictator* to be named. *Cornelius* nominates *M. Claudius Marcellus*, a *Plebeian*; but the *Augurs* pretend, that the Nomination is invalid; and though the People murmur at that ambitious College, who, they suppose, make Religion the pretence, when their View is only to wound the *Plebeian* Interest, the Government falls into an *Interregnum*; and when the *Comitia* are held, *C. Pætelius Libo*, and *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, are chosen *Consuls* for the ensuing Year.

129th Con-
sulship.

§. 15. These go together to command the Army, which *Cornelius* had led into *Samnium*, and have the good Fortune to be joined by the People of *Lucania* and *Apulia*, two Nations, to which the *Romans* had been in a manner utterly Strangers. In the mean time *Publilius* continues the Blockade of *Palæpolis*, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. The City is much straitened for want of Provisions. But this is the least of her Calamities. Four thousand *Samnites*, and two thousand of the Inhabitants of *Nola*, under pretence of defending *Palæpolis*, had forced themselves into the Town, and they keep the *Palæpolitani* in a State of cruel Slavery. But at length the latter having long waited in vain for Relief from the *Tarentini*, whose Presence they hoped would deliver them from the Op-

427.

Year of preſſion of their Defenders, reſolve to put the Place into the Hands of the *Romans*.
 ROME [The * *Stratagem of their two Governors, Nymphius and Charilaus, by which the* * Vide p.
Surrender of the Place was effected, is related at large.] But notwithstanding this 210.
 Succels of the *Pro-Conſul*, great Difficulties are ſtated againſt his having a Tri-
 umph. No *Pro-Conſul* hitherto had ever enjoyed that Honour; and the Senate
 were ſtill the leſs diſpoſed to favour him, becauſe he had been placed in that Poſt
 by the Suffrages of the People; whereas, the Senate had always named the *Pro-*
Conſuls till this time. However, the People prevail; and his triumphal Proceſſion A Pro-
 is in ſight of the *Conſuls* of the Year, who, though they have been victorious, have Conſul tri-
 not the ſame Reward. §. 16. The taking of *Palæpolis* makes the *Tarentini* umphs.
 jealous of the *Romans*, and their Uneaſineſs is much increaſed by the Conduct of
 the *Lucanians*, and *Apulians*, who had gone over to the *Romans*, and declared for
 them againſt the *Samnites*. Being very ready at Tricks and Artifices, they contrive
 one to deceive the *Lucanians*, and bring them off from the *Romans*. They bribe a
 Company of young *Lucanians*, of good Families, though of little Honour, to tear
 their Backs with Whips, and then to ſhew themſelves to the People; pretending,
 that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the *Conſuls*, to whole
 Camp Curioſity had led them. The *Lucani* were ſo ſtupid a People, that without
 examining into the Truth of ſo improbable a Fact, they demand a national Aſſem-
 bly, which being convened, it is there decreed, That War be declared with the
Romans; That the ancient Alliances be renewed with the *Samnites*; and That an
 Embaſſy be ſent to the latter for that Purpoſe. The *Samnites* can ſcarce believe
 the Deputation real; and before they will hearken to the Ambaſſadors, demand
 Hoſtages, and inſiſt on the Towns of *Lucania* receiving *Samnite* Garrifons. All is
 granted, and when it is too late to repent, the Cheat is diſcovered. §. 17. *Ta-*
rentum had now loſt its chief Support by the Death of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*,
 who, deceived by an Oracle (which had told him, that the Waters of *Acheron* would
 be fatal to him, and had warned him to avoid the City of *Pandofia*) left his own
 Country, in which were a City and River of thoſe Names, and met his Fate in
Italy, where there happened to be another *Pandofia*, and another *Acheron*. [His
 † *Expedition and unfortunate Death are related.*] §. 18. Whiſt the Affairs of † Vide p.
 the Republick are thus prosperous abroad, the poor *Citizens* at *Rome* have the good 213.
 Fortune to ſhake off the only Yoke which lies heavy upon them. By one of the
 Laws of *The Twelve Tables*, Creditors were empowered to ſeize their insolvent
 Debtors, and keep them in Irons. Theſe Wretches, till they had diſcharged their
 Debts by their Labour or otherwiſe, were in all reſpects Slaves, except in Name.
 They were called *Nexi*, i. e. *bound*, whereas the Slaves were called *Servi*. A young
Plebeian, named *Publius*, of extraordinary Beauty and of a good Family, had vo-
 luntarily made himſelf a Slave to *L. Papirius*, in order to pay his Father's Debts.
Papirius conceives a deteſtable Paſſion for the young Man, and upon the latter's re-
 fuſing to comply, cauſes him to be whipt unmercifully. *Publius* makes his Eſcape
 out of the Houſe; complains to the People of the cruel Uſage, and tells them the
 Occaſion of it. The Populace, in a Rage, oblige the *Conſuls* to aſſemble the Se-
 nate; and at the Intreaties of the *Citizens*, *The Conſcript Fathers* paſs a Decree,
 which is confirmed by the People in *Comitia*, That for the future, no Perſon ſhall be A new Law
 put in Irons, and corrected at the Will of his Maſter, till the Fault be firſt proved; and relating to
 That Creditors ſhall have a Right to attach the Goods only, and not to ſeize the Perſons, Debtors.
 of the Debtors.

§. 19. In the mean time *Rome* is embarrassed by the great Number of her Ene-
 mies. Beſides the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, the *Veſtini* had taken Part againſt her.
 Theſe were themſelves but an inconfiderable People upon the Coaſt of the *Adriatick*
 Sea; but they had powerful Neighbours, who, in all Probability, would take
 Arms in their Defence, if the Republick ſhould attack them. This Conſideration
 makes the *Romans* demur: But at length Pride prevails over Prudence. It was not
 for the Honour of *Rome* to let her ſelf be inſulted, without revenging it. The two
 428. *Conſuls* therefore, *L. Furius Camillus*, and *P. Junius Brutus*, chuſe their Commands 130th Con-
 by Lot, and it falls to the former to conduct the War againſt the *Samnites*, and to ſulſhip.
 the latter to act againſt the *Veſtini*. The firſt Step which *Brutus* takes, is to hin-
 der the *Veſtini* from joining the *Samnites*, which he does, by encamping on the
 Frontiers between the two Nations. He ſoon after defeats them in Battel, and
 takes from them *Cutina* and *Cingilia*. §. 20. But now *Camillus*, who had
 made it his Buſineſs to keep the *Samnites* upon the defensive in their own Country,
 falls ſick, and is obliged to return to *Rome*; and being there ordered to name a
Dictator, he pitches upon *L. Papirius Cuſor*, who appoints *Q. Fabius Rullianus* to
 be his General of Horſe. Theſe take Poſſeſſion of the Command of the Army in L. Papirius
Samnium. But there having been ſomething obſcure in the *Auſpices* conſulted be- Cuſor,
 fore their Departure from *Rome*, the Scruple lies heavy upon the *Dictator* when he Dictator.
 comes to enter upon Action. To remove his Uneaſineſs he returns to the City, to
 renew

renew the *Auspices*, but first forbids *Fabius*, with whom he intrusts the Command Year of of the Army in his Absence, to come to a Battel with the Enemy. *Fabius* ima- ROME
gines, that it is Jealousy alone which makes the *Dictator* tie up his Hands; and therefore being fond of Glory, and beloved of the Army, especially the Cavalry, he resolves to hazard an Action. He attacks the *Samnites*, whom he finds in less Disorder than he had expected, and he is very near losing the Day, when the *Roman* Cavalry give the Reins to their Horses, and drive upon the Enemy with such unexpected and mad Impetuosity, that the latter are put into Confusion, and entirely defeated. Twenty thousand of them remain dead upon the Field of Battel. §. 21. This Victory makes the young Conqueror grow insolent; and instead of lodging the Spoils of the Enemy in the *Quæstor's* Hands, to be sold for the Advantage of the Publick, he causes them all to be burnt, that they may not do Honour to the *Dictator*, by being carried in his triumphal Procession. Besides this, he sends the News of his Victory to the Senate, and not to the *Dictator*. An Instance of great Disrespect to the General, under whose *Auspices* he had fought. These Proceedings incense *Papirius*, who hastens to the Camp to punish his disobedient General of Horse. *Fabius* having timely Notice of his coming, and of his Design, calls together the Troops, and makes an Harangue to them, wherein he inveighs against the *Dictator*, *Whose Resentment*, he says, *not only threatens the Life of his General of Horse, but the Lives of many of the other Officers, and even of the private Soldiers, who had helped to gain the Victory. That therefore it is the common Interest of the Army to protect him; and That to them he commits the Defence of his Life and Fortune.* The Soldiers applaud his Discourse, and promise to defend him to the last Breath. But while these things are doing, *Papirius* arrives. He strait assembles the Troops; sends an Officer to summon his General of Horse to appear before him; and when *Fabius* is come near the *Tribunal*, and Silence is made, he interrogates him concerning his Breach, not only of the common Laws of military Discipline, but of his express Orders. *Fabius* has a bad Cause to defend, and his Answers are confused. He makes a Clamour, but all in vain. The *Lictors* seize him by the General's Orders, and strip off his Clothes. His Body appears covered with the Wounds he had received in the Battel. This Sight affects the Soldiers. He cries out to them for Assistance, and either by their Help, or by Accident, escapes out of the Executioners Hands, and retires among the *Triarii*. The Army is in a great Commotion, and much enraged against the *Dictator*, who continues inflexible, notwithstanding the Sollicitations of the Officers about him to mitigate his Resentment against a young Man of great Hopes, and of a Family so justly honoured in *Rome*. The Soldiers are just ready to offer Violence to their General, when the Night puts an end to their Mutiny. *Fabius* prudently avoids a second Trial, and escapes to *Rome*, there to present himself before less passionate Judges. As soon as he arrives, his Father (who had been thrice *Consul*, and once *Dictator*) thinks it necessary to assemble the Senate without Delay, and obtain a favourable Decree for his Son, before the return of the *Dictator*. Young *Fabius* has already worked upon *The Conscript Fathers*, and made them think *Papirius* both unjust and barbarous, when a great Noise is heard at the Door of the Temple where they are sitting. It is *Papirius* himself, attended by his *Lictors*, who are dispersing the Croud at the Entrance of the Sanctuary. Upon his Appearance the Scene is changed. He takes his Place; orders his *Lictors* to seize young *Fabius*, and is immediately obeyed. In vain do the oldest and most venerable Senators intercede for the Criminal. *Papirius* is inflexible; so that the Father of the young Man has no Remedy left, but to appeal to the People in *Comitia*, which he accordingly does; and though the thing be unprecedented, yet the *Dictator* forbears to dispute the superior Authority of the *Roman* People. When the *Comitia* are met, old *Fabius* and his Son ascend the *Rostra* with *Papirius*; but he sternly orders them both to go down, the Son, as a Criminal, the Father, as not being in Office, and having therefore no Right to speak from that Eminence. The *Fabii* obey, and immediately descend; but then the Father placing himself at the Foot of the *Rostra*, breaks out into bitter Invectives against *Papirius* for his Barbarity; cites former Cases, wherein such Faults as his Son had been guilty of, were not so severely punished; and in short says, all that can be said in so bad a Cause. But *Papirius* has, on his side, the military Laws, which ought to be inviolable, the Dignity of his Office, which had been treated with Contempt, and the Immutability of the Decrees of a *Dictator*. Nor was there wanting on his side a late Precedent, in the Case of *Manlius's* Son. In his Harangue, he reproaches the *Romans* with a Degeneracy from that heroic Love of their Country, which used to prevail over all private Considerations. He urges the ill Consequences to the Republick, of admitting Appeals from a *Dictator* to the People; and concludes, with asking the *Tribunes*, whether they are willing to answer those Consequences with their Heads. His Discourse throws both the People and their *Tribunes* into great Perplexity. They compas-

An Appeal
from the
Dictator to
the People.

onate

Year of onate the *Fabii*, but cannot condemn the Severity of *Papirius*, and are afraid of the
 ROME Consequence of so dangerous an Incroachment on a sovereign Authority, as that of
 accepting Appeals from the Sentence of a *Dictator*. Instead therefore of taking
 upon them to judge in the Affair, they only become Intercessors for the Criminal,
 and press the *Dictator* in the most earnest manner to pardon his General of Horse.
 The *Fabii* themselves likewise fall prostrate at his Feet, and become humble Sup-
 pliants. Upon this the *Dictator* orders Silence to be made, and then declares, that
 since military Discipline and the Authority of Generals are preserved inviolate, he
 is satisfied; and that he readily pardons *Fabius* in Deference to the *Roman* People,
 and the Intercessions of their *Tribunes*. Thus ended this Affair; and the *Romans*
 afterwards confessed, to the *Dictator's* Honour, that his inflexible Steadiness in the
 Case of *Fabius*, proved as conducive to the Support of military Discipline, as the
 Death of young *Manlius*, who was condemned by his own Father. §. 22. But

while *Papirius* is in *Rome*, the *Samnites* take Advantage of his Absence to insult his
 Army; whose Commander, *M. Valerius* a Lieutenant General, is so apprehensive
 of the Fate of young *Fabius*, that he dares not oppose the Hostilities of the En-
 my. He suffers a Party of his Forragers to be cut in pieces, rather than stir out of
 his Camp to relieve them. This Accident helps to exasperate the Troops yet more
 against the *Dictator*; who, when he comes to the Camp (with *L. Papirius*, a Re-
 lation of his own, whom he had appointed to command the Horse in the room of
Fabius) finds all his Men so ill affected to him, and so little disposed to gain him
 any Honour, that he has no hopes of making any Progress with them in the War.
 However, as the Enemy offers him Battel, and he cannot in honour decline fight-
 ing, he posts himself so advantageously, and draws up his Troops with so much
 dexterity, that it is not possible for them to be entirely defeated. When the Action
 is over (in which, though they had fought but faintly, they had not been beaten.)
Papirius acts a part which surprises every Body. He was of a Temper which could
 comply and give way whenever it was proper. Not one Officer or Soldier who
 had behaved himself negligently in the Fight, is so much as reprimanded. He takes
 care of the Wounded like a Father, and not only lays aside the Severity of a *Dic-
 tator*, but even the Distance of a General. He grows familiar, keeps Company
 with his Officers, and visits the Sick; and all this, without the least Appearance of
 Affectation: So that, in a Word, the Army, which had always held him in Esteem,
 comes now to have a most tender Affection for him. §. 23. The People in

429. towards their Commander, continue him in his Employment for six Months longer, L. Papirius
 and no *Consuls* are chosen for the Year 429. *Papirius* having now regained the Af-
 fections of his Soldiers, thinks himself in a Condition to undertake any thing. Ac-
 cordingly he over-runs *Samnium*, and reduces the *Samnites* so low, that they sue for
 Peace; which he grants them on three preliminary Conditions. 1. That they clothe
 all his Troops. 2. That they give his Army a Year's Pay; and 3^{dly}, That they
 get the Treaty confirmed by the Senate. As soon as *Papirius* has triumphed for
 his late Victories, he holds the *Comitia by Centuries*, where *C. Sulpicius Longus*, and

L. Papirius
 Curfor,
 Dictator.

430. Q. Aulus Cerretanus, are chosen *Consuls*. §. 24. And now when The Conscrip
 Fathers come to consider of the Peace, to be made with the *Samnites*, they disap-
 prove of the Terms offered by them, and therefore grant only a Truce for a Year,
 which the *Samnites* soon break. At the same time the *Apulians* revolt; and this
 obliges the Republick to divide her Forces, which are to act against these two Na-
 tions. But both *Samnites* and *Apulians* keep themselves so close in their fortified
 Places, that the *Consuls* reap little Glory from the Campaign. [The People at Rome
 are at this time struck with a sudden Pannick, for which no Cause can be assigned. At
 this time likewise an Animosity is raised between the Pollian and Papirian Tribes, which
 lasted as long as the Republick itself.] §. 25. The *Consuls* for the following Year

131st Con-
 sulship.

431. are that Q. Fabius, who obtained a Victory against the Orders of the *Dictator*, and
 L. Fulvius Curvus. They first march together against the *Samnites* (who had raised
 a formidable Army) and give them an entire Overthrow. [The + Particulars of the
 Action are related at large.] The *Samnites* impute so terrible a Defeat to the Anger
 of the Gods, whom they suppose offended with their Violation of their Oaths, and
 Breach of the Truce with the *Romans*. To appease them, they resolve to sacrifice
 the chief Authors of that Breach; and one *Brutulus Papius*, a Man of Distinction,
 but of a turbulent Spirit, is universally pitched upon to be the Victim. A Decree
 is passed, That he shall be delivered up to the *Romans*; and That the Effects and
 Captives, taken within the time of the Truce, and, in short, whatever their *Fec-
 tiales* had demanded, should be restored to them. *Brutulus* is put into the Hands of
 some *Samnite* Ambassadors, to be carried to *Rome*; but he kills himself before he
 gets there. However, they surrender his dead Body to the *Romans*, who, of the
 Spoil offered by way of Restitution, accept only a part, together with the Cap-
 tives, but reject whatever cannot be claimed by any private *Roman* as his own. But

132d Con-
 sulship.

+ Vide p.
 229, 230.

notwith-

notwithstanding this remarkable Act of Justice in the *Samnites*, they cannot obtain Year of a Peace. And now *Q. Fabius* leads an Army against the *Apulians* without his Col- ROME legue (who in the mean time has a Triumph at *Rome* for the late Victory) reduces them, and has a double Title to a Triumph, with which he is honoured at his return from his Expedition.

One *A. Cornelius* was this Year chosen *Dictator*, but it was only to preside at the Games in the Absence of the *Consuls*, and during the Sickness of the *Prætor*. However, *Livy* finding that at the time of the Defeat of the *Samnites*, the Government was in the Hands of a *Dictator*, ascribes, by mistake, that fine Action to him. The *Fusti Capitolini* rectify the Error.

BOOK XVIII.

133d Con-
sulship.

Caudian
Forks.

§. 1. **I**T had been a constant Maxim with the *Romans* to pardon the Nations which submitted, and to treat none with Rigour, but the proud and untractable. But their late Successes make them now deviate from that noble Rule, and reject the Petition of the *Samnites*, whom they thereby put under a Necessity of continuing the War at all Hazards. And while the Republick is choosing *Titus Veturius*, and *Sp. Postumius*, *Consuls*, the *Samnites*, in their Diet, appoint one *Pontius*, an able General, to command their Troops. *Pontius* exhorts the Assembly not to fear a War with a People, who had received Restitution of Wrongs with Haughtiness, and had refused Peace, when offered upon the most reasonable Terms. The Gods, says he, are now no longer our Enemies, Justice accompanies our Arms, and we cannot fail of Success. He then immediately takes the Field with his Troops, and encamps near *Caudium*, a little Town in *Samnium*, about which the Ground is very proper for Ambushes. When the *Consuls* are come within a League of him, he causes a Report to be spread, that the *Samnite* Army is at a great Distance from *Caudium*, laying Siege to *Luceria* in *Apulia*. The better to deceive the *Romans*, he employs ten of his Soldiers, who dress themselves like Shepherds, lead their Flocks into the Plain, and suffer themselves to be taken Prisoners. Being brought before the *Consuls*, they confirm the former Report. Upon this a Council of War is called, and it is resolved to march to the Relief of *Luceria*; but a Question arises, whether to go the farthest Way about, or a shorter, which is less safe; and the latter is chosen. The *Consuls* lead their Troops through narrow Ways, almost impassable, till they come to the Place, called since, *The Caudian Forks*. It was a marshy Meadow, shut in by Mountains, and so covered with Trees and Briers, as to be absolutely insurmountable. There was but one Way out, which was narrow and steep, and which the *Samnites* had taken care to stop up, and guard with Troops. The *Consuls* give Orders to clear it, but that is found impracticable; and now it is that they begin to suspect an Ambuscade, and that the Enemy is not far off. To avoid being invested they instantly turn back, but the *Samnites* have already blocked up the Way by which they had entered. When the *Legions* find themselves shut in, without a Possibility of escaping, their Consternation is inexpressible. The Officers and Soldiers fix their Eyes on one another, to see if they can discover any glimmering of Hopes in their Companions Looks. The *Consuls*, to put a good Face upon the Matter, order the Camp to be pitched, and fortified; and the Soldiers obey, though at the same time they sneer at the Precaution. The Lieutenant Generals and *Legionary Tribunes* come to the *Consul's* Tent, and a Council is held; but the Case is such, that there is no room for Advice. In the mean time the Night comes on, and the Soldiers, instead of taking any rest, spend the Time in discoursing on their unhappy Situation. On the other hand, the *Samnites* cannot come to any Determination what to do with their Enemies, who are at their Mercy. At length it is universally agreed to consult *Herennius*, the Father of *Pontius*, a wise old Man, whom they look upon as a kind of Oracle. A Courier is sent to him, for his Advice, with a Letter, to which he gives this Answer. *I advise my Son to act a humane Part, and neither to kill or enslave the Romans, but to open them a free Passage home.* *Pontius* is so surprised at this Advice, which he dislikes, that he sends the Courier a second time, to know whether there has not been some Mistake; and then he receives another Answer of a different kind. *Tell the Council from me,* says the old Man, *that I would not have them spare the Life of one single Roman.* The seeming Contradiction in these two Answers makes the *Samnites* imagine, that there is some Mystery in the Matter, and they press *Pontius* to send for his Father to the Camp, that he may explain himself. When the wise *Herennius* comes, he lets them know, that in good Policy, there is no Medium between treating the *Romans*, so as to make them their Friends, or destroying them absolutely. However,

432.

Year of However, *Pontius* and his Officers choose a middle Way, which their foolish Vanity suggests. They are for sparing the Lives of the *Romans*, but at the same time for treating them as conquered Enemies. Whilst the *Samnites* are thus deliberating, the *Romans*, as the only Method they can take, send a Deputation to them, to desire a Truce upon equitable Terms, and, in case of refusal, to invite them to a Battel. *Pontius*, with an haughty Air, tells the Deputies, *That the Samnites have no Battels to fight; That the Victory is already gained; and That not a Man of them shall escape till they have been disarmed, and have passed one by one under the Yoke. That, besides this, he expects that they will quit Samnium, and withdraw their Colonies from all the Cities they have usurped from the Samnites.* And he forbids them, to appear any more in his Presence, if the Consuls don't except the Terms proposed. The Report of this Answer throws the Legions into the utmost Despair. The Consuls are struck dumb, and dare not declare themselves for so shameful a Treaty. But *L. Lentulus*, a considerable Officer in the Army, and who had been at the Head of the Deputation to the *Samnites*, breaks Silence, and in a long Harangue, shews the Necessity of complying with the Conditions imposed, if they would save their own Lives, or have any regard to the Preservation of *Rome* itself. The Consuls therefore signify to *Pontius*, that they consent to lay down their Arms, and pass under the Yoke; and upon this they obtain a Conference with him. As to a Treaty of Peace, they declare, *That they cannot determine any thing without the Approbation of the Roman People, and the Ministry of the Feciales. That their Power extends no farther than to make Promises, and a simple Contract, which they are ready to strengthen, by giving Hostages.* The Stipulation is accepted, and the Consuls, Lieutenant Generals, *Questors*, and *Legionary Tribunes*, sign the Convention; six hundred *Roman Knights* are to be given as Hostages; and the *Samnites* are to have Power to cut off their Heads, in case the Republick does not perform the Consuls Promises.

§. 2. And now the fatal Day being come, for the *Roman Army* to pass under the Yoke, the six hundred *Knights* march first out of the Camp unarmed, and with only one Garment on; and these are conducted to a Place of Safety. The Consuls follow next, then the inferior Officers, and at last the Soldiers, one by one. The *Samnites* insult them as they pass; and if any *Roman* returns but a fierce Look, he is immediately knocked down, or killed.

The Roman Army pass under the Yoke.

The *Romans* could have reached *Capua* the same Day; but partly out of Distrust of that City, and partly out of Shame to be seen in so miserable a Condition, they chuse rather to lie on the Ground in the open Air, without Food or Refreshment. The next Day the *Capuans* send Clothes, Horses, and Arms to the Consuls, and Refreshment for the whole Army. Nevertheless, the *Romans* are so overwhelmed with Shame, that they seem unaffected with this Hospitality. They keep their Eyes fixed on the Ground, and shun all Discourse. The next Day they set out for *Rome*, accompanied to the Frontiers, by the choice of the young *Campanian Nobility*, but they still observe the same Behaviour, and shew the same Dejection of Mind; which when it is reported to the Senate of *Capua* by the young Noblemen at their return, it begets, in many of them, a Contempt for the *Romans*. One of them however declares, that he judges differently of the dumb Confusion of the *Romans*. *I perceive*, says he, *in this obstinate Silence, the Marks of a Rage, which ferments without evaporating. Their Eyes, fixed upon the Ground, shew how much their Thoughts are bent on Revenge; and their refusing to be comforted, is a Proof, that they will never forgive the Affront they have received. The Romans will have it always before their Eyes; but the Samnites will not always have Caudian Forks to shut them up in.*

In the mean time the People at *Rome*, without Orders from the Senate, and as it were by tacit Consent, put on the deepest Mourning. No Invectives are spared against the Cowards (as they are termed) before their Arrival; but as soon as they appear, the publick Indignation is changed into Pity. Nevertheless, they do not enter the City till Night, and then every one steals home, and hides himself in his own House: Even the Consuls banish themselves from Society, after they have performed one indispensable Office, which is to name a *Dictator*. They pitch upon *Q. Fabius Ambustus*; but some Defect being found in the Nomination, *Æmilius Papus* is substituted in his room. However, the People are not yet satisfied. No Magistrate appointed by those unfortunate Consuls can please them. The Government falls into an *Interregnum*.

433. §. 3. And now the Republick casts her Eyes on two great Men who have been for some time forgotten, *Papirius Cursor*, and *Publius Philo*. These are chosen Consuls in the *Comitia*, and they enter upon their Office the very Day of their Election. The first care of *Papirius* is to obtain a Decree of the Senate, importing, that there had been no Defect in point of Religion in their Inauguration. The next thing is to assemble the Senators, to consider of the Stipulation, made with the *Samnites*, by the late Consuls. The *Conscript Fathers* being met, *Postumius*, one of those unfortunate Generals, is ordered to speak first. He addresses himself to the Assembly, with great Modesty and Humility,

134th Consulship.

The Method taken by the Republick to free her self from observing the Treaty made by the Consuls at the Caudian Forks.

* Vide p. 244.

military, owns the Treaty to be infamous, but declares, That the *Roman People* are Year of not bound by it, since it was made without their Orders; and that the Republick *ROME* is obliged in Justice to nothing more, than to deliver up into the Hands of the *Samnites* all those who had signed it. And he advises therefore, that the new Consuls raise a new Army, and lead it into the Field; but that before they enter upon Action, they surrender to the Mercy of the *Samnites*, his Collegue and him, with all the other Officers, who had been Parties to the Convention. The Senators are struck with Admiration at the Generosity of *Postumius*, and are universally melted with Compassion for so many worthy Men, his Companions in Misfortune. However, they all approve of the Proposal, except two *Tribunes of the People*, who, since their return from the *Caudian Forks*, had been raised to that Office. These contend, not only That the Motion made by *Postumius* is unjust in itself, but by no means sufficient to discharge the Demands which the *Samnites* have upon *Rome*: And that as to themselves, their Office is sacred, and their Persons not subject to the Decrees of the Senate. To the last of these Pleas *Postumius* replies, That the Senate may defer delivering up the *Tribunes* till they are out of Office, and then cause them to be beaten with Rods in the Forum, by way of Amends to the *Samnites* for the Delay. But as to the rest, he presses the immediate execution of what he had proposed, and offers such plausible * Arguments for it, that the Senate are charmed with his Discourse; and even the two *Tribunes* consent to follow the Fate of their Companions, and to that end abdicate their Office: The Republick, which till now has been sunk in an Abyss of Sorrow, is overjoyed to see her self delivered from a shameful Treaty, at the Expence only of a few Officers Lives, which she can easily spare. Nothing is talked of but the Generosity of *Postumius*, whose Devotement is compared to that of *Decius*; and the *Roman Youth* are so animated, that there needs no Orders to raise Troops. The new *Legions* are formed almost wholly of Volunteers. As soon as the Army comes near the Enemy's Camp, Preparations are made for surrendering up the *Roman Officers* in due Form by a *Fecialis*. §. 4. *Cornelius Arvina* is the Person appointed for this Purpose; and as soon as the Prisoners are brought bound into *Pontius's* Presence, he addresses himself to him in the following Words. Since these Men undertook, without any Commission, to conclude a Treaty of Peace with you, and committed a Crime in so doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free our selves from any Share in the Punishment, which they alone have deserved. Upon which *Postumius*, as if offended with what the *Fecialis* had said, gives him a hard Blow on the Thigh with his Knee, and looking sternly at him, says, I am now a *Samnite*, and you an Ambassador of *Rome*. I have therefore by this Blow violated the Law of Nations, and you are thereby the better authorized to make War upon us. But the *Samnite General* is not imposed upon by this premeditated Artifice. He lays before *Postumius* and the *Fecialis*, the Injustice and Baseness of their Proceeding. He tells them, that if the *Roman People* will preserve their Honour untainted, and maintain the Rules of Equity, they must either perform the Conditions of the Treaty, or send the *Roman Army* again into the *Caudian Forks*. And, as to *Postumius's* Behaviour to the *Fecialis*, he thus concludes his Discourse. Will you be able to impose on the Gods by these thin Disguises? Will they take *Postumius* for a *Samnite*, and consider the Blow he has given, as an Insult offered to the *Roman People* by a *Samnite*? Is it thus that you sport with Religion and Fidelity? Are such ludicrous Transactions becoming the Gravity of a Consul, and the Dignity of a great Nation? *Pontius* has no sooner ended his Discourse, than he orders his *Lictors* to untie the *Roman Officers*, and leave them free to return. You, says he, indeed have acquitted your selves of your personal Obligations, but can the *Roman People* persuade themselves, that they have discharged their Duty? §. 5. But now the *Samnites* repent too late of their not having hearkened to the wise Counsels of old *Herennius*; and *Pontius* loses much of his Credit, while the *Romans* look upon the Liberty they have obtained of making War, as equal to Victory. However, many Cities in Alliance with *Rome* being disgusted at her late Proceedings, entertain Thoughts of deserting. The Inhabitants of *Satricum* particularly join with a Body of *Samnites*, surprise *Fregellæ*, a *Roman Colony*, and having by a Promise of Quarter engaged the Garrison to lay down their Arms, burn them afterwards alive. §. 6. *Capua* likewise at this time prepares for a Revolt, and the chief Heads of this great City, enter into a Plot to shake off the *Roman Yoke*. This, with some other Alarms, induce the Republick to name a Dictator, the Consuls being employed in the War. *C. Manius* is chosen, and he appoints *M. Fostius* to be his General of Horse. The new Dictator's Commission extends only to his making Enquiry into State Crimes, and punishing them. And the Terror which a Judge, without Appeal, spreads throughout *Campania* is so great, that the Heads of the Conspiracy of *Capua* kill themselves, to avoid Punishment. But now the Dictator thinks fit to stretch his Commission; and pretending, that all intriguing and canvassing for Offices, is a kind of Treason against the State, he cites many *Patricians* to appear before him on Accusations

C. Manius, Dictator.

Year. of cufatious of that kind. In vain they appeal to the *Tribunes of the People*; nothing *ROME* can screen them from an absolute Power. However, as the *Dictator* is a *Plebeian*, and his Aim seems chiefly levelled at the Nobility, the whole Body of them exclaim against him, and threaten to prosecute him as a Criminal, as soon as his *Dictatorship* is expired. *Menius* is terrified by these Menaces; and though innocent, yet fearing lest his Reputation should suffer, he assembles the People, and to convince them of his Innocence, abdicates the *Dictatorship*, that he may be brought to a Trial. The *Consuls* are appointed to be his Judges, and they acquit him honourably. (It is probable that *Publius*, who was a *Plebeian*, shewed some Warmth in the Defence of *Menius*, and being thereupon defamed by the Nobility, took the same Step as the *Dictator* had done, and resigned the *Consulship*. He likewise was acquitted.)

§. 7. But the Republick having now but one *Consul*, it is thought necessary to create a *Dictator*. *Papirius* cannot nominate himself, but he pitches upon *Cornelius Lentulus*, a Man without Ambition, who chuses *Papirius* to be his General of Horse, and is governed by his Advice in all Cases. The chief View of both the Commanders being to deliver the six hundred *Roman Knights*, given as Hostages, and who are Prisoners in *Luceria*, they divide their Forces. *Cornelius* halts near *Caudium*, with the same Troops which he had delivered by his Advice out of the *Caudian Forks*. *Pontius* is in doubt, for some time, whether he shall march to the Relief of *Luceria*, or hazard an Engagement. He determines for the latter, and draws up his Troops in order of Battel. Upon this the *Dictator* assembles his Soldiers, in order to harangue them. But the Soldiers are so eager to fight, that they give no Attention to him. They press their *Ensigns* to march faster, and being spirited by Revenge to a Degree of Fury, they rush upon the Enemy's Swords, without observing their usual Order, or waiting the Command of their General. Nothing can stand before them; the *Samnites* are routed; and their Camp is taken and pillaged.

§. 8. On the other hand, *Papirius* having entered *Apulia*, and being assisted by the People of *Arpi*, old Enemies of the *Samnites*, lays Siege to *Luceria*; but is so straitened by the Difficulty of getting Provisions, that the Arrival of the victorious Army at his Camp is very seasonable. The *Samnites*, who have likewise an Army encamped near *Luceria*, finding that the Place cannot hold out long, resolve to give the Besiegers Battel. But when every thing is getting ready on both sides for a general Action, Ambassadors arrive from *Tarentum*, to put a Stop to all Hostilities by their Mediation; and they threaten War against which ever Party shall persist in carrying on the War. *Papirius* despises their Menaces; insults them with Raillery, and prepares to attack the Enemy, who decline an Engagement, and refer themselves to the Negotiation of the *Tarentini*. But the *Romans* being the more encouraged by this Timorousness of the *Samnites*, force their Lines, and make so great a Slaughter of them, that the *Roman* Generals are forced to restrain the Fury of their Troops, in regard to the six hundred *Knights* in *Luceria*, whom the Besieged might, perhaps, in Revenge and Despair, put to death. The Town is soon obliged to capitulate, and the Garrison offers to release the six hundred Hostages, on condition that the *Romans* will raise the Siege. But *Papirius* insists on something more, and will have them all pass, unarmed, under the Yoke, and *Pontius* (who had thrown himself into the Town) at the Head of them. The Conditions are accepted; and thus the *Romans* retaliate the Ignominy they had undergone at the *Caudian Forks*.

434. §. 9. *Cornelius* having laid down his *Dictatorship*, *Papirius Cursor*, and *Q. Aulius Cerretanus*, are chosen *Consuls*. The latter gives the *Samnites* a Defeat in *Apulia*, and takes *Ferentum*; the former takes *Satricum*, and at his return to *Rome* has the Honours of a Triumph, which he did not enjoy the Year before, though a more glorious one, because he had acted under the *Auspices* of a superior Magistrate. [The Character * of *Papirius*.] He appears no more in publick Business for some time. * Vide p.

435. §. 10. The *Consuls* who succeed him, are *L. Plautius Venno*, and *M. Fostius Flaccinator*; and they reap the Fruits of *Papirius's* Victories. Many of the *Samnite* Cities send Deputies to demand Peace; but these being referred to the People in *Comitia*, and the *Caudian Legions* making a part of those Assemblies, the latter are too much exasperated to let the *Samnites* obtain more than a two Years Truce. And now the Terror which is spread in *Apulia* by the *Roman* Army, which *Plautius* conducts thither, is so great, that the two Cities of *Teanum* and *Canusium* surrender, to avoid being pillaged. *Capua* likewise being so divided by intestine Seditions, as to be no longer in a Condition to govern her self, desires the *Romans* to give her a Governor, and new Laws. And now it is that the *Romans* first turn *Campania* into a *Præfecture*, and send thither a *Præfekt*. [The Difference between the *Roman* *Præfectures*, *Municipia*, and *Colonies*.] To keep *Campania* steady and quiet, the *Romans* erect a new Tribe there, called the *Falernian* Tribe, from the Hill *Falernus*; another on the Borders of the *Ufens*, from whence it is called the *Ufentine Tribe*. The Number of Men in *Rome* fit to bear Arms appears, by a *Census* this Year, to be two hundred and fifty thousand.

§. 11. ded to the This twenty nine.

- This happy Year is followed by another as prosperous, under the Administration of Year of
 137th Con- Q. *Æmilius Barbula*, and *Junius Brutus Bubulcus*. Several Towns are taken in ROME
 sulship. *Apulia*; and *Antium* follows the Example of *Capua*, in asking a Governor and 436.
 Laws from *Rome*. But this City is not made a *Roman Præfecture*, nor does she
 receive Laws from single Persons, sent thither on purpose. This is left to the Care
 of the Patrons of the *Colony*. (It was then customary, not only for private Fami-
 lies, but likewise for Cities, and whole Provinces, to have their Patrons, who were
 often of the principal Nobility of *Rome*. The Patrons of the *Municipia* were ge-
 nerally of the Families of those *Consuls* who had conquered them; and the Protec-
 tors of the *Colonies*, were the Children of those who had received the Commission
 to plant them.) §. 12. The succeeding *Consuls*, *P. Nautius*, and *M. Popilius*, 437.
 138th Con- are scarce entered upon their Office, when they are obliged to nominate a *Dictator*.
 sulship. L. *Æmilius* is the Person chosen. He invests *Saticula*, a City of *Campania*, in Al-
 L. *Æmili-* liance with the *Samnites*, and defeats the *Samnite Army*, who come to relieve it;
 us, *Dicta-* but his *Dictatorship* expires before he can take the Place. §. 13. And now the
 tor. *Romans* have got such a Habit of suffering none but *Dictators* to command their
 139th Con- Armies, that though the famous *Papirius Cursor*, and *Publius Philo* are chosen 438.
 sulship. *Consuls*, they name Q. *Fabius Maximus* (who had been formerly General of Horse
 to *Papirius*) to be *Dictator*, and to carry on the Siege of *Saticula*. While he is
 making his Attacks, the *Samnites* come and insult the *Roman Camp*, in which the
Dictator had left his Cavalry, under the Command of *Aulus Cerretanus*, his Gene-
 ral of Horse. *Aulus*, without consulting the *Dictator*, sallies out with the *Roman*
Knights, discovers the General of the *Samnite Troops*, rushes on him, and lays him
 dead the first Stroke with his Lance. But having penetrated too far into the En-
 emy's Squadrons, he cannot retire; and the *Samnites* give their General's Brother
 the Glory of revenging his Death. He dismounts *Aulus*, and slabs him when fal-
 len. However, the invincible *Roman Knights* dismount, and recover his dead Body
 out of the Hands of the Enemy. The *Samnites* retire towards *Plisfia*, and take
 that Place by Assault. In the mean time *Saticula* capitulates, and then the *Dictator*
 marches to besiege *Sora*, on the Banks of the *Liris*. The *Samnites* follow him to
 defend it; upon which he faces about, flies to meet them, and finds them about
 the *Lautule*, near the *Pomptine Marshes*. Night puts an end to the Battel fought
 there, the Success of which is doubtful; and both Armies continue their March
 towards *Sora*. §. 14. But now the *Dictator* chuses a new General of Horse,
 L. *Fabius*, to succeed *Aulus*. He orders him to go to *Rome*, fetch thence some
 fresh Levies, conceal his March from the Enemy, and post his Men in inaccessible
 Places, near the Town he is going to besiege. This is no sooner executed, than
 the *Dictator* pretends Fear, and keeps close within his Entrenchments, in order
 thereby to draw all the *Samnite Army* about him. Then on a sudden he hoists
 over his Tent the Red Standard (which was the Signal of Battel.) But before he
 engages, he first tells his Soldiers, that their Case is such, that they must either
 conquer or perish; That he has ordered Fire to be set to their Tents and Baggage,
 but that they may soon make up the Loss, by the Plunder of the rebellious Cities.
 However, his private Orders are only to set Fire to those Tents, which are next
 the Ramparts, and this is to be the Signal for the General of Horse to move. Every
 thing is executed with wonderful Harmony, and by this Stratagem the *Samnites* are
 entirely defeated, and their Camp plundered; and the *Roman Soldiers* have the far-
 ther Joy of finding at their return to their Camp, that their Tents and Baggage
 are not burnt. §. 15. *Sora* is still besieged in Form, when the new *Consuls*,
 140th Con- M. *Pætelius Libo*, and C. *Sulpicius Longus*, enter upon Office. They march to con- 439.
 sulship. tinue the Siege, and pitch their Camp so near the Place, that it almost touches the
 Walls. While they are deliberating upon the proper Place, where to make their
 Attacks, a Deserter from the Town offers a Scheme, whereby he proposes, with
 the help of ten chosen Men only, to put the Place into their Hands. The *Consuls*
 approve of the Design, and in order to its being put in execution, remove their
 Camp some Miles from *Sora*. This throws the Garrison into a kind of Security;
 and in the mean time the Deserter, at the Head of the ten Soldiers, steals into the
 upper City, by a Way thought impracticable, places his Men in a narrow steep
 Path, where they may easily defend themselves, and then runs into the Town,
 crying out, *To Arms, to Arms, the Enemy are in Possession of the Eminences which*
command the Place. A Fright seizes the Inhabitants; they rush out at the Gates,
 and the *Romans*, in the Morning, enter the Town, without Resistance. Two
 hundred and twenty of the Prisoners (who had been the chief Authors of the Re-
 volt, and of the Massacre of the *Roman Colony* there settled) are sent to *Rome*,
 where they are first beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. §. 16. The
 Destruction of *Sora* is followed by the surprising of three Cities of the *Aurunci*,
Aufona, *Minturna*, and *Vesfia*, the same Day. The *Romans* barbarously massacre
 all the Inhabitants. The rebellious *Luceria* is next taken by Assault, and a *Colony*
 of

Year of of two thousand five hundred Men sent thither from *Rome* to secure it, for the *ROME* future, against all Attempts. But notwithstanding all these Examples, factious *Capua* is again disposed to revolt, so that the Republick names a *Dictator*, *C. Manius*, to go thither, and keep the *Capuans* in awe. In the mean time *Sulpicius* appears with his Army near *Caudium*, where the *Samnites* have drawn together a great Body of Troops, and are waiting for the desired Insurrection of the *Campanians*, to join them. The two Armies come to an Engagement, in which the *Samnites* lose thirty thousand Men; and then the Conqueror marches his Army to *Bovianum*. §. 17. But though they are thus vanquished, they are not yet subdued. The *Romans* now chuse *L. Papirius Cursor* (a fifth time) and *C. Junius Brutus* (a second 141st Con-
440. time) to be their *Consuls*: But soon after, for what Reason is unknown, *C. Pæte-* fulship.
lius Libo is nominated *Dictator*, and to command the Troops. He repairs to the Camp near *Bovianum*, and soon after quits that Post to retake *Fregellæ* from the Enemy. Having done this, without fighting, he next appears before *Nola*: And thus the *Romans* are employed for two Years, in recovering the Cities, which the *Samnites* had drawn off from them by their Negotiations. §. 18. [The Ad-
441. venture of the *Musicians*, who at this time leave *Rome* all at once by Agreement.] 142^d Con-
§. 19. While *M. Valerius Maximus*, one of the new *Consuls*, is carrying on the fulship.
War against the *Samnites*, and *P. Decius Mus* is lying sick at *Rome*, News is brought thither, that the northern *Hetrurians* threaten the Republick. Upon this *Decius*, by order of the Senate, names a *Dictator*, and pitches upon *C. Sulpicius Longus*. But though great Preparations are made for the War, *Sulpicius* is not in haste to begin Hostilities, and his Moderation has its Effect. The *Hetrurians* keep quiet within their own Bounds. §. 20. But now the Republick is disturbed at home, by the Innovations of *Appius*, one of the *Censors*. He was an able *Civilian*, *Appius the*
and an Oracle among the *Romans*, in all knotty Points of Law, but a Lover of *Censor*.
Reformations, and one who took great Delight in overturning the most antient In-
stitutions, in interpreting the Laws, and in setting up for a Legislator. Hitherto,
none but *Patricians*, or the most considerable of the Commons, had been admitted
into the Senate; but *Appius* introduces there the *Libertini*, i. e. the Sons of those *The Sons of*
who had been Slaves, and had afterwards obtained their Liberty. Having thus de- *Freed-men*
based the Senate, he attacks the Priesthood, which had always been confined to the *admitted*
Nobility. The oldest Priesthood in *Rome* was that belonging to the *Ara Maxima*, into the Se-
which *Evander* erected to *Hercules*; and it had been given at that very time to an old *nate*.
Man of the *Aborigines*, named *Potitius*, and had continued ever since in his Family.
The *Censor* prevails with the *Potitii*, to resign this Priesthood to the Slaves be-
longing to the Publick, and employed in the publick Works. But if *Appius* thus
cast a Blemish on the Senate and Priesthood, he made his Country Amends, by the
useful Works he undertook, with Success. He made an Aqueduct seven Miles *Aqua Ap-*
long, and thereby supplied *Rome* with Plenty of wholesome Water. He likewise *pie*.
made that famous Road from *Rome* to *Capua*, which was called *The Appian Way*, *Via Appia*:
and which lasted entire above eight hundred Years. §. 21. But notwithstand-
ing these magnificent Works, *Appius* is hated by the greatest part of the Senators;
442. and in the succeeding Consulship of *C. Junius Brutus*, and *Q. Æmilius Barbula*, he 143^d Con-
receives a sensible Mortification. They complain to the People in *Comitia*, of his fulship.
new List of Senators, and get it cancelled, so that the Senate resumes its former *The Sons of*
Lustre. On the other hand, the People not only recover an old Privilege, but ex- *Freed-men*
tend it farther than before. By a Law in the Year 393. the *Comitia* had been em- *excluded the*
powered to chuse six out of the twenty four *Legionary Tribunes* in the *Consular* *Senate*.
Armies, consisting of four *Legions*. This Privilege had been, for some time past,
usurped from them by the *Consuls* and *Dictators*. But now it is decreed, that the
People shall, instead of six, name sixteen of the twenty four *Tribunes*. At this
time likewise, the *Roman* People, at the Motion of *Decius Mus*, one of their *Tri-*
bunes, appoint two Men to take care of the naval Affairs of the Republick. §. 22.
Whilst the *Romans* are thus employed at *Rome*, their *Consuls* prepare to lead two
Armies into the Field. It falls to *Brutus's* Lot to carry on the War in *Samnium*,
and to *Æmilius* to march into *Hetruria*. The latter finds the Enemy ready to lay
Siege to *Sutri*, a Town about thirty three Miles from *Rome*, and a sort of Key to
the *Roman* State, on that side. The *Hetrurians*, trusting to their Numbers, hazard
a Battel, and are defeated by the *Consul*, who obtains a Triumph at *Rome*. §. 23.
Nor is *Junius Brutus* less successful against the *Samnites*. He first takes *Cluvia* by
Assault, and then *Bovianum*, the Spoils of which he gives to his Soldiers. §. 24.
And now the *Samnites*, no longer daring to cope with a *Consular* Army in the open
Field, have recourse to Artifice, and endeavour to draw their Enemies into new
Caudian Forks. In reality, they allure the *Roman* Troops, by the hopes of Booty,
into the Forest of *Avernus*, where they have posted great Numbers of Men. But
the *Romans*, upon the first Discovery of the Ambush, draw up in order with so
much Expedition, and behave themselves with so much Resolution and Bravery,
that

144th Consulship.

that twenty thousand *Samnites* are left dead upon the Spot. §. 25. In the Year of following Consulship of *Q. Fabius*, and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the Tranquillity and *ROME* perfect Concord at home, to which so much Prosperity abroad is owing, is very 443. near being destroyed by the Ambition and Obstinacy of the *Censor Appius*. In the Year 322, a Law had been passed, enacting, that no *Censor* should continue in his Office longer than eighteen Months: But *Appius* refuses to comply with this Regulation, depending on the Favour of the People, who were pleased with his Aqueduct, and new Road. And indeed, of all the *Tribunes of the People*, *Sempronius Sophus* alone ventures to oppose this dangerous Infraction of the Laws. He cites *Appius* to appear before the *Comitia*, and there puts such Questions to him, as it is impossible for him to answer with any Plausibleness of Reason; and when he has done, he orders the Officers of Justice to carry him to Prison. *Appius* appeals to the whole Body of the *Tribunes*, of which, seven are against him; but three take him under their Protection. And as no Person can be condemned at their *Tribunal*, unless they are all unanimous, he, by this means, escapes, and keeps the *Censorship* three Years longer, contrary to the Inclination of the People, and the Interest of the Republick.

§. 26. But this intestine Disturbance does not stop the Progress of the *Roman Arms*. *Fabius* marches against the *Hetrurians*, and defeats them near *Sutri*. The Fugitives take Refuge in the *Ciminian Forest*, a Forest so thick and large, that, in all Probability, no one had ever passed through it since the Creation. *Fabius* is, however, for pursuing the Enemy into their hiding Places, but no Officer in the Army, except himself, is of that Opinion. They are afraid of finding *Caudian Forks* in *Hetruria*; and therefore seeing their General obstinate, they send Complaints of his Rashness to *Rome*. In the mean time he employs one *Cæso Fabius*, his near Relation, to examine the Forest, and the Places about it. *Cæso* disguises himself and Servant in the Habit of Shepherds; passes through the Forest into *Hetruria*; informs himself of the Nature and Government of the Country, and even penetrates as far as *Umbria*, where he discovers himself to the Senate of *Camerinum*, to be a *Roman*, and obtains a Promise from them to furnish the *Roman Army* with thirty Days Provisions, in case it comes into that Country. Upon the Report made by this Discoverer, the General enters the Forest with his Troops, and before Sun-rising, gains the Hill *Ciminus* (from which the Forest took its Name.) Thence he with Pleasure surveys the fertile Plains of *Hetruria*, and promises himself much Spoil, and many important Conquests. On his return to the Camp he finds two *Tribunes of the People*, attended by fifty Deputies, who had been sent by both Senate and People, to forbid his entering the Forest.

Whilst *Fabius* continued on the Hill *Ciminus*, he had sent Detachments into *Hetruria* to fetch off Booty. This had alarmed all the Country, and even the People on the Confines of *Umbria*; so that prodigious Numbers of each Nation take the Field, and come to *Sutrium*. To deceive the Enemy, *Fabius* pretends Fear, and keeps close within his Entrenchments. At the same time he tells his Men, that the *Hetrurians* are not so good Soldiers as the *Samnites*, whom they have so often vanquished; and by some dark Words, he makes them believe, he has a secret Correspondence in the Enemy's Camp, and is sure of Victory. In the Night he draws up his Army in Battalia, within the Entrenchments of the Camp, orders the Wall to be levelled, and the Ditch to be filled up on one side, and then marches out, and surprises the Enemy asleep. It is affirmed, that the *Hetrurians* had sixty thousand Men killed and taken Prisoners. The chief *Lucumonies*, after this Overthrow, send Deputies to *Rome*, to demand a Suspension of Arms, which is granted for thirty Years.

§. 27. But the *Roman Arms* have not the same Success against the *Samnites*. For though *Marcius*, the Consul, gains at first some Advantages over them, the *Roman Fleet*, under the Command of *P. Cornelius*, meets with Misfortunes. This was the first Fleet the Republick had ever sent to Sea. The Admiral makes a Descent at *Pompeium*, beyond Cape *Palinurus*, and his Troops, meeting with no Opposition at first, are by the eager desire of Booty, carried as far as *Nuceria*; so that the Inhabitants of the Country have time to assemble together, and intercept the *Romans* in their return. Few of them escape to their Ships. This News, with a false Report that *Fabius* had met with *Caudian Forks* in the *Ciminian Forest*, revives the Courage of the *Samnites*, and they give *Marcius* Battel, the Success of which is doubtful. However, the Consul being dangerously wounded in the Action, the Republick judges it necessary to name a *Dictator*, and casts her Eyes again on *Papirius Cursor*. But the Difficulty is how to get him nominated. It is uncertain at *Rome*, whether *Marcius* be alive; and besides this, the *Samnites* have stopped up all the Ways to his Camp: And as for *Fabius*, it is much doubted whether he will be prevailed upon to name his mortal Enemy to the *Dictatorship*, or whether *Papirius* will accept of that Dignity from him. To remove these Difficulties, the Senate pass a Decree, commanding *Fabius* to nominate *Papirius* to the *Dictatorship*, and enjoining *Papirius* to accept it. When the Deputies from the Senate

The first Roman Fleet.

Year of Senate come to the Camp of *Fabius*, and propose the Matter to him, he is struck with Surprise and Confusion, but keeps his Temper, and retires to his Tent, without coming to any Determination. But at length his Love for his Country gets the

Ascendant of his personal Resentment against *Papirius*, and at Midnight (according to Custom) he declares him *Dictator*. However, he shews by his Carriage the Struggle he has had to get the better of his Passions; for when the Deputies congratulate him on the Victory he has gained over himself, they cannot get one Word from him.

444. §. 28. And now the Republick thinking *Papirius* able enough alone to govern the State, chuse no *Consuls* all the Year. *Fabius*, however, in quality of *Pro-Consul*, continues to command the Army in *Hetruria*, and carries the War into *Umbria*, where the *Umbri* are defeated, and appear no more in the Field. But in the mean time the *Hetrurians* assemble the most numerous Army they have ever had, on the Banks of a little Lake, called *Vadimonius*, near *Viterbo*. All the Soldiers of it (according to some Authors) make a Vow, never to return Home, till they have conquered. And this they suppose to be the meaning of the *Lex Fabius de-Sacra*, by which they were bound. Others say, that the Governors of the Nation had ordered all the Youth to repair to the Army, upon pain of having their Heads devoted to *Jupiter*; and that this was what was meant by their *Sacred Law*. Be that as it will, this extraordinary Engagement has such an effect upon them, that during the Action, the *Romans* cannot imagine that they are contending with the same People, they have so often vanquished. The first Line of the *Roman* Army is cut to pieces, and the second repulled; so that the *Pro-Consul* is obliged to bring his *Triarii* to engage. But these being assisted by the Cavalry, who dismount, and place themselves in the first Line, the *Hetrurian* Battalions are at length entirely broken and routed.

§. 29. Nor is *Papirius* less successful against the *Samnites*, who, to give their Soldiers more Pride and Spirit, furnish them with finer Arms, and finer Habits, than usual. They divide their Troops into two Bodies, one of which they clothe in Stuff of various Colours, and furnish with gilt Bucklers. The other is adorned with silvered Bucklers, and clothed in white Habits. That the *Roman* Soldiers may not be surpris'd with this Novelty, their Officers inform them of it, and tell them, that the true Dress of a Soldier is a Sword and Courage. Gold and Silver, say they, are of no use in Battels, but to encrease the Covetousness of an Enemy, that is greedy of rich Spoils. True Glory consists in martial Bravery, and not in an effeminate Dress. Those who are poorest at the beginning of an Action, are often the richest at the end of it. Victory covers them with those Ornaments, which they have despised. *Papirius* commands the right Wing of the *Romans*, which faces the many-coloured Troops of the Enemy; and his General of Horse, *Junius Brutus*, commands the left, which faces their white Battalions. [The † Battel is described.] † Vide p. 287, 288. *Papirius*, after the Victory, returns to *Rome*, and having triumphed, deposits the fine Arms taken from the *Samnites*, with the *Bankers*, to adorn the *Roman Forum* with them: And hence arises the Custom of adorning the *Forum* with Spoils, on those Days, when the Gods are carried in Procession through the Streets of *Rome*. (The Triumph of the *Pro-Consul Fabius* had preceded that of the *Dictator*, and though less splendid, had been accompanied with more Applause, because he had had no Sharer in his Glory; whereas, the other had been much indebted for his Success, not only to his General of Horse, but to his two Lieutenant Generals, *M. Valerius* and *P. Decius*.)

Papirius is now grown old. He appears no more in any publick Station; but for the future, leaves all the Glory of heroical Exploits to his Rival *Fabius*. Of these two it may be observed, that the former had more Prudence and Temper, the latter was more bold and enterprising. And if (as *Livy* contends) *Papirius* would have put a Stop to *Alexander's* Progress, had that Hero come into *Italy*; on the other hand, had *Fabius* been a King, and commanded an Army absolutely dependant on him, he would have been another *Alexander*. In short, the one was born to be the Support and Defence of his Country, the other to be a rapid and indefatigable Conqueror.

BOOK XIX.

- 145th Con- §. 1. **T**HE Dictatorship of *Papirius* being expired, *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius Mus*, 445.
sulship. are chosen *Consuls*. *Samnium* falls by Lot to the former, and *Hetruria* to the latter. *Fabius* takes *Nuceria* from the *Samnites*, and defeats them afterwards in a Battel; but his Victory is so inconsiderable, that it would not deserve Notice in History, were it not the Occasion of raising up two new Enemies against the Republick, the *Marsi* and the *Peligni*, petty Nations in the Neighbourhood of *Samnium*. As for *Decius*, he makes such Progress in his Province, that all *Hetruria* desires an Alliance with *Rome*. But the Republick having formed the Design of conquering this Country, grants the *Hetrurians* only a Truce for one Year. In the mean time the *Umbri* take Arms, and confidently propose to march directly to *Rome*. This puts both the *Consuls* in Motion. The prudent *Decius* marches his Army by the Road, which leads from *Rome* to *Umbria*, and encamping in the *Pupinian* Field, covers *Latium*. But the enterprising *Fabius*, as soon as he receives Orders from the Senate to quit *Samnium*, crosses *Sabinia*, enters *Umbria*, and encamps in the very Heart of the Country near *Mevania*, on the Banks of the *Clitumnus*. The *Umbri* are terrified at his unexpected Appearance among them; yet nevertheless venture to give Battel. In the Action, the *Romans* hardly make use of their Swords; they beat down the Enemy with their Bucklers alone, so that little Blood is spilt; but the whole Army is made Prisoners, and the whole Nation soon after submits. The time is now come for a new Election of *Consuls*; and *Appius Claudius*, who has held the *Censorship* five Years, contrary to Law, stands Candidate for the *Consulate*, and obtains it. *L. Volumnius Flamma* is appointed his Col- 446.
league. §. 2. *Appius* not being qualified for the Command of Armies, the Senate oblige him to continue in *Rome*; and notwithstanding his Opposition to it, send *Fabius* in quality of *Pro-Consul*, and without any Associate, to command the Troops in *Samnium*, where he obtains a considerable Victory over the Enemy near *Alifæ*, or *Allifa*, on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*. In the mean time *Volumnius* is making War with the *Salentini* in the Extremity of *Italy*, with good Success, and for the first time spreads the Terror of the *Roman* Name in those Parts. §. 3. *Appius*, 447.
the *Consul* for the last Year, is now chosen *Prætor*, and the two new *Consuls* are *Q. Marcius Tremulus*, and *P. Cornelius Arvina*. The former is ordered to march against a Body of *Hernici*, who have taken Arms on account of the severe Treatment, which some of their Countrymen (made Prisoners in the last Battel of the *Romans* with the *Samnites*) have suffered at *Rome*. The Rebels lose three Camps in a few Days, and are forced to surrender at Discretion. §. 4. This War being ended, *Marcius* hastens to join his Collegue, who has suffered himself to be invested in narrow Passes by the *Samnites*. The Enemy, to prevent the uniting of the two Armies, give *Marcius* Battel, while his Troops are fatigued, and in some Disorder: But *Cornelius* judging by the Shouts which he hears, and the Clouds of Dust which he sees, that his Collegue is engaged with the Enemy, he leaves his Entrenchments, takes the *Samnites* in Flank, breaks through them, and sets fire to their Camp. The sight of the Flames totally discourages them, so that they immediately disperse and fly, leaving thirty thousand Men dead on the Spot. But this Action is no sooner over, than the *Romans* are obliged to enter upon a new Engagement with a Body of Troops, which are coming to recruit the *Samnite* Army. The Success of this Battel is the same with that of the preceding one; and the *Samnites* are reduced to sue for Peace. §. 5. Whilst *Marcius* and *Cornelius* are yet in the Field, the time comes for electing new Magistrates; so that a *Dictator* is named to preside in the *Comitia*. The *Consuls* chosen there are *Postumius Megellus*, and *Tib. Minucius Augurinus*. At this time Deputies arrive from *Carthage*, with a Compliment and Presents to the Republick; and some Historians say, that a third Treaty is now 448.
made with the *Carthaginians*. §. 6. *Postumius* and *Megellus* are both ordered into *Samnium*, each at the Head of two *Legions*. The former comes to a Battel with the *Samnites*, the Success of which is equal on both sides; but he pretends to be worsted; retires the next Night to the Mountains, and there fortifies himself in an advantageous Place. The *Samnites* follow him, and encamp within two Miles of him. Upon this he finishes his Entrenchments with all Expedition; leaves a sufficient Number of Troops to guard them, and marches out at Midnight with the rest to join his Collegue, who is in sight of another Body of *Samnites*, that wait for an Opportunity to engage. *Minucius*, by the Advice of *Postumius*, advances into the Plain, with only his two *Legions*, and offers the Enemy Battel. The Victory is long disputed; but at length *Postumius* appears with his fresh Troops, and then the *Samnites* can hold out no longer. They lose twenty one Colours. This

Year of This Action over, the two *Consuls* join their Forces, lead them to *Posthumius's* *ROME* Camp, and thence fall upon that Body of *Samnites* which is posted near it. This proves a bloodier Battel than the former; *Minucius* is killed in it, and *Staius Gellius*, the *Samnite* General, is taken Prisoner. *Fulvius Pætinus* (who had had the best Share in the Victory) is allotted *Consul* by the People to succeed *Minucius*; after which he takes several Cities from the Enemy, and is honoured with a Triumph at his return to *Rome*.

449. §. 7. In the beginning of the Administration of the succeeding *Consuls*, *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, the *Samnite* Nation send Deputies to *Rome*, to desire a Renewal of the antient Confederacy with the Republick. But the *Romans*, before they grant this Request, send *Sulpicius* with an Army into *Samnium*, to examine the Sincerity of the *Samnites*, and discover their real Sentiments. The *Consul* is received every where with great Marks of Respect and Friendship; and upon his Report of the seeming Alteration in their Dispositions, a new Alliance is made with them on the old Foot.

149th Consulship.

And now the Republick prepares to punish the *Æqui*, who, after having been for a long time faithful Subjects, have lately followed the Example of the *Hernici*, and gone over to the *Samnites*. *Feciales* are first sent to them to demand Satisfaction; but they receiving an haughty Answer, War is declared, and both the *Consuls* are ordered to enter their Country. The long Subjection and Inaction of the *Æqui* have enervated their Courage, and untaught them military Discipline. There is no Order, nor Subordination among them, nor can they come to any Agreement what Measures to take. At length they all unanimously leave their Camp at Midnight, and every one takes the nearest Road home. The *Romans* are surpris'd at the sudden Disappearance of the Enemy, and when they discover the Truth, resolve to lay Siege to the Cities whither they have retreated. They take forty one Towns in fifty Days; and these rapid Conquests spread such a Terror among the neighbouring Nations, that the *Marfi*, *Peligni*, *Frentani*, and *Marrucini*, all send to desire an Alliance with the Republick; and their Request is granted.

The Æqui rebel.

§. 8. The famous *Q. Fabius* being chosen *Censor* this Year, he makes it his Business to reform the Abuses, introduced by the ambitious *Appius* into the State. *Appius*, to make himself Master in the Senate, had brought the Sons of *Freed-men* into it: And, in order to govern the Elections in the *Comitia*, he had incorporated some *Freed-men* (who were wholly devoted to him) into all the *Roman Tribes*. These being cunning and intriguing Men, easily commanded the Votes of the respective *Tribes* to which they belonged. And thus he influenced the Assemblies to act according to his Humour, and occasioned endless Broils. The Republick herself had very soon rectified the first of these Disorders, and restored the Senate to its former Lustre. And now *Fabius*, to re-establish Peace in *Rome*, and the Freedom of Elections, reincorporates into the four *City-Tribes*, those *Freed-men*, who had been taken thence, and dispersed among the *Country-Tribes*: So that for the future they can influence no more than four *Tribes*, and in these they are not the strongest. A Reformation, so agreeable to the Republick, that she gives *Fabius*, on this account, the Surname of *Maximus*. The two *Censors* likewise, at this time, make an Ordinance, that the *Roman Knights* shall every Year, on the *Ides* of *July*, appear on Horseback, dressed in Purple, and crowned with Olive, and march in Procession from the Temple of *Mars* to the *Capitol*. After this pompous Cavalcade, the *Censors* were to review those fine Troops, give them Instructions how to regulate their Conduct, and inform themselves of the Quantity of Land which each possessed, and how long he had served. (By this it appears, how great the Authority of the *Censors* was at *Rome*.)

Fabius reforms Abuses introduced by Appius, the Censor.

A new Regulation about the Roman Knights.

§. 9. But in spite of all the care of the *Censors*, the *Curule Ædileship* falls into the Hands of two very mean Persons, the one a Native of *Præneste*, the other *Cn. Flavius*, the Grandson of a *Freed-man*, and whose first Profession had been that of a Writing-Master. This latter, at the Instigation of *Appius*, whose Secretary he is, puts frequent Questions to the *Pontifices* concerning the Calendar, and the Rules by which they settled the Days for hearing Causes, &c. and having by Degrees got the Secret from them, he composes a Calendar, transcribes it, and fixes it up in the *Forum* for the use of the People; who being hereby freed from their Dependence on the *Pontifices*, in this respect, are so pleased with their Almanack-maker, that they raise him from one Step to another, till at length they make him *Curule Ædile*.

Flavius composes a Calendar for the use of the People.

450. §. 10. The Republick being now in Peace with the *Hætrurians* and *Samnites*, is not very solicitous about chusing such *Consuls* as are Men of Ability in War. *Servius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Genucius Aventinensis*, are elected; and their Year is almost wholly spent in sending Colonies to the conquered Cities. However, the publick Tranquillity is for a short time interrupted by a Gang of Robbers in *Umbria*, who ravage the Country far and near. Their Retreat is a great Cave, with two Entrances; and the *Romans* having found them both, light great Fires at them, so that some of the Wretches (whose whole Number is two thousand) are stifled with the Smoke, and the rest throw themselves into the

150th Consulship.

- Flames. §. 11. This trifling Expedition is followed by an inconsiderable War. Year of
 151st Con- In the beginning of the Consulship of *M. Livius Denter*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus*, ROME
 sulship. The *Æqui* take Umbrage at the Colony of six thousand Men, which the Republick 451.
 has lately sent to *Alba*, and they lay siege to this Place. But *Junius Brutus*, whom
 the People name *Dictator* upon this Occasion, marches against them, and by a
 speedy Victory, puts an end to the War in eight Days time. After this he dedi-
 cates to *The Goddess of Health* a Temple, which he had vowed when he was *Consul*,
 and built when he was *Censor*. And this is the first time that History mentions the
 Use of the Art of Painting in *Rome*. *C. Fabius* (afterwards *Consul*) paints all the
 Walls of the new Temple in *Fresco*, and thence gets the Surname of *Pictor*.
 The Art of Painting first practis- §. 12. At this time *Cleonymus*, the Son of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, comes with a
 ed in Rome great Fleet on the Coast of *Italy*, with Design to make a Settlement there, and he
 by Fabius takes *Sybaris*, a City of *Lucania*. Being driven hence by the *Romans*, he makes a
 Pictor. second Descent in the Place where *Venice* now stands: But this Expedition proves
 as unfortunate as the former, and he returns to his own Country, after having lost
 five Parts in six of his Fleet. §. 13. In the mean while the Republick names
 Fabius *Fabius Maximus*, *Dictator*, to march against the *Marsi*, who have revolted, and he, 452.
 Maximus, by one single Victory, quiets these Rebels. §. 14. *Fabius* is succeeded in the
 Dictator. Government by another *Dictator*, *Valerius Corvus*. The Occasion of this is a War
 Valerius with the *Hetrurians*, wherein the *Romans* are engaged, by taking part in the civil
 Corvus, Broils of that People. The *Dictator* is no sooner come up with the Enemy, but
 Dictator. upon some religious Scruple, relating to the Ceremony of his Inauguration he re-
 turns to *Rome*. In his Absence, *Sempronius Sophus*, his General of Horse, impru-
 dently makes an Incurſion into the Country, falls into an Ambush, and loses a great
 Number of Men, and some Colours. The News of this Defeat causes great Ter-
 ror at *Rome*, and the *Dictator* hastens away with new Levies to the Camp. At his
 Arrival, he finds things in a much better Condition than had been reported. *Sem-
 pronius* has changed his Post for a more safe and advantageous one. The *Manipuli*,
 who have lost their Colours, are in great Shame and Disgrace without the Camp,
 where they continue Day and Night without covering; and the whole Army desire
 nothing so much as a Battel, that they may have their Revenge. *Valerius* seeing
 this good Disposition of his Troops, leads them into the Fields of *Ruffelle*, one of
 the twelve chief Cities of *Hetruria*. The *Hetrurians*, flush'd with their Success,
 follow him, and endeavour by a Stratagem to surprise *Fulvius*, one of the *Dictators*
 Lieutenant Generals, who, with a Detachment, has possessed himself of a Fort, at
 a good Distance from the *Roman* Camp. Their Artifice not succeeding, they be-
 siege *Fulvius* in form; and then the *Dictator* marching to his Relief, this brings on
 a general * Action, in which the *Hetrurians* are so totally defeated, that they soon
 after sue for Peace. The *Roman* People and Senate grant them only a Truce for
 two Years. §. 15. And now the Republick is so much indebted to *Valerius*
 Corvus, that she promotes him to the Consulship, a fifth time, during his Absence. 453.
 152d Con- His Colleague is *Q. Apuleius Panſa*. During their Administration, the *Hetrurians*
 sulship. and *Samnites* continue quiet; and the Republick enjoys an Interval of Tranquillity
 abroad. But as it had ever been the Fate of *Rome* to be in Commotions at Home,
 when she had no foreign Enemies, so now two *Tribunes of the People*, Brothers, of
 the Name of *Ogulnius*, endeavour to stir up the Commons against the *Patricians*.
 The only great Offices which the *Plebeians* do not share with the Nobility at this
 time, are the Pontificate and the *Augurship*. *Numa* had appointed only four *Ponti-
 fices*, and that Number had never been increased. The *Augurs*, though but three in
 Number, at their first Institution by *Romulus*, had been augmented to six. How-
 ever, the *Augural* College consisted now but of four, probably, by the Death of
 two. The *Ogulnii* present a Petition, to have four additional *Pontifices* chosen out
 of the *Plebeians*, and to have five *Plebeian Augurs* added to the four in being. The
 Matter is first debated before the *Curiæ*, where *Appius Claudius*, so famous for his
 Attempts to degrade the Nobility, becomes now, out of pure Caprice, their most
 zealous Defender. On the other hand, *P. Decius Mus*, who has been twice *Consul*
 and once *Dictator*, † speaks in behalf of the People. Afterwards the *Tribes* are
 summoned to determine the Affair; and there both Points are carried in favour of
 the People. §. 16. *Valerius* takes the Opportunity of the present Tranquillity
 to revive an old Law, made by his Ancestor, *Valerius Poplicola*, enacting, That in
 criminal Causes, the Accused shall have a Right of appealing to the Tribunal of the
 People. The *Patricians*, by their Interest and Power, had often hindered the exe-
 cution of this Law; but it is now revived and expressed in stronger Terms than be-
 fore. However, the only Punishment denounced against the Infringers of it, is,
 That they shall be deemed guilty of an unjust and unreasonable Action. A Penalty,
 which would have been of little Influence in a more corrupt Age, but sufficient at
 this time to restrain the *Romans*, who pique themselves upon their Virtue, and are
 never chosen to great Employments, unless they have preserved their Reputation
 pure

* Vide p.
312.

152d Con-
sulship.

Plebeians
admitted in-
to the Pon-
tificate, and
Augurate.
† Vide p.
315.

An Appeal
to the Peo-
ple in crimi-
nal Causes.

Year of pure and untainted.

ROME Consuls, the famous Q. Fabius, finding that the People are inclined to raise him again to that Dignity, though he has not entered his Name among the Candidates; and considering that he shall gain little Glory in a time of Tranquillity, sends to the Assembly, to desire them to reserve their Good-will for him to a more tempestuous Season; and declares, that a civil Employment, at present, will be more agreeable to him. Accordingly they promote him (with Papirius Cursor, the Son of his Rival) to the Curule *Ædileship*; and M. Fulvius Pætinus, and T. Manlius Torquatus, are 153d Consuls. 454. *Fulvius* goes into *Umbria* to carry on the Siege of *Nequinum*, *fulship*, which *Apuleius*, one of the former Consuls, had begun. It was situated on a Rock, and difficult of access, so that the Romans would probably have lingered a long time before it, if two of the Inhabitants had not betrayed it to them. The two *Nequinians*, whose Lodging was near the Rampart, dug a Passage under Ground, as far as to the advanced Guard of the Roman Camp. Being carried before the Consul, they propose to him to introduce a Body of Romans into the Town by the same Passage; and *Fabius*, after some Precautions, puts the Scheme in execution, and makes himself Master of the Place.

§. 18. In this same Consulate the *Hetrurians* break their Truce with Rome; but when they are preparing to enter the Roman Territory, an Irruption of the Gauls into their Country suspends their Design. They chuse rather to buy off these Invaders, than repel them by Force; and they farther bribe them to join with *Hetruria* against the Romans. The Gauls promise, but when their Promise is to be performed, they excuse themselves, unless the *Hetrurians* will assign them a part of their Country to settle in; and this is absolutely refused. At this time the Inhabitants of *Picenum* send to ask an Alliance with the Romans, which is readily granted; and then the Republick dispatches away an Army to punish the *Hetrurians*. It happens to be *Manlius's* Lot to command it: But this unfortunate General losing his Life by a Fall from his Horse, the Centuries meet to chuse him a Successor, and (which had never happened before since the Birth of the Republick) all the Suffrages are given for *Valerius Corvus* a sixth time. *Valerius* He is now in a very advanced Age, yet makes the Campaign with all the Vigour of a Man in the Bloom of Life. His very Presence so terrifies the *Hetrurians*, that they dare not appear in the Field, but shut themselves up in their fortified Towns. A sort of Victory, which does *Valerius* more Honour than the most magnificent Triumph could do, and is the last of his Exploits. [In what Year he ended his Days is unknown, but it is certain that he lived to above a hundred. He was promoted one and twenty times to Offices, which gave him a Right to sit in the Curule Chair; which can be said of no Roman but himself. When the Republick seemed to forget him, he took Advantage of those Intervals of Rest to manure his paternal Estate, and wholly employed himself in Agriculture. He was not only a thorough Patriot, and perfect Pattern of that Zeal which Men owe their Country, but was likewise an excellent Father of a Family. Great in Peace, and great in War, *Valerius Corvus* outshone the greatest part of those Heroes, who appeared in the most glorious and most virtuous Age of Rome.]

§. 19. Q. Fabius, in his new Employment of *Ædile*, shews how useful Men of superior Merit are in any Station whatsoever. There is at this time a Scarcity of Corn at Rome, and no Man ever shewed more Ardour to conquer an Enemy, than *Fabius* does to guard the People against Famine; so that the Poor owe their Lives to him. But now the Republick (whether by the Death of *Valerius*, or some other Accident, is uncertain) falls into an *Interregnum*. And when the *Comitia* are held for a new Election of Magistrates, *Appius Claudius* takes it into his Head to oppose the admitting of any Plebeian into the Consulship: But all his Rhetorick proves ineffectual, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, a Plebeian, is made Collegue to L. Cornelius Scipio.

455. §. 20. During their Administration the *Hetrurians* break their Truce, and the *Samnites* their Alliance with Rome. *Scipio* marches against the former, and gives them Battle; the Success of which is doubtful. However, the *Hetrurians*, after the Action, are seized with an unaccountable Terror, desert their Camp in the Night, and return to their respective *Lucumonies*: And the Consul pillages and lays waste the whole Country. This is *Livy's Account*. But the *Fasti Capitolini* make it more probable, that this Expedition of the Romans into *Hetruria*, was under the Conduct of *Fulvius*, who afterwards marched against the *Samnites*, and gained an unquestionable Victory over them, near *Bovianum*.

§. 21. Before the present Consulship is expired, a Report is spread of vast Preparations, which are making by both *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*, to attack the Republick once more. Upon this, her first care is to chuse able Generals for the next Campaign; and all Eyes are immediately turned upon *Fabius*. But he (from what Motive is hard to guess) declines the Honour, and excuses himself to the People, on pretence of his Age, and the Decay of his Strength and Vigour. And to shew that he is in earnest, he orders the Law to be read, which forbids any Man to bear the Office of Consul twice within ten Years.

Years. A Law made about forty Years before, but which had not been strictly Year of observed. The People being bent upon having *Fabius Consul*, drown with their *ROME* Noise the Voice of him appointed to read the Statute. And when *Fabius* remonstrates against this Proceeding, the *Tribunes* threaten him to get the People to dispense with the Law by a formal Act. So that, in short, he is forced to comply; but at the same time he desires that he may have a Collegue to his own Mind, and proposes to the Assembly *Decius Mus*, who had been his Collegue in his last *Consulship*, and with whom, he tells them, he had lived in perfect Concord and Harmony. The *Comitia* grant his Request, and those *Centuries* who have not yet voted, give their Voices unanimously for *Decius*. The rest of the Year is spent in restraining the Avarice of those, who, contrary to Law, possess more than five hundred Acres of Land.

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sulship.

§. 22. While the two new *Consuls*, *Fabius* and *Decius* are complimenting each other with the choice of the two Armies, which are to act, one against the *Hetrurians*, the other against the *Samnites*, an unexpected piece of News puts an end to the polite and friendly Contention. Deputies arrive at *Rome* from *Sutri*, *Nepete*, and *Falerii*, who all agree, that the *Hetrurians*, in their last Diet, have resolved to desire a Peace. Upon this, both the *Consuls* march into *Samnium*, but enter it different Ways. *Fabius* takes the shortest Cut, by *Sora*; and being informed by his Scouts, that the *Samnites* have laid an Ambush for him on the Banks of the *Tifernus*, and are waiting for his coming into a deep Valley, that they may fall upon him from the Hills, he resolves to attack the Enemy in their Ambuscade. The *Samnites* finding that their Artifice is discovered, leave their Covert, and draw up in the Plain. The *Consul* attacks them, but meets with so brave a Resistance, that it gives him Uneasiness. He orders his Cavalry to give their Horses the Reins, and to rush upon the Enemy with their usual Impetuosity; but this proves ineffectual. His next recourse is to Stratagem. He orders *Scipio* to take the *Hastati* of the first *Legion*, march silently round to the Top of a neighbouring Hill, and thence to fall on the Enemy in the Rear. And this Motion is made, without being perceived, either by the rest of the Army, or by the *Samnites*. In the mean time, the latter proud of having repulsed the *Roman* Cavalry, push the first Line of the Infantry briskly, and force them to retire through the Spaces in the second Line, which consists of the *Principes*. But when these begin likewise to lose Ground, *Scipio* appears with his Detachment in the Rear of the *Samnites*. *Fabius*, to encourage his Men, makes them believe that it is the Army of his Collegue, *Decius*, come to his Assistance: And the same Persuasion prevailing among the Troops of the Enemy, they immediately disband and fly. The Slaughter is not great, but the *Romans* take twenty three Colours. *Decius*, whose Name had been of Service in this Action, had likewise, in another respect, contributed to the Victory, by having defeated the *Apulians*, who were to have joined the *Samnites*. After this, the two *Consular* Armies continue five Months in *Samnium*, and make incredible Devastations, *Decius* changing his Camp forty five times, and *Fabius* his eighty six, for that Purpose. The Campaign being ended, and the time for holding the *Comitia* approaching, *Fabius* is recalled to preside there. He finds, at his Arrival, that *Appius Claudius* has not only secured his own Election, but has formed a Scheme to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Consulship*. The Method he had taken, was to engage the People to continue *Fabius* in his Office for the ensuing Year. Accordingly the first *Centuries*, consisting chiefly of the Nobility, vote for him; but *Fabius* is displeased at it, and, notwithstanding all that the *Patricians* can urge to persuade him, declares, that he will never give the Republic so pernicious a Precedent, as to suffer himself to be elected, contrary to Law, in the *Comitia*, where he himself pre-

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sulship.

sides: So that *Volumnius Flamma* is chosen Collegue to *Appius*. §. 23. The *Patricians* are dissatisfied with *Fabius*, and publicly impute his Refusal of the *Consulship*, to his fear of being surpassed in Eloquence and Conduct by the expert *Appius*. But the People put a better Construction upon his Proceeding, and appoint him, with his Collegue *Decius*, to continue the War in *Samnium*, in quality of *Pro-Consuls*. [The * Characters of the Consuls and Pro-Consuls for this Year.] *Fabius* spends the time of his *Pro-Consulate* in quieting some Commotions in *Lucania*; but *Decius* pushes the *Samnites* to the last Extremity, drives their Army even out of *Samnium*, and then lays Siege to their Towns. When he has taken and sacked *Murgantia*, he persuades his Soldiers to sell their Booty for Money, that they may not be incumbered with it in their future Expeditions. After this, *Romulea* and *Ferentinum* are both taken by Assault; and to complete the Destruction of *Samnium*, a new Army of two *Legions*, and fifteen hundred Auxiliaries, advance thither under the Command of the *Consul* *Volumnius*. The War with the *Hetrurians* had fallen by Lot to his Collegue *Appius*. §. 24. And indeed the Storm began to gather on that side. The *Samnites*, who had been driven out of their own Country by *Decius*, had taken Refuge in *Hetruria*, and there, in a Diet held at their Request, had pressed the *Hetrurians* to exert their utmost

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* Vide p.
326.

Strength

Year of Strength against the Romans, offering to fight under their Command, and to follow ROME them even to the Foot of the Capitol. Appius marches against these Confederates, with an Army of twenty three thousand Men; and his Expedition is such, that the Enemy, who otherwise little dread his Abilities, are surpris'd at it. However, in several flight Actions he is worsted, for want of military Skill. In short, Things come to that pass, that the Soldiers have no Confidence in the Consul, and the Consul is distrustful of his Soldiers. In this Extremity he is said (for the thing is not certain) to have written to his Collegue to leave Samnium, and hasten to his Assistance. Volumnius comes with all Expedition, and the Troops of Appius are overjoyed at Volumnius his Arrival. But Appius himself seems surpris'd at it, disowns the Letter, and re- the Consul proaches his Collegue with acting dishonourably, in quitting the Province assigned marches to him, in order to gain the Credit of giving Assistance to others who do not want it. the Relief of Volumnius, upon this, is for returning again to Samnium: But the Officers of both his Collegue Armies entreat him to have no Regard to the unaccountable Behaviour of Appius, Appius, but to consider the Interest of the Republick, which requires his Presence in He- who refuses truria. We are just ready to give Battel, say they, and should Matters go ill with us, his Assist- for want of your Assistance, will it be enquired whether Appius treated you with Ar- rogance or not? No, the Roman People will consider only the ill Success of the Battel, and impute it to your too hasty Resentments. After some Raillery between the two Consuls, Volumnius addresses himself to the Troops. If you would have me tarry here, says he, shew it by your Shouts. Instantly the Army make a general Shout, which is heard in the Camp of the Enemy, who immediately take Arms, and offer Battel. Volumnius, without delay, marches out to meet them; but Appius hesitates, till he finds that his Army are disposed to follow his Collegue, in Defiance of his Orders. And now an Emulation for Glory, and the Shame of being obscured by a Rival, rouse him to such a Degree, that he exerts himself beyond what could be expected. He gives his Orders like a good Commander, and fights with Intrepidity, having first made a Vow to Bellona to build her a Temple, in case he proves victorious. The united Samnites and Hetrurians are totally defeated, and their Camp taken and plundered. §. 25. This Victory puts an end to the Misunderstanding between the two Consuls, and they agree to act jointly against Hetruria: But Volumnius is, by an unexpected Event, called back into his own Province. The Samnites, though so much exhausted, had raised new Levies, spread themselves over Campania, and ravaged it. This News obliges Volumnius to hasten to the Assistance of the Campanians. When he comes to the Foot of Mount Massicus in the District of Cale, he is told, that the Intention of the Enemy is to march home, disburthen themselves of their Booty, and then return to make fresh Ravages. He marches after them, kills six thousand of them, and recovers all the Spoil they had taken. This Victory quiets the Minds of the People at Rome, who had been much alarmed at this last Enterprize of the Samnites: And they now take into Consideration the proper Means to secure Campania from the like Incursions for the future. It is judged proper to settle two Colonies, one at the Mouth of the Liris, called the Colony of Minturnæ, the other at Sinuessa. But the execution of this Design is, for the present, suspended, on account of Matters of greater Importance, to which the Republick is now obliged to attend. Certain Advice is brought, A Confede- that the Hetrurians have concluded a Treaty with the Samnites, Umbri, and Gauls; racy of the and that the Armies of the four Nations are already assembled in two Camps in He- Hetruri- truria, where there is only Appius with his Troops to make Head against them. ans, Sam- §. 26. The time for assembling the Comitia drawing on, Volumnius is recalled from nites, Um- Samnium, to preside at the new Elections. Before the Centuries enter into the bri, and Voting-Place, he makes an Harangue to them, wherein he represents the Necessity Gauls, a- of chusing able Generals in so perilous a Season. Upon this, all Eyes are immedi- gainst ately turned upon Fabius. But when the first Centuries have declared for him, and Rome. have given him Volumnius for his Collegue, he starts Difficulties, as formerly, and excuses himself on account of his Age. However, he at length submits, provided he may have his faithful Decius for his Collegue. Men of my Age, says he, cannot Fabius, be- easily suit themselves to the Ways of those whom they don't know. I shall have less ing chosen Difficulty in declaring my Sentiments, and communicating my Designs to a Friend, with Consul, de- whom I have been so long acquainted. The Preference given to Decius was a kind of fires he may Affront to Volumnius: But this was an Age when Ambition and Delicacy, in point have Deci- of Honour, gave Way to the publick Good. Volumnius approves of Fabius's Re- us for his quest, and makes a fine Encomium upon Decius; insisting much on the great Ad- Collegue. vantages which would flow from the Harmony between two Generals in such strict Friend- ship. And having his own Collegue, Appius, in his Thoughts, he concludes, with some satyrical Strokes on those, who make Glory consist in talking prettily.

In this Crisis of an approaching terrible War, the People being very superstiti- A Quarrel ous, multiply their publick Acts of Devotion; and these give rise to a Quarrel among the among the Roman Ladies. In the Ox-market was a Temple built to the Honour Roman of Ladies.

of *Patrician* Chastity; and none of the Wives of *Plebeians*, how illustrious soever Year of their Husbands might be, were ever admitted into it. However, *Aula Virginia*, ROME being herself nobly descended, and being the Wife of the *Plebeian Consul*, *Volumnius*, claims a Right of assisting at the Ceremonies, with the *Patrician* Ladies; and when the latter oppose her Pretensions, *What*, says she, *is my Honour suspected? Was I meanly born? Or have I married two Husbands?* (Second Marriages were at this time so great a Blemish on the *Roman* Women, that it excluded them the Temple of Chastity.) But all that *Virginia* can say is to no Purpose. She is excluded the Sanctuary. Upon this she forms the Resolution of having a Temple to the Honour of *Plebeian* Chastity; she erects and consecrates an Altar in a part of her own House, and there assembles the *Plebeian* Women of the greatest Distinction, observing the same Ceremonies that are practised in the other Temple. This Fervour continued for some time: But at length Women of little Merit and doubtful Characters being admitted into the Assembly, it sunk into Disgrace, and no more mention was made of *Plebeian* Chastity. §. 27. The time being come

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Decius disputes with Fabius the Command in *Hetruria*.
† Vide p. 338.

The People determine in favour of Fabius.

for *Fabius* and *Decius* to enter upon their *Consulships*, it is natural to suppose that the latter will be induced by Gratitude, as well as by the Age and superior Merit of his Collegue, to compliment him with the Command of the Army in *Hetruria*, without drawing Lots. But it is very difficult for a Man to avoid being carried away by the Stream of a Faction, in which he once engages. The *Patricians* make it a Point of Honour, not to suffer *Fabius* to yield that Command to any other Person; and on the other Hand, the *Plebeians* will not suffer *Fabius* to have it, unless it falls to him by Lot, lest the *Patrician Consuls* should for the future claim a Right of chusing their Provinces, without drawing Lots; and the pacifick *Decius* is as it were compelled to give way to the Tyranny of his Party. When the Affair is brought before the *Comitia*, *Fabius*, in † few Words, urges his Pretensions, and then modestly submits to the Determination of the People. *Decius*, on the other hand, declares, *That did the Question relate only to the augmenting the Glory of Fabius, to whom the Republick, as well as he himself, is so much indebted, he should never dispute with him an Honour he has justly merited. But that, in the present Case, if he should give up the Point to his Collegue, he must do it at the Expence of the Consular Office, &c.* When *Decius* has ended his Discourse, *Fabius* makes no other Reply than this. *I desire, Romans, that before you determine the Dispute, you will hear Appius's Letters read.* This said, he leaves the Assembly. *Appius*, in his Letters, had painted the Danger, with which the Republick was threatened in very lively Colours; and this alone was sufficient to induce the *Comitia* to have recourse to the surest Remedy. The People instantly and unanimously determine, that the Conduct of the War in *Hetruria* shall be committed to *Fabius*. And now all the Youth are earnest to march under the Command of so able a General. But he, either to dispel the publick Fears, by a shew of Confidence, or to prevent any Associates being joined with him, declares, that he will carry no larger a Reinforcement to the Army, than four thousand Foot and six hundred Horse. With these he marches towards the Camp, which the fearful *Appius* is still strengthening with new Fortifications. Not far from it he meets a Detachment, sent to cut Wood in a neighbouring Forest. *Where are you going, fellow Soldiers?* says *Fabius*. They answer, *To a Forest, to cut Wood, to fortify the Camp.* *What*, replies the General, *is it not already pallisaded? Doubtless it is, return the Soldiers, and we are surrounded by a double Ditch, and a double Rampart, yet we are still afraid. If that be the Case, adds Fabius, return to the Place from whence you come; spare your selves the Trouble of cutting new Pallisades; and not only so, but as soon as you are got back to the Camp, level the first Entrenchment of it, for it looks like a Camp of Cowards.* The Detachment immediately put the Consul's Orders in execution, which throws *Appius* into a terrible Fright; and he does not recover himself, till the Workmen inform him, that what they are doing is by the Command of *Fabius*, who will soon be in the Camp. *Fabius* arrives the same Day; and the next, *Appius* sets out for *Rome*, to take Possession of the *Prætorship*, to which he has been chosen, as an Employment better suited to his Talents and Capacity, than the Command of an Army. §. 28. *Fabius* observes a quite different Conduct from that of his Predecessor. Instead of shutting up his Army within Entrenchments, he makes them take long marches, and often change their Posts, and hereby he gives them an Air of Confidence. However, before the Season permits the Army to enter upon Action, he returns to *Rome*, either of his own Motion, or because recalled by the Senate. (Some Authors say, that *Appius* had made a dreadful Representation of the Forces of the Enemy, and had urged the Necessity of sending either *Decius* or *Volumnius* with a second Army to his Assistance. And they add, that *Decius* had, upon this Occasion, given his Opinion, *That Fabius ought to be left at full Liberty to determine concerning the Wants of his Army, and the Interest of the Republick; and had moved, that he might be sent for to Rome to give his Judgment of the State of Affairs.*) When *Fabius* arrives

Year of arrives, he gives such an Account of Things, as neither to encrease the Apprehen-
ROME sions of the Republick, nor to let her sleep in Security. He desires, that a second General may be joined with him; but at the same time insinuates, that he makes this Proposal more out of Regard to the Fears of the Publick; than any Necessity. And when the second General comes to be named, *I have not forgotten*, says he to Fabius de- the People assembled, *the good Understanding in which Decius and I formerly lived. sires he may In whom therefore can I more confide than in him? In him alone I shall have more have Deci- Force than I want. But if my Colleague has other Views, and is unwilling to carry on us to assist the War in Conjunction with me, I am willing that Volumnius be sent in his stead. him in He-* Decius immediately declares, that he is ready to go either to *Samnium* or *Hetruria*, truria, as *Fabius* pleases; and this Declaration is received with universal Applause. The Republick is charmed with the frank and disinterested Behaviour of her Generals, and she no longer doubts of Victory. But before the *Consuls* leave *Rome*, they send away the *Pro-Consul Volumnius* to *Samnium*; and in order to cover the City on the side of *Hetruria*, direct two Camps to be pitched, one on the Hill *Vaticanus*, the other in the Country of the *Falisci*.

§. 29. After these Regulations, *Fabius* and *Decius* set out for *Hetruria*, and upon the Road, receive the News of the total Defeat of a *Legion*, which *Fabius* had left under the Command of *Scipio*, near old *Clasum*. They see the Cavalry of the *Gauls* returning from the Slaughter, with the Heads of the *Romans* fixed on the Tops of their Lances. However, the *Consuls* are not discouraged by this Accident. Their Army consists of four *Legions*, a good Number of *Roman* Horse, a thousand *Campanian* Horse, and a Body of Auxiliaries. They divide it into two Parts, and encamp separately, but not far from each other, in the Plain of *Sentinum*, about four Miles from the Enemy. It is said, that the Army of the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, who encamped together, consisted of a hundred and forty three thousand three hundred and thirty Foot, and forty six thousand Horse. What the Number was of the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* (who jointly made another Camp) is not told. It is agreed among these Confederates, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only shall engage the *Romans* in the Field, whilst the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* attack their two Camps. *Fabius* has notice by Deserters of this Design; and in order to disconcert it, and make a Diversion, he sends Directions to the *Pro-Prætors Fulvius* and *Postumius*, who are encamped near *Rome*, to march their two Armies into *Hetruria*, and ravage it. This Stratagem has the desired Effect. The *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* hasten to the Relief of the poor People, whose Houses are plundered, and Lands laid waste. And during their Absence, the *Consuls* bring the *Gauls* and *Samnites* to a Battel. *Decius* and his Troops being worsted in the beginning of the Action, he * devotes himself to the *Dii Manes* to save his * Vide p. Country; and his Death giving fresh Courage to the *Romans*, *Fabius* gains the 343, 344. Victory. Twenty five thousand of the Enemy are killed, and eight thousand taken Decius de- Prisoners. The *Romans* lose only eight thousand two hundred Men. The *Consul's* votes him- first Care, after the Victory, is to perform the Promise he made in the Heat of the self to the Battel, to burn the Spoils of the Enemy in honour to *Jupiter the Conqueror*. He Dii Ma- then causes Search to be made for the Body of *Decius*, and speaks his Funeral Ora- nes; and tion.

§. 30. In the mean time the *Pro-Prætors Fulvius* and *Postumius* gain *Fabius* great Advantages in *Hetruria*; and the *Pro-Consul Volumnius* obtains a considerable gains the Victory over the *Samnites*, at the Foot of Mount *Tifernum*. But notwithstanding Victory o- all these Losses, neither *Samnites* nor *Hetrurians* are yet brought into Subjection. ver the Con- The latter take Courage again, and assemble fresh Forces, as soon as *Fabius* has left federates. their Country: So that he is obliged to lead his Army back again. A new Victory over them is the last of this Hero's Exploits.

[*Fabius* had a Son, whose Surname was *Gurges*, or *The Gulph*. An Appellation **FABIUS** given him on account of his excessive Intemperance in his Youth. This Man af- **GURGES** terwards reformed, and became worthy of publick Offices. And then, to wipe off the Shame of his past Excesses he became rigid and severe, and endeavoured to correct the Licentiousness of the *Roman* Ladies. The Severity of Manners of the first Ages of *Rome*, was now much relaxed. The Conquest of so many Countries abounding with Delights, had been the Occasion of introducing Luxury and Incontinence. *Gurges*, being now *Curule Ædile*, brings a Complaint before the People against some Ladies of Distinction, on account of their Unfaithfulness to their Husbands: And Adultery is for the first time punished by a pecuniary Fine. A mo- Adultery derate Punishment, if the Shame of the Criminals had not been perpetuated, by punished by consecrating the Money to the building of a Temple to *Decius*, near the Great a pecuniary Circus.] Fine.

§. 31. In the mean time the *Samnites* raise new Forces, and become the Aggres- sors. The *Pro-Consul Volumnius*, and the *Prætor Appius*, each at the Head of an Army, march against them, and defeat them, in a pitched Battel, fought in the *Campi Stellates*, in *Campania*. The *Samnites* lose sixteen thousand three hundred Men.

Rome

Rome had never before made War in so many Places at the same time with more Year of Success. But now in the midst of her Rejoicings for such signal Victories, her ROME Pride and Degeneracy of Manners are punished by a dreadful Plague. And as Superstition always increases in Proportion, as Vice prevails, so never were Prodigies in such great Plenty as this Year. The *Augurs* and *Sybilline Books* are consulted upon imaginary Prognosticks; and the present Joy is much damped by the Apprehension of impending Evils.

BOOK XX.

158th Consulship.
New War
with the
Samnites.

§. 1. **T**HE Republick has now been forty Years in War with the *Samnites*, almost without Interruption. And though the latter have been always worsted, and have just lost four Battels in the Space of one Year, yet they are not so far discouraged, as to lose the Hopes of being able one Day to conquer. They make great Preparations to take the Field once more; infomuch, that the Senate think it necessary to send both the new *Consuls*, *L. Postumius Megellus*, and *M. Attilius Regulus*, against them. But *Postumius* falling sick, *Attilius* is dispatched away without him, to attack the Enemy, before they get out of *Samnium*. The two Armies meet just upon the Confines of *Campania*; and here the *Consul* is no sooner encamped, than the *Samnites* (who have been so often vanquished) form the bold Design of forcing his Lines. By the help of a very thick Fog they approach the *Roman Camp*; surprise the advanced Guard; make themselves Masters of the *Decuman Gate*, and penetrate as far as to the *Quæstor's Tent*, where the military Chest is kept. The Alarm reaching to the General's Quarters, he awakes, puts himself at the Head of some *Manipuli*, and, in short, repulses the Enemy, but dares not pursue them, for fear of an Ambuscade. But though this Enterprize of the *Samnites* is not successful, yet the Courage they had shewn in the Attempt gives them new Confidence; and they keep the *Romans* so closely shut up, that they cannot enter *Samnium*, to live upon free Quarter there.

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§. 2. The disadvantageous Situation of *Attilius's* Army alarms the Senate and People at *Rome*, so that *Postumius*, though not perfectly recovered, thinks himself obliged to set out for *Samnium*, with the two *Legions* allotted him. Upon his Arrival, the *Samnites* being in no Condition to make Head against two *Consular Armies*, decamp in haste, and leave their Country open to be pillaged. *Postumius* applies himself to the besieging of Towns, and takes *Milionia*, and *Triventum*; the latter without fighting. §. 3. But *Attilius* meets with more Difficulties and Danger in his Expeditions. Having received Intelligence that the *Samnites* are besieging *Luceria*, a City of *Apulia*, he hastens to its Relief, but finds the Enemy in his Way. The two Armies come to an Engagement, in which the *Romans* suffer most; and this Misfortune so mightily dejects them, that they pass the Night in great Uneasiness, expecting every Moment to see the Enemy approach to force their Lines. But it happens, on the other hand, that the *Samnites* are as much terrified, and think only of returning Home. The Difficulty is, how to put their Design in execution, their Enemies being in the Way. At length they resolve to go directly towards the *Roman Camp*; endeavour to march along by the side of it, and make the Plain. (This is the only Method they can take, because the Ground where they are posted is narrow and confined, and the *Romans* are between them and *Samnium*.) The *Consul* imagining that the Enemy is coming to attack him, resolves to go out and meet them, and gives Orders to his *Legions* to follow him: But though the Officers are ready to obey him, the Soldiers are so fatigued and intimidated, that he cannot, even by soft Words, prevail with them to stir. In the mean time the *Samnites* advance, and come so near, that they may be seen from the Rampart, loaded with Stakes and Fascines. Upon this the *Consul* expostulates with his Men once more; on the Disgrace of suffering themselves to be attacked in the Centre of their Camp; and all the Officers declaring themselves of the same Opinion with the General, the Soldiers out of Shame comply, and leave their Camp, though very unwillingly. On the other hand the *Samnites* are in the utmost Despair, at this Motion of the *Romans*; and, in short, two Coward-Armies are brought to an Engagement, entirely against their Inclinations. *Attilius*, by placing his Cavalry in the Rear of his Infantry, to hinder the latter from flying, obtains the Victory: But his Loss in this and the former Action is so great, that he has hitherto gained but little Glory from the Campaign. However, he soon after repairs his Losses, in some measure, by a new Advantage over a Body of *Samnites*, who having made an Incurſion into the Country of the *Volsci*, and brought thence a considerable Booty, and many *Roman Prisoners*, are marching home in Disorder. He falls upon them; recovers the Booty, and releases the Captives: After this returns to *Rome* to preside at the new Elections.

§. 4. In

Year of §. 4. In the mean time *Postumius*, having taken *Milionia* and *Triventum*, and being weary of making War in a ruined Country, where little is to be got, marches into *Hetruria*, without any Orders from the Senate. There he defeats the *Hetrurians*, takes *Hetruria*, *Ruffelle* by Assault, and obliges three of the most considerable *Lucumonies* to demand a Peace. However, a Truce only for forty Years is granted them by the Senate, on their paying each five hundred thousand Pounds of Brass into the Treasury of the Republick. *Postumius*, upon the Merit of these Exploits, ventures to demand a Triumph of the Senate, and when the *Conscript Fathers* refuse it him, on account of his Disobedience in leaving the Province assigned him, without Orders, he tells them, *That he will obtain it in spite of them, from the People*. Accordingly he presents his Requests to the *Comitia*; and though this Proceeding be irregular, and seven of the *Tribunes* oppose his Petition, nevertheless the People decree him a Triumph for his Victories over the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*.

Postumius obtains a

Triumph by a Decree of the People.

A new *Census*, the thirtieth from its Institution, being now taken of the People, the Number of *Roman Citizens*, fit to bear Arms, appears to be two hundred and seventy thousand. A new List of Senators is likewise made at this time by the *Censors*, and the Great *Q. Fabius Rullianus*, is in his old Age chosen *Prince of the Senate*.

460. §. 5. It is surprising that *Samnium* should be again the Seat of the War: But thither it is that the two new *Consuls* *Papirius Cursor* (Son of the famous Hero of that Name, who was *Consul* five times) and *Sp. Carvilius* are ordered to march.

fulship.

Attilius, the late *Consul*, is made *Prætor*; but *Postumius*, who had obtained a Triumph against the Will of the Senate, and *Tribunes of the People*, is cited, by one *Scantius*, a *Tribune*, to answer before the *Tribes*, for having left his Province without Orders. However, he evades a Trial, by getting *Carvilius* to appoint him one of his Lieutenant Generals.

§. 6. In the mean time the *Samnites*, to make once more a vigorous Effort, publish a Law, requiring all, who are of an Age to bear Arms, to appear in the Field upon the first Summons of their General, on Pain of having their Heads devoted to *Jupiter*, in case of Disobedience. (*i. e.* it should be lawful for any one to kill them, wherever they should be found.) Having by this means raised a numerous Army, the next thing is to inspire the Troops with Courage. And in order thereto, they have recourse to a bloody Superstition. They erect a kind of Booth, two hundred Foot square, covered on the Top, and so close on all sides, that nothing of what passes within can be seen by those without. Here an Altar is raised, and many Victims slain; and then the principal Officer, and Flower of the Nobility, are introduced one by one into it by the General. An Oath of Secrecy is first administered to them; after which they are forced to pronounce the following Imprecation. *May all the Cur- ses of the Gods fall upon me and my Posterity, if I do not follow wherever the Generals shall lead me to fight, if I ever turn my back, or if I do not kill those whom I shall see themselves attempt to fly.* Some of the first who are introduced into the Enclosure hesitate, to load themselves and their Posterity with such Imprecations; but these being immediately stabbed, and their Bodies thrown among the Carcasses of the Victims, the rest who follow are so terrified at this sight, that they readily take the Oath. The Number of those who thus engage themselves is sixteen thousand, and these are thought sufficient to inspire the rest of the Troops, amounting to twenty thousand, with Emulation.

The Samnites bind either to conquer or die.

§. 7. While these Things are doing, *Carvilius*, at the Head of the Army, which *Attilius* had left near *Interamna*, makes his Way towards *Samnium*; and his first Exploit is the taking of *Amiternum*, a City of *Sabinia*, belonging to the *Samnites*. In the mean time *Papirius* hastens the new Levies at *Rome*, and as soon as his *Legions* are complete, enters upon Action. He takes *Furconia*, and then joining his Colleague, they go together to ravage that part of the *Volscian* Territory, which is under the Dominion of the *Samnites*. After this, *Carvilius* prepares to lay siege to *Cominium*; and *Papirius* marches towards *Aquilonia* (where the *Devoted Legion* had made their dreadful Vows and Imprecations) and encamps within sight of the Enemy. *Papirius* having resolved to give Battel, sends a Letter to his Colleague to acquaint him with it, and desires him to press the Siege of *Cominium* vigorously, that no Detachments may be sent from thence to strengthen the *Samnite* Army. Then calling his Troops together, he exhorts them *not to fear the Enemy, for the extraordinary Methods they have taken to make themselves valiant*; tells them, *that Oaths, extorted by Fear and Violence, will never give true Courage*; puts them in mind of his Father's Victory over a *Samnite Army*, which had made themselves fine, as these have done, with proud Crests to their Helmets, and magnificent Bucklers; and, in a Word, he so animates his Soldiers, that they all call out to lead them to Battel. Nay, so universal is the Desire of coming to an Engagement, that the *Augur* appointed to consult the sacred *Chickens*, makes a false Report of their Behaviour, and declare, that they fed greedily when they came out of their Cage, &c. The General is overjoyed at this happy *Augury*, and orders the Signal to be given for the Battel. But just, when he has assigned all his Officers their

proper

† Vide p.
362.
The Sam-
nites de-
feated.

proper Posts, and has made all the proper Dispositions to charge the Enemy, his Year of Nephew, young *Papirius* (at the Intigation of the *Roman Knights*) comes to ac- **ROME** quaint him, that the *Augur* had deceived him in his Report concerning the *Chickens*. *Courage, Nephew*, replies the General, *and behave your self like a brave Man. If the Augur has made a false Report, the Vengeance of the Gods will fall upon his Head alone.* He then commands that unfaithful Guardian of the *Sacred Chickens* to be placed at the Head of the first Line; and before the two Armies come to a close Engagement, the *Augur* is killed by an unknown Hand (probably by order of the *Consul*.) When the News is brought to *Papirius*, he pretends to consider it as a Stroke from Heaven, which assures him of the Victory, and cries out, *The Vengeance of the Gods has spent itself on one single Head, which deserved it; we have nothing more to fear from their Anger.*

§. 8. [The † Battel (which has a prodigious Resemblance, in its Circumstances to that which the Father of *Papirius* fought with the Samnites) is described at large.] Twelve thousand of the *Samnites*, according to *Orosius*, are slain; but according to *Livy* thirty thousand; and *Aquilonia*, whither the Fugitives have fled for Refuge, is taken.

§. 9. While *Carvilius* was preparing to make a vigorous attack upon *Cominium*, according to the Agreement between him and his Collegue, he received a Letter from *Papirius*, with Notice, that the *Samnites* had sent away a large Detachment of their Army to relieve the Place. Upon this News he detached *Brutus Sæva* with the first *Legion*, and twenty *Cohorts* of Auxiliaries, to meet the *Samnite* Reinforcement, with Orders either to amuse them, or fight them, wherever he should find them. In the mean time, with the rest of his Army, he gives an Assault to the Town, and takes it by Storm. The Besieged, to the Number of fifteen thousand four hundred, surrender at Discretion. After this, the two *Consular* Armies join; and a Council of War being held, it is resolved to push the Advantages gained, to the utter Reduction of the *Samnites*, by taking the rest of their Cities. This Design is approved by the Senate and People of *Rome*; and *Carvilius* receives Orders to lay Siege to *Velia* in *Lucania*, near Cape *Palinurus*. *Papirius* is commanded to attempt the Conquest of *Sepinum*, a Town situated at the Foot of the *Appenines*, near the Head of the *Tamarus*.

§. 10. The News of the great Success of the *Roman* Arms in *Samnium* is the more agreeable at *Rome*, as an Account comes at the same time, that the *Hetrurians* are beginning to take Arms again. This Account is soon after confirmed by Deputies, sent from Cities in Alliance with the Republick. Nor is this all. The *Falisci*, who are the nearest Neighbours to *Rome* on the side of *Hetruria*, revolt, and join the *Hetrurians*. It is judged therefore necessary to recall one of the *Consuls* from *Samnium*. They are ordered to draw Lots for the Conduct of the new War, and it falls to *Carvilius*.

§. 11. *Papirius*, after the Departure of his Collegue, takes *Sepinum* by Assault, and gives the Booty to the Soldiers. He then returns to *Rome* full of Glory in the Month of *February*, and is honoured with a Triumph (as *Carvilius* had been a Month before, when he passed through *Rome* to go to *Hetruria*.) The rich Spoils taken from the *Samnites* make his Procession very magnificent. He had brought away from the conquered Country two Million and thirty thousand Pounds weight of Brass, and thirteen hundred and thirty Pounds weight of Silver. But though these Riches swell the Pomp of the Victor's Triumph, he loses the Good-will of his Soldiers, by giving them into the publick Treasury. Nor are the People less discontented with him, when a Tax comes to be laid upon them to pay his Troops, which might have been satisfied by distributing among them a part of that Wealth. While *Papirius* is at *Rome*, he dedicates a Temple to the God *Quirinus*, which his Father had formerly vowed; and he adorns the Sanctuary with some of the splendid Spoils of the *Samnites*.

A Sun-
Dial made
at Rome.

In this Year, a Sun-Dial, for the first time, is seen at *Rome*. The *Romans*, for a long time, marked only the rising and setting of the Sun. Afterwards they observed the Hour of Noon; but in a very gross manner. When the Sun shined between the *Rostra* and the House appointed for the Reception of Ambassadors, one of the *Consuls* Heralds used to proclaim with a loud Voice, that it was Mid-day. But now they could mark the several Hours of the Day; and the Water-Dial, invented soon after, enabled them to reckon the Hours of the Night.

§. 12. As soon as *Papirius* has triumphed, he leaves *Rome* again, to lead his Troops into the Country of the *Vesitini*, which the *Samnites* still infest; and there he passes the rest of the Winter. In the mean time *Carvilius*, in *Hetruria*, takes *Trosculum* by Assault, and reduces the *Falisci* to sue for Peace. He grants them however no more than a Year's Truce, and for that he makes them pay dear. Then the *Consul* returns to *Rome*, carrying with him three hundred and eighty thousand *Asses* of Brass for the publick Treasury, without reckoning a considerable Sum, which he reserves, to build a Temple to *Fortune that Favours the Bold*. And, besides this, he has enough to give each of his Soldiers a hundred and two *Asses* of Brass, a small Present, but well received, and which the Remembrance of *Papirius's* Conduct,

Year of duēt, makes still more agreeable. And by this means he becomes popular enough *ROME* to prevail with the People to drop the Prosecution, which the *Tribune Scantius* had begun against *Postumius*, one of the *Consuls* of the last Year.

§. 13. In the mean time *Attilius*, the other *Consul* of the last Year, now *Prætor*, makes a new Law relating to Guardianships. The *Twelve Tables* had not provided for those Orphans, whose Fathers died intestate, and who had no near Relation to take upon him the Guardianship of them. But now the *Attilian Law* ordains, that the *Prætor*, and the *Tribunes of the People*, shall, by a Plurality of Voices, assign such Orphans a Guardian. At the same time the *Curule Ædiles* make an Ordinance, That those who have received Crowns, as the Rewards of their military Exploits, may wear them at the publick Games; and That Palm-Branches shall be put into the Hands of the Victors, in those Games.

Attilian Law concerning Orphans.

§. 14. *Papirius* presides at the Election of new *Consuls*; and that his Glory may not be effaced by the Exploits of his Successors, contrives to have the Choice fall upon two Men of small Ability in

461. War, *Fabius Gurgæ*, and *Junius Brutus Scæva*. (It is undoubted, that *Fabius*, the Father, opposed the Promotion of his Son; but it is very uncertain for what Reason; whether, as *Valerius Maximus* thinks, from a Republican Principle, and because he thought it of pernicious Example, to have one Family loaded with so many Honours, he having himself been five times *Consul*, and both his Father and Grandfather having been promoted to that Dignity; or whether on account of some domestick Quarrel; or whether because he judged his Son unqualified for so high a Station.) And now *Rome* being visited with a Plague, which makes terrible Havock; this, together with the Incapacity of the new *Consuls*, encourages the *Falisci* to break their Truce, and the *Samnites* to take Arms again, and spread themselves over *Campania*. It falling to *Brutus's* Lot to march into *Hetruria*, against the *Falisci*, the Republick, to supply his Defects, appoints *Carvilius* to be his Lieutenant General; and by his Assistance, the *Consul* makes a successful Expedition. But, on the other hand, *Fabius Gurgæ* having all the Fire of the *Fabii*, without their usual Prudence, rashly, and without drawing up his Troops in order of Battel, engages with the *Samnites*, and loses three thousand Men, he himself escaping only by the Favour of the Night.

160th Consulship. Old Fabius opposes the Promotion of his Son Fabius Gurgæ to the Consulship.

§. 15. The Account of the ill Conduct of *Gurgæ* so exasperates the People against him, that they recall him home, and cite him to appear before the *Comitia*. The Depositions against the Accused are very full, and he is just going to be condemned; but then the Zeal of old *Fabius* for the Honour of his Family is roused, and he undertakes his Son's Cause. Without excusing the precipitate Conduct of the *Consul*, he desires the Assembly to pardon it, in Consideration of the many Victories, which he himself had formerly obtained for the Republick. He represents to them, that his Son's Disgrace had not been owing to a want of Bravery, but to youthful Imprudence, which Time and Experience might rectify. And lastly, he offers to go and serve under his Son, and promises soon to repair the Loss which the State had suffered by his Mismanagement.

This Offer is immediately accepted, and the People are appeased. The Father accompanies his Son into the Field, in quality of Lieutenant General. The two Armies come soon to an * Engagement, and the *Romans* obtain a complete Victory, by the excellent Conduct, and personal Bravery of old *Fabius*. *Pontius Herennius*, the *Samnite* General, is taken Prisoner. But the Joy at *Rome* for this Victory is

*Old Fabius serves under his Son. * Vide p. 371.*

much damped by the Plague, which still continues to make dreadful Devastation. The *Sybilline Books* are consulted, and there it is read, that to put a Stop to the Pestilence, the God *Æsculapius*, adored under the Figure of a Serpent, must be brought to *Rome* from *Epidaurus*, a City of *Peloponesus*; and accordingly an Embassy is ordered for this Purpose. And now the time for new Elections drawing on, and the *Consuls* being both in the Field, a *Dictator* is named to hold the *Comitia*. But his Nomination being found defective, the Government falls into an *Interregnum*; and then *Postumius* (the very same Man who has so lately escaped a Condemnation) holding the Assembly, contrives to get himself elected one of the new *Consuls*.

462. With him is joined *Junius Brutus Bubulcus*. §. 16. *Postumius*, now the third time *Consul*, and as proud in Office, as he had been ambitious in procuring to himself the *Consular* Dignity against the Rules, disdains to draw Lots with his *Plebeian* Collegue for their Provinces. He insists upon having the Command of the Army in *Samnium*; and *Brutus* finding that his Collegue has a powerful Party in the Senate, consents to command in *Hetruria*, without waiting for a Decree.

161st Consulship.

§. 17. A short Account of *Æsculapius*, an eminent Physician, who settled at *Epidaurus*, and who, after his Death, was deified; and had a Temple built to his Honour. The manner in which the Priests of the Temple kept a tame Snake, which the common People worshiped as the God. The Roman Ambassadors purchase this Snake, and convey him to *Rome*; and Fable says, that he chose to reside in the Island in the middle of the Tyber; where a Temple was built for him in the Shape of a Ship.

Æsculapius brought to Rome to stop the Plague.

§. 18. put a Stop History says nothing of the Exploits of *Brutus* in *Hetruria*. But young *Fabius* to the

(who had been continued in the Command of the Army in *Samnium*, in quality of Year of *Pro-Consul*) being assisted by his Father, (who governs and directs all his Motions, *ROME* without letting him perceive it) has already reduced the Canton of the *Pentri*, and is besieging *Cominium*, when *Postumius* prepares to enter *Samnium* with a new *Consular* Army. Before he leaves *Rome*, he employs a Detachment of his Troops to grub up a Forest in his own Estate; and he proceeds in the same Spirit of Tyranny when he comes into the Field. He sends Orders to the *Pro-Consul* to desist from the Siege of *Cominium*, and to leave that Enterprize to his Conduct. Young *Fabius* had received his Commission from the Senate; and the *Conscript Fathers* support his Pretensions, and command the *Consul* to bend his Forces another Way. But the proud *Postumius* bids the Messenger tell the Senators, *That it is their Duty to obey their Consul, and not his to submit to their Commands.* He then marches strait towards *Cominium*, resolving to give the *Fabii* Battel, if they don't yield to his Will. Old *Fabius* prevails with his Son, for the Sake of the publick Good, to give Way to the imperious *Consul*. And now *Postumius* having a clear Stage, and being a Man of Courage and Expedition, soon makes himself Master of *Cominium*, and thence turns his Arms towards *Venusia*, which he likewise takes in a short time. In the Letter which he writes to the Senate to inform them of his Success, he proposes, that a *Colony* be sent to the last mentioned Place: But though his Proposal is approved, the *Conscript Fathers* (who prefer Obedience to Valour) take occasion from it to humble him. Instead of appointing him, agreeably to Custom, to be one of the Founders of the new *Colony* in the City he has conquered, they name three others, and allow him no Share in that Honour. Nor is this all. To mortify *Postumius* yet more, and to reward young *Fabius*, they decree the latter a Triumph. *Pontius Herennius*, that brave *Samnite* General, famous for the Defeat of the *Romans* in the *Caudian Forks*, follows the Chariot of his Conqueror. But the most surprising Sight of all is old *Fabius* on Horseback in his Son's Train. He had formerly in his own Triumph carried this Son upon his Knees; and he is now overjoyed to mingle in the Croud, and make one of his Attendants. (*Pontius*, by an Inhumanity unworthy of *Romans*, is condemned to lose his Head.) But now the Rage of *Postumius*, to see himself so slighted, and his Rival so honoured, is blown up to Fury. He not only declaims with Passion against both Senate and People, but invents a new kind of Revenge. He does not give the least part of the Booty, brought from the two conquered Cities, into the publick Treasury, but distributes it all among his Soldiers, and then disbands them, before his Successor can arrive.

Pontius Herennius, the famous Samnite General, taken Prisoner, and put to Death.

162d Consulship. Postumius condemned for employing his Troops in slavish Work.

Curius Dentatus makes a Treaty with the Samnites.

The Integrity of Curius.

§. 19. The two new *Consuls* chosen, are *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M. Curius Dentatus*. And these are no sooner entered upon Office, than *Postumius* is brought to a Trial before the *Comitia by Tribes*. His chief Accusation turns upon his having employed his Soldiers in a slavish Work, for his own private Profit. This touches the People more than his Disobedience to the Senate. He is condemned to pay a considerable Fine, and his Reputation continues for a long time blasted.

463.

The *Samnites* having lost their brave General, and able Governor *Pontius*, are no longer in a Condition to oppose the Progress of the *Roman* Arms. *Curius Dentatus* lays waste their Country; takes their Towns, and, in short, obliges them to sue for Peace. The Republick consents to a Treaty of Alliance with them, for the fourth time, and leaves the Conditions of it to *Curius*. (This *Consul* was remarkable for practising that Frugality, and for living without Affectation in that voluntary Poverty, which the Philosophers proudly preached.) The *Samnite* Deputies find him sitting upon a sorry wooden Seat near a Fire, dressing his own Dinner, which consists only of some Roots; and they offer him a Present of a considerable Sum of Money. *Curius* expresses his Indignation by a disdainful Smile. *Without doubt*, says he, *my Indigence makes you hope that you may corrupt me: But you are mistaken. I had rather be the Commander of rich Men, than be rich my self. Take away that Metal, which Men make use of only to their Destruction. And go tell your Nation, that they will find it as hard to bribe me, as to conquer me.* A Treaty being concluded upon such Conditions as *Curius* thinks fit to prescribe, he returns to *Rome* to triumph. And never did the People express more Joy than upon this Occasion, being at length freed from the Care and Burthen of a dangerous War, which had lasted forty nine Years. The Conqueror, in the Distribution of the conquered Lands, among those *Romans* who have none of their own, prevails to have no more than seven Acres allotted to each Man, and accepts no more himself, though a much larger Portion is offered him. (It was his Maxim, that to maintain *Roman* Frugality, no Man should have more Land than was necessary for his Subsistence.)

It is uncertain what sort of Government was in Use among the *Samnites*; but it is most probable that they were divided into Cantons, and annually assembled a Diet, where Resolutions were taken for the common Good. In time of War they chose a Head, who was invested with sovereign Authority. It is said, that the *Samnites*

had

Year of ROME had one very singular Custom, in relation to Marriages. Every Year, all the marriageable young Men and Women were assembled before certain Judges, who matched them according to their Merit.

§. 20. The Conquest of *Samnium* is followed by the Reduction of the *Sabines* to a State of Subjection, who had been almost ever since the Foundation of *Rome*, upon the Foot of Allies, and had been governed by their own Laws. They had feared that the Ruin of the *Samnites* would affect their own Liberty, and had therefore not only lent them Assistance, but had ravaged a part of the *Roman* Territory. *Curius* entirely subdues them: But the *Romans*, in regard to old Friendship, treat them gently, and admit them to *Roman Citizenship*, but without the right of Suffrage. And now the generous *Curius* has a second Triumph decreed him the same Year: an Honour, which had never been granted to any of his Predecessors. However, notwithstanding his great Virtues, there are not wanting those who envy him, and who endeavour to cast a Stain upon that Reputation of Disinterestedness, which he has so justly acquired. He is accused of having applied a part of the Booty taken from the Enemy to his private Use. The Accusation being general, he is put to his Oath; and then he confesses, that he has reserved a little wooden Oil-Vessel, for making Libations to the Gods; but nothing more. He is believed upon his Word; and the Malice of his Accusers, is changed into Admiration of his Virtue. Before he quits the *Consulship*, he obliges the *Lucanians* to raise the Siege of *Thurium*, the Inhabitants of which had implored the Protection of the *Romans*.

The Sabines admitted to Roman Citizenship.

Curius accused and acquitted.

464. This Town was situated near the Gulph of *Tarentum*.

§. 21. The same *Comitia* which chose *M. Valerius Corvinus*, and *Q. Cædicius Noëtua*, to be *Consuls* for the new Year, appoint *Curius Dentatus* to carry on the War in *Lucania*, in quality of *Pro-Consul*. His Expedition thither proves successful; and he thereby establishes the *Roman* Dominion through almost the whole Extent of the Country, from the *Adriatick* to the *Tyrrhenian* and *Sicilian* Seas. The new *Consuls* employ their Year altogether in works of Peace, and in sending out *Colonies*.

§. 22. And it being found that the *Prætor* alone is not sufficient to preserve good Order in the City in a time of Peace, when Malefactors always multiply; the People appoint three new Judges to try Delinquents, and pronounce Sentence without Appeal: But their Power of punishing extends only to pecuniary Fines. The People would not divest themselves of the sole Power of Life and Death. These new Magistrates are chosen annually in the *Comitia by Tribes*. The Number of *Roman Citizens*, fit to bear Arms, appears by a *Census* taken this Year, to be two hundred and seventy three thousand. And now when all is quiet abroad, new Disturbances are raised at home, and the poor Debtors begin again to murmur against the rich Usurers.

Three new Judges created, for trying Delinquents.

§. 23. This Spark of Dissention is blown up into a Flame in the *Consulship* of *Q. Marcius Tremulus*, and *P. Cornelius Arvina*. The Occasion of it is this. *T. Veturius*, one of those unfortunate *Consuls*, who in the Year of *Rome* 432. had been surprised in the *Caudian Forks*, dies insolvent. His Son, a Youth of great Beauty, and virtuously educated, borrows a considerable Sum of *C. Plotius*, his Father's chief Creditor, to defray the Expence of his Father's Funeral. Being afterwards pressed to pay, and having neither Money nor Credit, he is forced to submit to Slavery, and to work for his Creditor, in order to discharge the Debt. *Plotius* conceives a detestable Passion for the young Man, and treats him unmercifully for his virtuous Resistance. *Veturius*, one Day, when his Body is all bloody with Stripes, makes his Escape out of the House, gets upon an Eminence, shews himself to the People, and publishes the Infamy of his Tyrant. The People lay hold of this Occasion to decry the Usurers, and to demand the Abolition of the Law, which subjects those to Slavery who cannot pay. This Law had been repealed before, upon a like Occasion in the Year 427. but the *Patricians* had revived it. As for *Plotius*, he is condemned to death.

The Debtors murmur against the Usurers.

164th Consulship.

466. §. 24. In the following *Consulship* of *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Nautius Rutilus*, the People keep no longer any Measures with the *Patricians*. They insist upon the Abolition of the Law beforementioned, and finding the Rich obstinate in opposing it, they make a *Secession* upon the Hill *Janiculus*, on the other side the *Tyber*. The City being thus left destitute of Artificers, and Labourers, and no Provisions being brought thither from the Provinces (for the Country-People have likewise their Complaints) the *Patricians* and rich *Citizens* are under a Necessity of making Concessions, and they name *Q. Hortensius*, *Dictator*, to negotiate with the Separatists. The Terms of Reconciliation are the Revival and strict Observation of two Laws, made in the Year 414. *Dictator* but to which the Nobility had paid no Regard. 1. That the Decrees made by the Tribes shall be observed by the *Patricians* as well as *Plebeians*. 2. That Laws shall first pass the Senate, and be brought afterwards to the *Comitia*, to be there approved or rejected, and not vice versa. The Complaint of the Country People was, That they could not get their Causes heard by the Judges on Market-days, when they came to *Rome*, but were obliged to leave their Work, and return thither again. This is rectified.

the Patricians.

Q. Fabius
Rullianus,
Dictator.
He dies.

166th Con-
sulship.

fied. But when these several Articles of Reconciliation are drawn up, and the Year of Storm begins to be appeased, *Hortensius* dies of a sudden, before the Expiration of *ROME* his *Dictatorship*. It being necessary therefore to create another *Dictator*, to complete what he had begun, the *Consuls* nominate the illustrious *Fabius*, who now in an extreme old Age is President of the Senate. He happily finishes the Accommodation; and this is the last publick Scene on which he appears. He dies soon after. The Republick had considered him in his Life-time as a Prodigy of Roman Valour, Prudence, and Virtue; and now when he is dead, the People contribute to the Expence of his Obsequies, with so much Emulation, that his Son, with the Victims offered at his Funeral, gives a publick Entertainment to the whole City.

§. 25. *Fabius*, while *Dictator*, had resided in the *Comitia*, where *M. Valerius Potitus*, and *G. Ælius Petus*, were chosen *Consuls*. Their Year proves barren of remarkable Events; but the Republick was never more happy than under their Administration. The People having gained the highest Pitch of their Desires, think only of enjoying the Sweets of Tranquillity. The Balance of Power leans now rather to their side; and the *Patricians* have no Advantage over them, but the great Riches they acquired, while they had the Ascendant, and that Respect which naturally is paid to Persons of high Birth. 467.

BOOK XXI.

167th Con-
sulship.

168th Con-
sulship.

War with
the Gauls.

§. 1. *ROME* is now in perfect Tranquillity, and in a flourishing Condition. The *Latins*, *Sabines*, *Hernici*, *Æqui*, *Marsi*, and *Campani*, are all brought into Subjection to her. The *Volsi* are utterly destroyed. The Terror of the Roman Arms reaches to *Apulia*, and keeps it in Awe. A part of *Lucania* on one hand, and on the other the *Umbri*, and the Inhabitants of *Picenum*, quite up to the Frontiers of the *Senones*, are all either obedient to the *Romans*, or awed by Roman Colonies near them. On the other side of the *Tyber*, a part of *Hetruria* is subdued, and that which is more distant, observes the Truce which has been granted it. *Samnium*, in all Appearance, is quieted; and the *Gauls*, both *Senones* and *Boii*, live in Peace with the Republick. Such is the State of *Rome*, when *C. Claudius Canina*, and *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, enter upon the *Consulship*. Nothing memorable happens during their Administration. 468.

§. 2. And the *Fasces* are transmitted to *C. Servilius Tucca*, and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*. In their Year the *Tarentini* (formerly a Colony of austere *Spartans*, but now sunk into Idleness and Vice) growing jealous of the Prosperity of the *Romans*, and fearing an Interruption in their Pleasures, as much as the Loss of their Liberty, employ all their *Grecian* Subtlety, to stir up both old and new Enemies against the Republick; and this, without appearing to be concerned. At the same time the *Senones* prepare to besiege *Aretium* in *Hetruria*, a City in Truce with the *Romans*. The latter, at the Request of the *Aretini*, raise an Army to defend them; but before any Act of Hostility, they send a Deputation to the *Senones*, to persuade them to desist from their Design. These proud *Gauls* kill the Ambassadors, and immediately bring their Troops before *Aretium*. The *Consul Lucius* comes to an Engagement with them, in which he himself is killed, with seven *Legionary Tribunes*, the best part of the *Roman Knights*, and thirteen thousand private Men. Upon the News of this Defeat, *Curius Dentatus* (probably *Prætor* at this time) is sent from *Rome* with new Forces to supply the *Consul's* Place. But he, instead of eagerly hastening to take Vengeance on the Army of the *Gauls*, marches along the Confines of *Hetruria*, and enters the Country of the *Senones* with Fire and Sword, laying waste, and destroying all before him, so that in a little time he reduces it to a vast Desert, in which there scarce remain any Appearances of its having been inhabited or cultivated. 469.

169th Con-
sulship.

The Taren-
tini secretly
stir up Ene-
mies against
the Repub-
lick.

The Seno-
nes utterly
destroyed.

170th Con-
sulship.

§. 3. But now in the beginning of the Administration of *Cornelius Dolabella* and *Cn. Domitius*, the Republick begins to feel the Effects of the secret Negotiations of the *Tarentini*. The *Boii*, *Senones*, *Tarentini* secretly *Hetrurians*, and *Samnites*, all declare against her at once. However, she is not discouraged. *Domitius* entirely defeats the *Senones* in *Hetruria*, who having left the Siege of *Aretium*, are advancing strait to *Rome*, to revenge the Devastation of their Country. After this, *Cornelius* comes to a pitched Battel with the united *Hetrurians* and *Boii*. The former are almost all slain, and those of the latter, who escape, being conquered a second time, sue for Peace. As for the *Senones*, they are so utterly destroyed, that there scarce remain any Footsteps of them in *Italy*. 470.

§. 4. In the following *Consulship* of *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius*, all *Italy*, through the secret Intrigues of the *Tarentini*, rises up in Arms against the *Robbers*, as the *Romans* are called. It falls to *Æmilius* to carry on the War in *Hetruria*, and to *Fabricius* to command in *Lucania*. 471.

§. 5. The latter marches to the Relief of *Thurium*, a City standing on the Gulph of *Tarentum*, and besieged by the *Lucani*, *Bruttii*,

Year of *Bruttii*, and *Samnites*. He defeats this confederate Army, but finds it a difficult *The united*
ROME Enterprize to force their Camp, and therefore is obliged to have recourse to a Stra- *Lucani,*
 tagem. While the *Consul* seems to be in suspense, a young Man, full of Vigour, *Bruttii,*
 wearing Feathers in his Helmet, appears on a sudden in the midst of the *Legions,* and *Sam-*
 exhorts them to decline no Danger for the Honour of their Country, and then seiz- *nites de-*
 ing a Ladder, advances to the Rampart, through a Shower of Darts, plants his *feated.*
 Ladder against it, and mounts the Wall. This bold Action intimidates the Confe-
 derates, and inspires the *Romans* with such Intrepidity, that they soon make them-
 selves Masters of the Camp. Twenty five thousand of the Enemy, with their Ge-
 neral *Statilius*, are slain. After the Victory, the *Consul* orders the young Man, who had
 first mounted the Rampart, to be sought for, in order to reward him; and he not being
 found, the credulous *Romans* imagine, that it was the God *Mars* himself, and re-
 turn him thanks for his Assistance, by publick *Supplications*. §. 6. As for
 the *Tarentini*, the real Authors of this War, they had not yet appeared. An Acci-
 dent at length discovers them. *Valerius*, one of the *Maritime Duumviri*, or Admi-
 rals of the *Roman* Fleet, comes by Accident with ten Ships to the Mouth of their
 Port, while they are at their Sports in the Theatre, which looks towards the Har-
 bour. The sight of the *Roman* Squadron interrupts their Diversions; and imagin-
 ing that their Plots are discovered, and that the *Romans* are come with hostile Inten-
 tions, they all, with one consent, fall upon the Fleet with the Fury of Madmen, *The Taren-*
 sink one Ship, and take four, the other five escaping. All the Prisoners, fit to bear *tini disco-*
 Arms, are put to the Sword, and the rest sold to the best Bidder. Upon the News *ver their*
 of this unexpected Insult, the Republick sends a Deputation to *Tarentum* to demand *Enmity to*
 Satisfaction. *Postumius Megellus*, who had been three times *Consul*, is at the Head *Rome.*
 of the Embassy, a Man venerable for his Age and personal Merit. He is admitted
 to an Audience in the Theatre, where he harangues the Assembly in *Greek*. It was
 not to be expected that he should speak this Language with the Exactness of a
 Native; however, the *Tarentini* burst out into loud Fits of Laughter, and hiss
 him, when he pronounces a Word amiss, or uses an improper Expression. Nor is
 this all. They rather drive him out of the Assembly, than dismiss him; and as he
 is walking off with an Air of Gravity and Dignity, a Buffoon, named *Philonides*, *They insult*
 pisses upon his Robe. The mad and drunken Multitude applaud the Insolence, *a Roman*
 while *Postumius* replies, without any Emotion. *Laugh on now, Tarentini, laugh on. Ambassa-*
The time will come when you will weep. Rome will find means to wash my Robe clean
in Blood. §. 7. When the *Tarentini* come a little to themselves, and begin to
 reflect on the Enormity of their Conduct, never to be forgiven; and at the same
 time that their Neighbours in *Italy* are not able to defend them, they conclude it
 absolutely necessary to ask Succours of *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*. [* *A short Account* *And then*
is given of the Birth and Adventures of this Prince.] §. 8. Without consider- *resolve to*
 ing much the Consequences, they send an Embassy to sound him, and find him ready *call over*
 enough to undertake an Expedition into *Italy*. In the mean time they besiege *Thu-*
rium, which is defended by a *Roman* Garrison, and take it. This melancholy News *King Pyr-*
 is brought to *Rome*, just as *L. Æmilius Barbula*, and *Q. Marcius*, are entered upon *rhust to their*
 the *Consulship*. They represent to the Senate, on one hand, the shameful Indignity *Assistance.*
 offered to their Ambassador, which requires Vengeance, and on the other the Dan- ** Vide p.*
 ger of engaging in a new War, when the Republick has already so many Enemies *421, 422;*
 to contend with. The Question is debated in the Senate from Sun-rising to Sun- *423.*
 set for several Days together. And when the *Conscript Fathers* come to vote, the *171st Con-*
 Voices are equal. One half is for deferring the War with the *Tarentini*, till the *sulship.*
 neighbouring Provinces are subdued, the other for attacking them immediately.
 The Affair devolving thus upon the People, these determine for the latter Opinion;
 and accordingly *Æmilius*, who had been commanded to *Samnium*, is ordered to lay
 aside all other Expeditions, and march directly to *Tarentum*. The Approach of the
Romans, makes the *Tarentini* carry on their Deliberations with a little more Seri-
 ousness than formerly; and when the *Consul* sends once again to demand Satisfaction,
 before he begins Hostilities, the oldest and richest declare for Peace; but the Popu-
 lace, who have nothing to lose, insist upon a War; and what determines the As-
 sembly, is a † Speech of one of the common Citizens, who revives the Proposal of † *Vide p.*
 bringing *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*. Upon this, the few wise Men of the Assembly with- *424.*
 draw, and never return to it more. One *Meton*, a Man of Sense, and who had
 escaped the general Corruption, knowing the Taste of his fellow Citizens, adapts
 himself to it, in order to bring them off from their fatal Resolution. He puts on
 a Masquerade-dress, takes a Flambeaux in his Hand, and being accompanied by a
 Woman playing on a Harp, enters the Theatre, and there dances in a grotesque
 manner. This silly Sight diverts the *Tarentini* from their most important Delibera-
 tions. They make a Ring, and call out to *Meton* and his Companion to entertain
 them with a Song and a Dance. The Song being a merry one, raises a loud Laugh:
 and then the wise Citizen assuming an Air of great Seriousness, says, *Courage,*
Tarentini,

*Æmilius
begins Ho-
stilities a-
gainst the
Tarentini.*

*Pyrrhus
consults his
favourite
Cyneas, a-
bout his
Expedition
into Italy.*

*He sends
Cyneas to
Tarentum.*

*172d Con-
sulship.*

*Pyrrhus
comes into
Italy.*

*† Vide p.
431, 432.*

Tarentini, *Laugh on now; when Pyrrhus comes, your Mirth and Joy will be at an end.* Year of Those who are not totally besotted, are pleased with the Insinuation, but the greater ROME part are enraged, and drive him out of the Assembly. As soon as the News comes to the Roman Camp, that a Deputation to Pyrrhus is decreed, Æmilius trait be- gins Hostilities, burns and destroys all before him, and forces the Tarentini, in the Field, to take Refuge within their Walls. However, not to drive them to despair, and to induce them to lay aside the Design of receiving Pyrrhus, he uses some Mo- deration, and sends back the Prisoners he has taken. These highly extol the Gene- rosity of the Consul; insomuch, that many of the Inhabitants are brought over to the Roman Party; and they all in general begin to repent of their rejecting a Peace, and sending for Pyrrhus. This is evident by their chusing Agis, a Friend of the Romans, to be their General, and the Governor of the City.

§. 9. In the mean time the Tarentine Ambassadors find the King of Epirus very ready to hearken to their Proposal, his Head being turned with the Exploits of Alexander the Great, whom he thinks to imitate by mighty Conquests in the West. He consults with Cyneas, his chief Minister and Favourite, a Man eminent for Virtue, Eloquence, and Ability, both in War and in Council. He tells him all his pleasing Dreams of Conquest: And when Cyneas asks him what he will do next, after all his imaginary Victories, the King answers, *I will then take some Rest, and enjoy the Pleasures of Life with thee.* Ah Sir, replies the Philosopher, *what hinders you from immediately enjoying that Happiness, which you propose to purchase at the Expence of so much Dan- ger?* These Words make some Impression upon Pyrrhus, but his Ambition prevails, and he covers it under the Appearance of Virtue. *It is hereditary in my Family,* says he, *to succour the Distressed. We ought to make War, to relieve those who are under Oppression, as well as for our own Sakes.* To conceal his Design of making himself Master of Tarentum, as well as of the rest of Italy, he artfully inserts a Clause in the Treaty, *That when he has relieved Tarentum, he shall not be hindered from returning to Epirus.* And to secure the Fidelity of the Tarentini, he detains some of their Ambassadors, under pretence of wanting their Assistance.

§. 10. After these Precautions, he sends away Cyneas with three thousand Men to Tarentum. This eloquent Minister soon finds means to depose Agis from the Go- vernment, and to get Possession of the Citadel. In the mean time Æmilius the Consul, finding that nothing more can be done this Campaign, marches his Army into Winter Quarters in Apulia, and then returns himself to Rome, where his Col- league Marcius has a Triumph for his Conquests in Hetruria.

§. 11. The Consuls for the new Year are, P. Valerius Lævinus, and Tib. Coruncanius; the latter not a Roman by Birth, but raised to the Consulship purely for his Merit. And it being ne- cessary now for the Republick to have three Armies on Foot, Æmilius is continued in the Command of his own Troops, in quality of Pro-Consul, and is ordered to march against the Salentini, who have declared for Tarentum. The present Exigen- cies oblige the Romans to enlist the Proletarii. These were the vilest of the People, and who were not thought capable of doing the State any Service, except that of peopling the City, and had hitherto never been suffered to serve in the Troops. A wise piece of Roman Policy, to make it an Ignominy to be excluded from serv- ing their Country in Arms.

§. 12. Pyrrhus is now arrived at Tarentum, but with only two thousand Men, a few Horse, and two Elephants. (He had left Epirus with twenty two thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, five hundred Sling- ers, and twenty Elephants, but a Storm had dispersed his Fleet, and he himself had but narrowly escaped Shipwreck.) [The † Character of Pyrrhus.]

§. 13. While the King of Epirus is waiting for the Arrival of his scattered Forces, he observes the Dispositions of the Tarentini, and how much their Hearts are bent to Pleasures. To remedy this Mischief, which must otherwise naturally end in the Ruin of them- selves and their Defenders, he shuts up the Theatre, forbids publick Feastings, Plays, and Masquerades; and incorporates the best bodied Men of the People in his Phalanxes. The effeminate Tarentini groan under these wholesome Regulations; and they have better grounded Complaints against the King's Guards, who lodge where they please, and take all Liberties with their Wives and Daughters. The sober and honest Part of the Inhabitants retire into the Country, while the rest en- deavour to ease their Minds by Murmurs and loud Complaints. Pyrrhus has his Spies in the City, and privately dispatches the most factious of the Malecontents, by Assassinations. To get rid of one Aristarchus a great Orator, and much in cre- dit with the People, he sends him to his Son, in Epirus, on some Business, which he pretends to be of great Importance. Aristarchus sees through the Artifice; and the Master of the Vessel, in which he is to sail, being at his Devotion, he steers to Rome, instead of going to Greece. (What Advice he gave the Romans is uncer- tain: But Fabricius was dispatched away to visit the Colonies and Allies of the Re- publick.)

§. 14. An extraordinary Event gives the Romans much Uneasiness at this time, and brings great Discredit on the Roman Colonies. While Pyrrhus was coming

Year of coming to *Tarentum*, and the *Carthaginians* infested all the Coasts of the *Ionian* *ROME* Sea, the Inhabitants of *Rhegium*, situated in the extreme part of *Italy*, near *Sicily*, had applied to the Republick for a *Roman* Garrison to defend them from an Invasion. A *Legion* had been raised in *Campania* for that Purpose, and put under the Command of one *Decius Jubbellus*. The Garrison, which had been used to a laborious Life, begin soon to envy the Inhabitants the Pleasures and Ease in which they live, and are desirous to change Conditions with them. In short, they massacre all the chief Men of the Place at a Banquet, and then fall upon the rest, whom they either put to the Sword, or drive out of the City. As for the Women, they oblige them to marry the Murderers of their Fathers and Husbands. This News is brought to *Rome*, at a time when her Circumstances will not allow her to take Vengeance on the perfidious *Legion*.

§. 15. In the mean time the *Consul* *Lævinus* is committing Hostilities in *Lucania*, a Province in Alliance with the *Tarentini*; and *Pyrrhus* therefore thinking it shameful to continue longer shut up in *Tarentum*, takes the Field, though he has not received any Reinforcements from the *Samnites* and *Messapians*. But first he writes the following Letter to *Lævinus*. *Pyrrhus to Lævinus Health. I am informed that you command an Army which is to make War with the Tarentini. Disband it without delay, and then come and lay your Pretensions before me. After I have heard both Parties I will give Judgment, and I the Consul know how to make my Sentence be obeyed.* To this *Lævinus* answers; *Know, Pyrrhus, Lævinus. that we neither admit you as a Judge, nor fear you as an Enemy. Does it become you to take upon you to judge us, who have your self injured us by landing in Italy, without our Consent? We will have no Arbitrator but Mars, the Author of our Race, and the Protector of our Arms.* The *Romans* are encamped on the hither side of the River *Siris*, when *Pyrrhus* appears on the farther side of it. The King crosses the River with *Megacles*, one of his Favourites, to take a View of the *Roman* Camp, and see what Appearance the Enemy make. On his return he changes his Resolution of attacking them, and shuts himself up in his Entrenchments. But it being the Interest of the *Romans* to hasten a Battel, *Lævinus* first harangues his Troops, and then makes his Cavalry pass the River, giving them orders to keep the *Epirots* in play, and cover his Infantry in their Passage. *Pyrrhus*, upon the first Notice of this Motion, hastens with his Horse to make Head against the *Roman* Squadrons, and this Battel between the Cavalry brings on a general * Action (which is related at large.) The *Epirots*, by means of their Elephants, * Vide p. which frighten the Horses of the *Romans*, gain the Victory. But the King having 444. lost thirteen thousand of his Men, declares, that such another Victory would oblige *The Battel* him to return to *Epirus*. His first Care is to bury the Dead, with which the Plain of *Hera-* is covered; and when, upon inspecting the Bodies of the *Romans*, he finds that clea. none of them have received dishonourable Wounds, but have fallen with their Swords in their Hands, he cries out, *O that Pyrrhus had Romans for his Soldiers, or the Romans Pyrrhus for their Leader! Together we should subdue the whole World.* The Prisoners he treats with all Humanity, and esteems them for refusing to enlist themselves in his Service. But now he immediately breaks like a Torrent into all the Countries, in Alliance with the *Romans*; many Cities surrender to him, and the Dominion of the Republick begins to totter.

§. 16. *Lævinus* is forced to leave *Apulia*; but notwithstanding his late Misfortune, he falls into no Disgrace at *Rome*, nor do the Senate oblige him to name a *Dictator*. They distinguish between Generals conquered through their Imprudence, and one whom unexpected Accidents have forced to submit to the Fortune of War. They recruit his Army with new Levies; and the *Consul* shews, during the rest of the Campaign, that true Merit can furnish Expedients in Distress. *Pyrrhus* is posted in *Campania*, and there he receives the Reinforcements, so long expected, from his Allies. His first View is to take *Capua* and *Naples*, before he besieges *Rome*. But *Lævinus*, by throwing some Troops into the first of these Places; and by keeping with his Army in the Neighbourhood of the other, makes the King drop this Design; so that he marches strait towards *Rome* by *The Latin Way*. He takes *Fregellæ*, and sets down before *Præneste*. But now the *Consul* *Coruncanius* (having totally subdued *Hetruria*) crosses *Hetruria* the *Tyber* with his victorious Army, and comes to meet him; and *Lævinus* at the totally sub- same time following the *Epirots* in the Rear, the King is obliged to return into dued. *Campania*. There, to his great Surprise, he finds *Lævinus* with a more numerous Army, than that which he had vanquished on the Banks of the *Siris*. The *Consul* offers him Battel; which *Pyrrhus* being unwilling to refuse, draws up his Army, and commands the Conductors of his Elephants to force them to make their hideous Noises, in order to frighten the *Roman* Legions. But these Noises are returned by so terrible and universal Shouts from the *Romans*, that the King himself is terrified at it, and declines a Battel, upon Pretence that the *Auguries* are not favourable. *Pyrrhus* returns to *Tarentum*, and the *Consuls* to *Rome*, where *Coruncanius* has a *Pyrrhus* a- Triumph for the complete Reduction of *Hetruria*; as also the *Pro-Consul* *Æmilius*, voids a se- for having vanquished the *Salentini*.

§. 17. While *Pyrrhus* continues quiet cond Battel. at *Tarentum*, he has time to reflect on the Bravery and Conduct of the *Romans*.

He concludes, that the War, in which he is engaged, must end in his Disgrace Year of and Ruin, if not terminated by an honourable Peace. He is overjoyed therefore ROME to hear that an Embassy is coming to him from the Senate; and he pleases himself with the Imagination, that it is to ask the Peace, which he himself so much desires.

A Deputation sent from Rome to Pyrrhus, concerning an Exchange of Prisoners. But when the three Ambassadors, *Cornelius Dolabella, Fabricius, and Æmilius*, after a splendid Reception, are admitted to an Audience, they demand only, *A Release of the Roman Prisoners, either by way of Exchange, or for such a Ransom per Head, as shall be agreed upon.* Pyrrhus is disappointed, because he had expected something more. However, he conceals his Thoughts, and only answers, *That he will consider of it, and let them know his Resolution.* Accordingly he assembles his Council; and there *Cyneas* (who knows his Master's Inclination) proposes not only the sending back the Prisoners without Ransom, but the dispatching an Embassy to Rome, to treat with the Senate about a lasting Peace. This Advice is approved; and the King gives the Ambassadors an Answer suitable to it.

† Vide p. 448.

Pyrrhus puts the Virtue and Intrepidity of Fabricius to a Trial.

§. 18. After this he desires a private † Conference with *Fabricius*, whose Virtue he first puts to the Test, by mighty Offers of Riches and Grandeur, and then makes Trial of his Intrepidity, by surprising him with the sudden Appearance of a monstrous Elephant, which lays his Trunk upon the Head of the Philosophical Hero. The King, astonished at the immoveable Constancy of *Fabricius*, who discovers no Fear, makes him stay and sit with him at Table; where the Conversation turning upon the *Epicurean* Philosophy, the *Roman* makes that celebrated Exclamation; *O that Pyrrhus, both for Rome's Sake and his own, had placed his Happiness in the boasted Indolence of Epicurus!*

§. 19. Every thing which *Pyrrhus* hears and sees of the *Romans*, increases his Earnestness for Peace. He sends for the three Ambassadors, releases to them two hundred of the Prisoners without Ransom, and permits the rest, on their Parole, to go to Rome, to celebrate the Festival of the *Saturnalia*.

He sends Cyneas to Rome to treat of a Peace.

§. 20. In short, he determines to send the famous *Cyneas* to Rome, with Instructions to bring the *Romans* to grant these three Articles. 1. *That the Tarentini be included in the Treaty of Peace.* 2. *That all the Greek Cities in Italy enjoy their Laws and Liberty.* 3. *That the Republick restore to the Lucani, Samnites, and Bruttii, all she has conquered from them.*

Upon these Conditions, *Pyrrhus* offers to cease all Hostilities against Rome, and to restore her Captives. *Cyneas*, not only by his Eloquence, but by rich Presents to the Senators, and the *Roman* Ladies, gains so great a Party, that when he makes his Proposal to the Senate, and demands Leave for the King to come in Person to Rome, and sign the Treaty, there seems a general Inclination among the *Conscript Fathers* to accept the Terms offered. However, no Decree is passed at present. The Determination of the Affair is postponed to the next Day, on Pretence, that the House is not full enough.

* Vide p. 455.

Pyrrhus's Proposals are rejected by the Senate.

In the mean time *Appius Claudius*, the famous Orator and *Civilian* (who, in his Youth, had done some Things by Humour and Caprice, but whose great Age and Infirmities have now extinguished all his Passions, except his Love for his Country, which he still retains, with a sound Understanding) dictates a * Speech, which he causes to be written down in his own House. He gets it by heart, and then old and blind as he is, makes himself be conveyed to the Senate-house, where he pronounces it with his usual Vivacity. His Style is bitter, but his Reasonings solid; and he has no sooner done speaking, than the *Conscript Fathers* are all unanimous, and pass a Decree, which is in Substance this. *That the War with Pyrrhus be continued: That his Ambassador be sent back this very Day: That the King of Epirus be not permitted to come to Rome: and That he be told that the Senate will enter into no Treaty with him till he has left Italy.*

Cyneas leaves Rome the same Day, and returns to *Tarentum*; and when *Pyrrhus* asks him his Opinion of the City and Senate, he answers, *Rome, my Lord, is a kind of Temple, where Gravity, Modesty, and Decency reign. The Senate is a Consistory of Kings, whose Appearance fills all Spectators with Awe and Reverence.*

This Account greatly increases the King's Admiration of the *Romans*, and he makes all possible Preparation for the next Campaign.

173d Consulship.

§. 21. In the mean time the Republick chuses new Consuls, *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *P. Decius Mus* (whose Father and Grandfather were both famous for their Devotements.) The two Generals join their Forces, and march together into *Apulia*, where they find *Pyrrhus* encamped near a little Town called *Asculum*. There the Consuls fortify themselves in a Plain, at the Foot of the *Apennines*. The Plain is divided by a large deep Stream, which likewise separates the two Camps. For some time the *Romans* and *Epirots* seem to stand in Awe of each other. The latter had entertained the foolish Belief, that the

Pyrrhus sends a threatening Message to Decius the Consul.

Decii transmitted from Father to Son, some unaccountable Art of Necromancy, by which they secured the Victory to their side, whenever they lost their Lives in a Battel. *Pyrrhus* endeavours to destroy this dangerous Prepossession, and not only so, but he sends a Message to *Decius*, *That if he attempts to devote himself, he shall find his Enemies upon their Guard, who will not kill him, but take him alive, and inflict the most cruel Punishment on him, as a Cheat, after the Battel.* To this Message

Year of the Consuls return the following Answer. *Pyrrhus is not formidable enough to reduce ROME us to Devotements. Those are our last Remedies in inevitable Dangers. To let him see how little we fear him, we offer him his Choice. Let him pass the River himself unmolested, or suffer us to do so; and we will then try in the open Plain, which of us has need to make use of extraordinary Methods to gain the Victory.* The King, who cannot in honour decline the Challenge, chuses to continue where he is, and to let the Romans cross the Stream.

§. 22. *The * Battel of Asculum (in which it is doubtful which side gains the Advantage) is described.* Pyrrhus, after the Action, retires to Tarentum; and the Consul Sulpicius (whose Collegue, Decius, is slain) puts his Troops into Winter Quarters in Apulia.

* Vide p. 458. The Battel of Asculum.

475.

§. 23. And now the Republick places at the Helm of her Government two Men, whose Merit gives her Confidence enough to depend upon her own Strength, and refuse foreign Assistance, which is offered her. These are *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus*. The Carthaginians had sent *Mago* with a Fleet of a hundred and twenty Sail, to assist the Romans against *Pyrrhus*, who, they fear, will make a Descent upon *Sicily* (whither he is invited) after he has forced the Republick into a Peace. But when the African Admiral comes to Rome with his Offers of Service, the Senate tell him, that *They don't use to engage in any Wars, but such as they are able to maintain with their own Forces.* However, they enter into a new Treaty with the Carthaginians, in which it is stipulated, that the Romans shall take Arms in Defence of the Carthaginian Republick, in case *Pyrrhus* attacks it. After this *Mago* sails to Tarentum, where he has a Conference with the King of *Epirus*; and seeing into his Intentions of passing soon into *Sicily*, he, in order to prevent it, enters, with his Fleet, into the Streights, between that Island and *Italy*, under pretence of besieging *Rhegium*. This obliges *Pyrrhus* to continue at Tarentum, and carry on the War for some time longer against the Romans.

174th Consulship.

Rome refuses Assistance from Carthage.

§. 24. When the Spring is sufficiently advanced, the Consuls march their Troops into the Territory of Tarentum; and *Pyrrhus* comes and encamps within sight of them: But the high Opinion he has of *Fabricius*, makes him avoid a Battel. While the two Armies are watching each other, *Nicias*, the King's Physician, comes to the Roman Camp, and offers *Fabricius* to take off his Master by Poison. The virtuous Consul is struck with Horror at the Proposal, consults with his Collegue, and they jointly send a Letter to *Pyrrhus* to give him Notice of the Treason, without naming the Traitor. *Pyrrhus*, to shew his Gratitude for so noble an Act of Generosity, immediately sets all the Roman Prisoners free, without Ransom. Rome, however, is too proud to accept the Favour, and, in exchange, returns an equal Number of Samnite and Tarentine Prisoners. And though the King sends *Cyneas* once more to Rome to try the Force of his Eloquence and Presents, the Senators are steady in their Resolution to enter into no Treaty with him, till he has withdrawn his Troops out of Italy.

Fabricius gives Pyrrhus Notice of a Design to poison him.

The King of *Epirus*'s sole View is now upon the wealthy Island of *Sicily*, and thither he sends his faithful *Cyneas*, to prepare the Way for him. But just at this time he receives Intelligence, that *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, King of *Macedon*, is dead, and that the *Macedonians* want a King to guard them against an Inundation of *Barbarians*. This News keeps him some time in suspense; and he pleasantly complains of Fortune, for oppressing him with too many Favours. *Macedon* had formerly belonged to him, and he wished to be Master of it again. However, his Hatred to the Carthaginians, determines him for *Sicily*. He leaves *Milo* in Tarentum, with a strong Garrison, sufficient to keep the Inhabitants in Subjection; and then sets sail with thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, on board a Fleet of two hundred Ships. His Departure proves fatal to the Enemies of Rome. *Fabricius* falls upon the united *Bruttii*, *Lucani*, *Tarentini*, and *Samnites*, defeats them, drives them out of the Field, and lays their Country waste.

Pyrrhus goes with his Army into Sicily.

BOOK XXII.

§. 1. **W**HEN *Pyrrhus* arrived in *Sicily*, this Island was in a manner divided between three different Nations, whose Capitals were, *Messana*, on the side of *Italy*, *Lilybæum*, towards *Africa*, and *Syracuse*, towards *Greece*. The *Mamertini*, from *Campania*, had, by Fraud, possessed themselves of the first. The *Carthaginians* were Masters of the second: And the third was governed by two Tyrants, whom common Interest had united (after a civil War) to call in King *Pyrrhus* to assist them against the growing Power of the formidable *African Republick*.

Pyrrhus makes Conquests in Sicily. *Pyrrhus* soon deprives the *Carthaginians* of all their Conquests in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*. Nor is he content with this; but having defeated the *Mamertini* in a pitched Battel, reduces them likewise to their City of *Messana* only. In short, he depends so much on the Reduction of the whole Island, that he causes one of his younger Sons to be stiled King of *Sicily*, and the other King of *Italy*.

175th Consulship. §. 2. In the mean time the *Centuries* at *Rome* proceed to the Choice of new *Consuls*; and *Fabricius*, who presides in the *Comitia*, has so great a Reputation for Virtue, that he is Master of the Elections. Every Body therefore is astonished to see him vote for one *Cornelius Ruffinus*, because the latter, though a good Soldier, is covetous and self-interested to an Excess. Even the Candidate himself, when he comes to return him thanks for his Vote, cannot forbear expressing his Surprise, that the President should think him worthy of his Suffrage. But *Fabricius* frankly answers, *That he had rather see the Roman People plundered a little by a Consul, than brought into Subjection to a formidable Enemy*. The Colleague given to *Ruffinus* is *C. Junius Brutus*; and they both turn their Forces against *Samnium*. The *Samnites* being too weak to sustain the Attacks of two *Consular Armies*, fly to their Mountains, and there entrench themselves so strongly, that it is no easy Matter to force them. The *Romans* however attempt it, and are punished for their Rashness. Many of them are killed, and a great Number taken Prisoners, and loaded with Irons. The *Consuls* at length ashamed of their Enterprize, throw the Blame on each other, and separate. *Brutus* continues in *Samnium*, while *Ruffinus* enters the Territory of the *Lucani* and *Bruttii*.

War in Samnium. §. 3. These Nations continue steady in their Adherence to *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentini*. The *Consul* therefore not only lays their Country waste with Fire and Sword, but forms a Design upon *Croton*, a great City belonging to the *Bruttii*, and situated on the Borders of the *Ionian Sea*, at a little Distance from Cape *Lacinium*. He finds this Place too strong to be carried by Force; but he takes it by † Stratagem: And *Locri* surrenders soon after, the Inhabitants having massacred the Governor, left there by *Pyrrhus*, with all the Garrison.

† Vide p. 477. §. 4. In the new *Consulship* of *Q. Fabius Gurgæ*, and *C. Genucius*, *Rome* is afflicted with a strange sort of a Plague, which chiefly affects Women with Child, and breeding Cattel. To put an end to this Calamity, an unfortunate Vestal is buried alive; and a *Dictator* is created, to drive a Nail into the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. In the mean time the Sicknes does not hinder the *Romans* from continuing the War. *Fabius*, by repeated Victories, reduces the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Bruttii* so low, that they can no longer subsist without *Pyrrhus*, and therefore send Ambassadors to him to entreat him to return, and put himself again at their Head.

Pyrrhus loses Ground in Sicily. §. 5. But now the Face of *Pyrrhus's* Affairs in *Sicily* is much changed. His Resolution of going into *Africa* had much disgusted the *Sicilians*, and the enormous Exactions and Extortions of his Ministers and Courtiers, had made the *Sicilian Cities* surrender themselves, partly to the *Carthaginians*, and partly to the *Mamertini*. The *African Republick* had sent an Army into *Sicily*, to recover her former Conquests, and a Fleet to cruise round the Island, and hinder *Pyrrhus* from escaping out of it.

He is attacked by the Carthaginian Fleet in his return to Italy. §. 6. This being the Situation of the King's Affairs, when the Ambassadors arrive, he is not a little pleased to have so honourable a Pretext to leave *Sicily*, where he is no longer safe. But the *Carthaginian Fleet* attack him in his Passage, sink seventy of his Vessels, and disperse all the rest of his two hundred Sail, except twelve Ships, with which he escapes to *Italy*. He lands near *Rhegium*; and when he has there collected the scattered remains of his Forces, which had been driven on different Parts of the Coast, he marches towards *Tarentum*. The *Mamertini*, upon the first Report of his Departure from *Sicily*, had detached eighteen thousand Men to *Rhegium*, to molest him after his landing; and these lying in Ambush in Woods and behind Rocks, attack him unexpectedly, and with Vigour. However, *Pyrrhus*, by his heroick Bravery, escapes this Danger.

§. 7. And then he keeps along the Sea Shore, in order to reach *Tarentum* that Way. It was necessary for him to pass through the Country of the *Locri*, or *Locrenses*, who

Year of who had a little before massacred the Garrison, he had left in *Locri* (and perhaps *ROME* his youngest Son *Alexander*, whom he had likewise left there, as a Pledge of his Friendship to them.) He not only exercises all sorts of Cruelties on this miserable People, but plunders the Temple of *Proserpine*, to supply the Wants of his Army. *Pyrrhus* The great Treasure, which he finds there, he sends towards *Tarentum* by Sea. But *plunders the* the Ships are all dashed against Rocks by a Tempest, and the Mariners lost. *Pyrrhus* *Temple of* repents of his Sacrilege, causes all the Treasure, which the Sea has thrown upon *Proserpine*. the Shore, to be gathered up, and carried back to the Place, from whence he had taken it; and not only so, but puts to Death the Flatterers who had counselled him to rob the Temple. His Army, when he arrives at *Tarentum*, consists only of about twenty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse.

478. §. 8. Before *Pyrrhus* is in a Condition to renew the War, *Rome* changes her *Consuls*; and the famous *Curius Dentatus* is now raised (a second time) to that Dignity, with *L. Cornelius 177th Con-* *Lentulus*. Their first Business is to raise two Armies; but the *Roman Youth* (whose *fulship*. Spirits are, doubtless, sunk by the late Contagion) refuse to enlist themselves. Upon this *Curius* assembles the *Tribes*, and puts all their Names into an Urn. The first drawn is the *Pollian Tribe*; and the first Man of this *Tribes*, whose Name is called upon, is an audacious young Fellow, who does not appear. He is presently sought for in the Croud, and being found, is commanded to enrol himself. Upon his Refusal, the *Consul* orders, *That both he and his Effects be sold to the best Bidder*. This intimidates the rest so much, that two considerable Armies are raised without farther Opposition. *Lentulus* leads his into *Lucania*, while *Curius* enters *Samnium*. *Pyrrhus*, to make Head against both, is obliged to divide his Forces. He marches himself against *Curius*, with the choice of his *Epirots*, and hopes to surprise him in his Camp near *Beneventum*. But the *Consul* having Notice of his Approach, goes out of his Entrenchments with a Detachment to meet him, repulses his Vanguard, and then engages him in a pitched Battel in the *Taurasian Fields*. The Elephants, which had gained the Day for *Pyrrhus* at *Heraclea*, are now the Cause of his losing the Vic- *Battel of* *the Taura-* *sian Fields.* *Vide p.* *483, 484.* tory. The *Romans*, by clapping lighted Torches under the Bellies of those huge Beasts, make them recoil upon the *Epirot* Battalions, and trample them under their Feet. The King loses twenty thousand Men in the Action. His Army had consisted of eighty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse. The *Consular* Army was scarce twenty thousand Men.

§. 9. The Camp of *Pyrrhus* being taken, the *Romans* admire the Form of it so much, that they make it their Model for the fu- *The Ro-* *ture.* In the mean time the King returns to *Tarentum*, with only a small Number *mans make* of Horse. He resolves to leave *Italy* as soon as possible, but conceals his Design, *the Camp* and endeavours to keep up the Spirits of his Allies, by giving them hopes of Suc- *of Pyrrhus* *the Model* *of their fu-* *ture Camps.* cours from *Greece*. In reality, he sends Letters thither to several Courts, demanding Men and Money; but for want of favourable Answers, forges such as may please those he would deceive. When he can conceal his Departure no longer, the Method he takes to save his Honour, at least for some time, is to pretend to be on a sudden in a great Passion at the Dilatoriness of his Friends in sending him Succours. Then, says he, *I must go my self and fetch them hither*. He leaves a strong Garrison in *Tarentum*, under the Command of *Milo*, and then sets sail for *Epirus*, where he *Pyrrhus re-* *lands with* scarce thirteen thousand *Epirots*.

§. 10. And now the triumphal *turns to E-* *pirus.* Procession of *Curius*, at *Rome*, for his Victory over *Pyrrhus*, draws all the Attention of the People. The *Romans* had never before seen so much Magnificence. Vessels of Gold, made after the *Greek* manner, purple Carpets, Statues, Pictures of great Value, and, in short, all the Fineries of the *Greek* Cities. And what raises their Admiration yet more, is the sight of the Elephants, those huge Animals, with Towers on their Backs. The Senate, to reward the Victor, empower him to possess fifty Acres of Land; but he declines this honourable Mark of Distinction; and of all the Spoils taken from the Enemy, reserves only a little Vessel of Beech for domestick Sacrifices. (After this he lived to a great Age, and made the Toils of a Husbandman the innocent Pleasures of his Life.) The Triumph of *Curius* is followed by that of his Colleague *Lentulus*, who had made a successful Campaign in *Lucania*, and taken *Caudium* from the *Samnites*.

This happy *Consulship* ends with a *Census* and *Lustrum*; and the Number of *Roman Citizens*, fit to bear Arms, appears to be two hundred seventy one thousand two hundred and twenty four. The austere *Fabricius*, and his old Colleague in the *Consulship*, *Æmilius Papus*, being *Censors* this Year, they make a new List of Senators, and exclude all those of the former List, who live dissolute Lives. Nay, *Cornelius Ruffinus*, who has been *Consul* and *Dictator*, is struck out of the Roll, only for having ten Pounds weight of Silver Plate for his Table.

479. §. 11. The Republick being under the Apprehension that *Pyrrhus* may soon ap- *178th Con-* *pear again in Italy*, promotes *Curius* once more to the *Consulate*; and the Colleague *fulship.* the joins with him is *Cornelius Merenda*. As for the *Tarentini*, they now begin to despise *Pyrrhus*; and placing one *Nicon* at their Head, force *Milo* and his Troops

- to retire into the Citadel, and confine themselves there. The *Samnites* and *Lucani*, Year of being unable to keep the Field, retire to their Mountains. §. 12. But in the *ROME* following *Consulship* of *C. Fabius Dorso*, and *C. Claudius Canina*, they come down 480. again into the Plains to defend their Towns, and preserve their Harvests. *Claudius* defeats them in a pitched Battel, and preserves the same Ascendant over them, which his Predecessors had gained.
- Ptolomy Philadelphus* desires an Alliance with Rome. At this time *Ptolomy Philadelphus* (perhaps afraid of the Sallies of the ambitious King of *Epirus*) desires to enter into a League with the *Romans*, and sends an Embassy to *Rome* for that Purpose. This is the first time that any *Egyptians* are seen there; and the Republick is overjoyed to see Foreigners come so far to seek her Friendship. Not to be outdone in Politeness, she sends away to *Egypt* four Ambassadors, chosen with the utmost Circumspection by the Senate, whose chief Point in view is to keep their Reputation abroad entire. *Fabius Gurgus* is at the Head of the Embassy, and with him are joined three *Curule Aediles*. Their Reception is magnificent, and at their Departure the King gives them rich Presents for themselves, as well as for the Republick; but they deliver all into the publick Treasury at their return to *Rome*, desiring no other Reward but Glory, for the Services they do their Country. However, the Senate and People order the *Quæstors* to restore to the Ambassadors the Presents they had received for their own use.
- † Vide p. 490, &c. §. 13. [An Account of *Pyrrhus's* Attempt upon *Lacedæmon*, after he has conquered *Macedon*; and of his sudden leaving that Enterprize to lay Siege to *Argos*. The Death of *Pyrrhus*. §. 14. Where he is wounded on the Head by a Stone, thrown by a Woman from the Top of a House, and then killed by *Zopyrus* a *Macedonian*.] §. 15. Before 180th Consulship. the News of *Pyrrhus's* Death reaches *Italy*, the new Consuls, *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *Sp. Carvilius*, have entered the Territories of the *Samnites*, *Bruttii*, and *Lucani*; and they gain so complete a Victory, that the first are entirely reduced; in- somuch, that the *Samnite* War, which has lasted seventy two Years, and has pro- cured the *Roman* Generals thirty one Triumphs, is now at an end. The *Bruttii* and *Lucani* soon after submit to the same Yoke. *Tarentum* only remains unpunished; and thither therefore the Consuls march and invest it. There was a kind of civil War between *Milo* in the Citadel, and the *Tarentini* in the City; and the latter (as it is reasonably thought) had implored the Assistance of the *Carthaginians*. For these lay with a Fleet before the Town, and pretended to have no Design but against the *Epirots* in the Citadel. *Papirius* being desirous to prevent the *Carthaginians* from getting any footing in *Italy*, endeavours to persuade *Milo* to surrender up the Citadel to him, upon a Promise, that he and his Garrison shall not only have their Lives spared, but be transported safe with their Effects to *Epirus*. *Milo* readily ac- cepts the Offer, and even promises more than is asked. He engages to put the City likewise into the Consuls Hands; and this he effects. So that the *Carthaginians*, being disappointed, retire; and though this Proceeding does not cause an open Rup- ture, it produces at least a Coldness between the two Republicks. §. 16. All the old Enemies of *Rome* being subdued, and the *Sabines*, *Volscei*, *Campani*, and *Hetrurians*, with the other Nations newly conquered, being all now become Parts of one and the same State, of which *Rome* is the Capital, the Republick is at Lei- sure to blot out the Dishonour thrown upon her by the perfidious *Campanian* Le- gion, formerly sent to *Rhegium*. As soon therefore as *Quintius*, or *Quinctius Claudius*, and *L. Genucius Clepsina* are entered upon the Consulship, the latter is ordered to lead an Army to that City, and besiege it. The Besieged, to make a better Defence, not only call to their Assistance the *Mamertini* (who are themselves originally *Campanians*, and had acted the same part at *Messana*, after the Death of King *Agathocles*, which the other have done at *Rhegium*) but open an Asylum for all the *Banditti* of the Country. However, the Consul being supplied with both Provisions and Men by *Hiero* from *Syracuse*, takes the Town, and carries three hundred Prisoners (being all that remain alive of the guilty Legion) in Chains to *Rome*, where they are con- demned by the Senate, to be first beaten with Rods, and then beheaded by the unpunished *Lictors*. By this Execution the Republick clears her self from the Suspicion of having sent the *Rhegians* Succours, only to seize their City. Those of the old Inhabitants, who have escaped the Cruelty of the *Campanian* Legion, are rein- stated in the Possession of their Lands, Liberties, and Laws. §. 17. During 182d Consulship. the new Administration of *C. Genucius*, and *Cn. Cornelius*, the former obtains a Vic- tory over the *Sarcinates*, a People of *Umbria*, who are for the most part *Gauls*. This Year is remarkable for nothing more, except the Severity of the Winter. The Snow lies forty Days upon the Ground, in the *Forum Romanum*, and is of a prodigious Depth. §. 18. The following Consuls, *Q. Ogulnius Gallus*, and *C. Fabius Pictor*, are ordered to undertake the Reduction of the *Picentes* and *Salen- tini* (the only Nations in the East of *Italy*, not yet subject to the Republick) but they are of a sudden called elsewhere to extinguish a Flame, which a very small Spark has kindled. §. 19. One *Lollius*, by Birth a *Samnite*, had been deli- vered

Year of vered up to the *Romans* by his Countrymen, as a Hostage for their Fidelity. This
 ROME Man escapes from *Rome*; joins a Company of Rebels; seizes a strong Place in
Samnium, and commits Robberies in all the Country. Nor is this all; he draws
 the City of *Carentum* into his Measures. The *Consuls* are therefore dispatched to
 lay Siege to this Place (which the Revolters make the Magazine of all their Booty)
 and by the Help of some Deserters, who introduce the *Roman* Troops secretly into
 the City, they take it. *Ogulnius* and *Fabius* have no Triumph for their Success in
 this War, because it is deemed a civil War. Nevertheless, they signalize their
 Victory by more lasting Monuments.

§. 20. To this time, the *Romans* had never used any Money in Commerce, but pieces of Brass, stamped with the Figures of a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar. The *Romans* had been too poor to coin Silver Money. But now, after the Conquest of *Samnium*, and the Surrendry of *Tarentum*, the Riches of the State being increased; and a great Quantity of Bars of Silver (of no use to the Republick in that Form) having been found among the Treasures taken from *Lollius*, the *Consuls* think it advisable to coin the Silver, and introduce it into Commerce. The Place appointed for the Mint, is the Temple of † *Juno* † Vide p. 130.
Moneta, from whence comes the Word *Money*. The new Species, instead of being stamped with the Figures of Animals, is made to represent the Exploits of the *Roman* Heroes, by ingenious Hieroglyphicks; but so ænigmatically, that the Invention of our Antiquaries is often put to the Rack to explain them. Some of these Pieces of Silver Money being worth ten *Asses* of Brass, are called *Denarii*, and marked with the numeral Letter X. Others, worth but five *Asses*, are called *Quinarii*, and are marked with the Letter V. The *Sestertii*, which are worth but two

485. *Asses* and a half, are distinguished by the Letters HS. §. 21. The next Year the new *Consuls*, *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *Appius Claudius Crassus* (Son of the famous blind *Appius*, and the Heir of his Artfulness and Cruelty) enter *Picenum* jointly; but new Commotions in *Umbria* oblige the latter to march thither. He takes *Camerinum*, and contrary to his Engagements, sells the Inhabitants for Slaves, and puts the Money into the publick Treasury. However, the Republick, far from authorising such a Fraud, orders the unhappy Wretches to be sought out, grants them the Privilege of *Roman* Citizens, and allots each of them as much Land, as he has lost in *Umbria*. As for *Sempronius Sophus*, just as he is going to engage the *Picentes* in a pitched Battel, his Army is terrified by an Earthquake; but he, by telling them, *That the Earth only shakes for fear of changing its Masters*, and by vowing a Temple to the Goddess *Tellus*, recovers them from their Fright. He gains the Victory, but loses the greatest part of his Troops in the Action. However, the Republick is exceedingly rejoiced at this entire Conquest of *Picenum*, because this Country alone is able to supply her Armies with three hundred and sixty thousand Soldiers. *Rome*, soon after, sends Colonies to *Ariminum* and *Beneventum*; and the *Sabines*, who have hitherto had no other Privilege, but that of serving in the *Legions*, are admitted to the Right of Suffrage, and become entirely *Roman*. *Picenum* conquered.

486. §. 22. The *Salentini*, whose chief Cities are *Hydruntum*, *Aletium*, and *Brundisium*, are now the only People, from the *Po*, to the Extremity of *Italy*, Eastward, which remain unsubdued to the *Romans*. It is easy for the ambitious Republick to invent Pretences to rob her Neighbours of their Liberty. The new *Consuls*, *L. Julius Libo*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, take *Brundisium*; but as the brave *Salentini* dispute their Country Inch by Inch, the two Generals are obliged to leave their Conquest to be finished by their Successors. §. 23. These are *Numerius Fabius*, and *D. Junius Pera*, who having first subdued the Remains of the rebellious *Sarcinates* in *Umbria*, totally reduce the *Salentini*, though they have brought the *Salentini* *Messapians* and *Japygians* into their Quarell. The Reduction of two Nations in one Campaign, procures each *Consul* two Triumphs; a thing unheard of before in the Republick.

Rome is now become Mistress of all the different Nations of *Italy*, from the farthest part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian* Sea, and from the *Tuscan* Sea, cross the *Apennines* to the *Adriatick*. But these Nations have not all the same Privileges, nor are man upon the same footing in point of Subjection. Some are so entirely subject to *Rome*, as to have no Laws, but what they receive from thence. Others retain their old Customs and Forms of Government. Some are tributary; others barely Allies, who are bound to furnish the *Roman* Army with Troops, and maintain them at their own Expence. Some have the Privileges of *Roman* Citizenship, and their Soldiers are incorporated in the *Legions*; others have likewise a Right of Suffrage in the Elections made by the *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*. These different Degrees of Honour, Privileges, and Liberty, were founded in the different Terms granted by the Conquerors in their Treaties with the Vanquished; and these Honours and Privileges were afterwards increased, according to the Fidelity of the several Cities and Nations, and the Services they did the Republick. §. 24. The wonderful increase of Power, which the *Romans* have acquired since the Defeat of *Pyrrhus*,

Pyrrhus, begins to make the Republick respected Abroad. Free Cities and whole Year of Nations seek Alliances with her. *Apollonia*, situated over against *Brundisium*, is *ROME* the first City of *Macedon*, which sends Ambassadors to desire her Protection. These Ambassadors are received with Honour by the Senate; but afterwards happening to be in the Croud, in some popular Commotion, are insulted by *Fabius* and *Apronius*, two young *Patrician Ædiles*, of great Distinction. However, to make Satisfaction to the *Apollonians*, the young Noblemen are prosecuted, and condemned to be delivered up into their Hands, in order to be transported to *Apollonia*, and there punished, at the Pleasure of the People. This was shewing them all the Regard possible; and the *Apollonians*, in their Turn, express a due Respect for the *Roman* Senate. *Fabius* and *Apronius* are first hospitably received, and then sent back to *Rome*. And this memorable Event gives rise to a Law (which subsisted as long as the Republick) *That whatever Citizen insulted an Ambassador, should be delivered up to the injured Nation.*

187th Consulship.

Provincial Quæstors created.

§. 25. And now the great Affair of the Republick, under the Administration of the new Consuls, *Q. Fabius Gurgæ*, and *L. Mamilius Vitulus*, is to regulate her Finances. To this time *Rome* had no more than four *Quæstors*, two for the City, and two to take care of the military Chest in the Field. But as she now divides her Dominion into four *Provinces*, she creates four new *Quæstors*, and appoints one to each *Province*, to receive the Revenues arising from it; and they are stiled *Provincial Quæstors*. It is ordained, That all the eight *Quæstors* shall be chosen annually by the *Comitia by Tribes*; and That when the Election is over, they shall draw Lots in the Presence of the People for their several Employments.

§. 26. It had been the usual Fortune of *Rome* to be visited with the Plague, when she had any Interval of Tranquillity; and this is her present Case. The *Sybilline* Books are consulted, according to Custom; and strict Enquiry is made after secret Crimes, which are supposed to draw down the Wrath of Heaven upon her. A *Vestal*, named *Capparonia*, is the unhappy Victim, sacrificed to the Prepossessions of the People. She is condemned, for Incontinency, to be burned alive; but strangles her self, to avoid a more cruel Death.

By a *Census* taken this Year, when *Cn. Cornelius Blasio*, and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, are *Censors*, the Number of Citizens appears to be two hundred ninety two thousand two hundred and twenty four. *Marcius* is in so great Esteem for his excellent Qualities, that the People being assembled by *Centuries*, for a new Election of *Censors*, they continue him in the same Office, notwithstanding his own Remonstrances against it, and an express Law, which prohibits any Man to be twice *Censor*. However, it is enacted at the same time, that this Law, for the future, shall be observed.

A War with the Freed-men of Volturnum.

§. 27. But now of a sudden a new War springs up in the very Bowels of the Republick. *Volturnum*, or *Volturni*, a considerable City of *Hetruria*, had been by Treaty allowed to enjoy her own Laws, and Form of Government: But the *Volturnenses* no longer considering themselves as an independent People, had neglected their Laws, despised the publick Offices, and suffered their *Freed-men* to usurp them. These *Freed-men*, by Degrees, had made themselves Tyrants in the little Republick, and it was their whole Business to humble their old Masters. The latter, not being able to help themselves, send Deputies privately to implore the Assistance of the Senate of *Rome*. But though the Negotiation is thought to be carried on very secretly, the *Freed-men* get Notice of it, and put the Deputies to Death at their return; and *Fabius Gurgæ* is surprized to find the Usurpers upon their Guard, when he comes with a small Army of Volunteers to punish them. Nay, the *Freed-men* venture to face him in the Field, and give him Battel. The Consul defeats them; but as he is entering the Town with the Fugitives, he receives a mortal Wound from an unknown Hand, and then the *Romans* are repulsed. After this, *Decius Mus*, a Lieutenant General to *Fabius*, besieges the Place in form; and the Year following it surrenders at Discretion to the Consul, *Fulvius Flaccus*. The *Freed-men* are all put to Death, the City razed, and the rest of the Inhabitants transplanted to another.

Year of
ROME

BOOK XXIII.

§. 1. **C**ARTHAGE (according to the common Opinion) was founded about sixty five Years before the Foundation of Rome, by Dido, who fled from the Persecutions of her Brother Pygmalion, King of Tyre. A Swarm of Tyrians had, before her time, settled on the Coast of Africa, and built Utica; and these assisted her in her Undertaking. She first erected a Fortress called Byrsa, and afterwards added to it a City, to which she gave the Name of Carthades, i. e. in the Punick Language, New-City. The Greeks called it Carchedon, and the Romans Carthago.

§. 2. After her Death the Carthaginians threw off monarchical Government, and formed themselves into a Republick, in many Respects resembling the Roman. The Name of King, but not the Power, was preserved. The People had a Right of disannulling the Decrees both of Senate and King, which latter the Romans called sometimes Dictator, and sometimes Prætor. The Carthaginians had brought the Art of Navigation with them from Phœnicia; and to this they chiefly applied themselves. The greatest Men in Carthage were the greatest Merchants. And hence it came to pass, that together with a Love of Trade, all the Vices of Traders were introduced into the Republick; such as Unfaithfulness in Treaties, Cunning, and Deceit. As much as the Citizens of Rome neglected the enriching of their Families to pursue the Interest of the Publick; so much did the Carthaginians prefer their private Advantages to the Glory and Prosperity of their Country. However, the Multitude of their Ships enabled them to make Conquests in the Islands, and upon the Coasts of the Mediterranean. And at this time, when Appius Claudius Caudex, and M. Fulvius Flaccus are Consuls at Rome, the Carthaginian Republick is not only Mistress of Sardinia and Corsica, but has extended her Dominion far in Sicily, and has got a good footing in Spain. The Occasion of the first Rupture between the two Republicks, is as follows.

§. 3. Hiero, the Successor of Agathocles King of Syracuse, had vanquished the Mamertini in Battel, and taken Cios, their Governor, Prisoner. Cios being carried to the Camp of the Syracusans, and there seeing the Horse on which his Son had rode in the Action, had thence imagined that his Son was slain, and in a Fit of Despair, had torn open the Ligatures of his Wounds, and expired. The Mamertini being thus destitute of a Head, and fearing to fall under the Yoke of the Carthaginians (who were invading their Dominions on another side) had determined to surrender up their capital City, Messana, to Hiero, with whose mild Government, and strict Honour, they were well acquainted. But this Design had been prevented by the Cunning of Hannibal, the Carthaginian General, who coming to meet Hiero, under pretence of congratulating him on his Victory, had amused him, whilst some of his Troops filed off to the Place, and entered it. Upon this the Mamertini were divided in Opinion: Some were for accepting the Protection offered by Carthage, others for surrendring to the Syracusans; and the greatest part, for calling in the Romans to their Assistance. They had indeed, before the late Battel with Hiero, sent to Rome to ask Succours; but the Senate had thought it not agreeable to Honour and Equity to protect Villains, who had formerly got Possession of Messana by the very same Means, as the perfidious Campanian Legion had made themselves Masters of Rhegium. However, the Case is now altered. When the News comes that the Carthaginians have entered Messana, with a View, probably, to keep it for themselves, the Conscrip Fathers change their Sentiments, and resolve to send Appius Claudius to attempt its Deliverance. The Consul, nevertheless, continues at Rome, and dispatches one Claudius, a Legionary Tribune, of a good Head, and fearless Bravery, in his stead. Claudius thinking it not adviseable immediately to expose the few Triremes, he can get together, to the Insults of the Carthaginian Fleet, which infest the Streights, goes over to Messana in a Fisher-Boat, in order to discover the Dispositions of the Inhabitants. He convenes the Mamertini, in the usual Place of Assemblies, and the Carthaginians flock thither with them. Claudius tells the People of Messana, that he comes as a Deputy from the Romans, to offer them the Assistance which they had desired; and promises, that the Roman Forces shall be withdrawn, as soon as their City and Estates shall be in Safety. The Mamertini, intimidated by the Presence of the Carthaginians, answer him, That his Offers are come too late; and That every free City has a Right to call in whom she pleases to her Assistance. A free City! replies Claudius briskly, Are you then in Possession of your Liberty? What do I see here but foreign Arms? Does not Carthage already begin to make you feel the weight of that eternal Slavery with which she threatens you? Answer me if you dare. Both the Mamertini and Carthaginians being struck dumb at these Words, Claudius declares to the former, that he looks upon their Silence as a Mark of Consent, and

strait returns to *Rhegium*. The Senate, upon his Report, judge, that the *Mamertini* are disposed to receive Succours, and therefore order him to sail strait to *Messana*. *Claudius*, notwithstanding the superior Strength of *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* Admiral, boldly weighs Anchor: But having not only the Enemies Fleet to struggle with in his Passage, but a Storm likewise, which arises on a sudden, his Men lose all Courage, some of his Ships are taken, others are dashed in pieces, and he is forced to return to *Rhegium*, after a considerable Loss. §. 4. While *Claudius* is busy in refitting his Fleet, *Hanno* sends the Ships taken from him into the Ports of *Italy*, to restore them to the *Romans*. An artful Present, either to pique the *Roman* Republick in point of Honour, or to divert her from sending Succours to *Messana*, or at least to lay all the Blame of a Rupture upon her. And indeed, when *Hanno's* Deputy restores these Ships, he reproaches the *Romans* with having first infringed the Treaties; because, as he pretends, the *Streights* have for a long time belonged to *Carthage*. And he declares, that his Republick will not suffer the *Romans* so much as to wash their Hands in them. But this makes *Claudius* reject the Present with the greater Indignation, and carry on his Preparations with the more Vigour. He studies the Sea, observes the Wind, and the Season proper for his Departure, and times his Enterprize so well, that he eludes the Vigilance of the *Carthaginians*, and passes safely with his Squadron to *Messana*. *Hanno* (who is now become Commander of the *African* Land Forces in the Town) upon the Arrival of *Claudius*, retires into the Citadel. The latter desires the *Mamertini* to call a Council, and summon *Hanno* to it; and the *Carthaginian*, for fear of shewing a Distrust of those, whom he pretends to protect, appears in the Assembly. And then the two Generals reproach each other in bitter Terms, till at length *Claudius* is so provoked, that he orders his Soldiers to seize *Hanno*, and make him Prisoner. After this, he, by Menaces and Persuasions, prevails on him to surrender the Citadel, and evacuate the City: A piece of Cowardice, for which *Hanno*, at his return home, is crucified. §. 5. But now a *Carthaginian* Fleet arriving at *Lilybæum* with Land Forces, under the Command of another *Hanno*, *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*, enters into a Treaty with him, and they jointly invest *Messana*. Hitherto the Consul *Appius* had not appeared in the Dispute; so that had the *Carthaginians* stopt their Proceedings, all that *Claudius* had done might have been disowned. But *Hanno* had been guilty of a barbarous piece of Cruelty, upon the refusal of *Claudius* to surrender up *Messana* to him, when summoned to do it by his Herald. He had caused all the *Italians* in his own Army to be massacred. This monstrous Barbarity determines *Rome* to keep no longer any Measures with her Rival; and upon the first News of it, *Appius* comes away to *Rhegium*. From thence he sends Deputies to King *Hiero*, to conjure him, by the ancient Friendship between the *Romans* and him, to desist from the Siege he has undertaken. *Hiero*, in answer, reproaches the *Romans*, not only with Ingratitude to him, but with deviating from their pretended Equity, in making themselves the Protectors of the villanous Tyrants of *Messana*. *Appius* having received this Answer, resolves to sail thither in Person; but, in order to conceal his Design, causes a Report to be spread, that he cannot go to *Sicily* till he has received fresh Orders from the *Roman* People. This Report reaching the *Carthaginian* Fleet, makes them watch the *Streights* less narrowly. In the mean time *Appius* goes on board a bad Galley, hastily and unskilfully built, and pretends only to coast along the Shore, in his way to *Rome*. But as soon as he is out of sight, he tacks about; and being favoured by a dark Night, reaches the nearest Shore of *Sicily*, and lands his Troops there, without being perceived by the Enemy, either at Sea or Land. (It was for this bold Enterprize that he got the Surname of *Caudex*, which then signified a Boat ill built.) King *Hiero* was blocking up *Messana*, on the side of Mount *Chalcis*: *Appius* forces him to a Battel, defeats him, and enters triumphantly into *Messana*. §. 6. After this he endeavours to force the Entrenchments of the *Carthaginians*; but they are so advantageously posted, that he is repulsed with Loss. However, the Enemy being rash enough to pursue him into the Plain, he there repairs his Misfortune, kills a great Number of them, and puts the rest to flight. And now the Consul with his victorious Army falls upon the Lands of the *Syracusans* like a Torrent, pillaging and laying waste wherever he comes. And when he has spent his Year very gloriously, partly in Battels, and partly in Negotiations, he returns to *Messana*, thence to *Rhegium*, and thence to *Rome*. §. 7. The succeeding Consuls, *Manius Valerius Flaccus*, and *Manius Otacilius Crassus*, are ordered to transport into *Sicily* two Consular Armies, consisting each of eight thousand *Legionaries*, and twelve hundred Horse, besides a great Number of Auxiliaries. They vanquish the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusans* wherever they meet them, and in a few Months, subdue sixty seven Places. After this they think themselves able to undertake the Siege of *Syracuse*, the Capital of the Island. But *Hiero* being intimidated by the Experience he has had of the *Roman* Valour, and believing that an Alliance with the *Romans* will be less disadvantageous to him, than one with the *Carthaginians*,

Year of of whose Faith he has but a mean Opinion, sends Deputies to the *Consuls* to treat of *ROME* a Peace. His Proposals are accepted by the *Roman* Generals, and the Treaty is *The Ro-* confirmed at *Rome*. The *Romans* agree to acknowledge *Hiero* for a Friend to their mans *make* Republick, and to protect his Dominions from all Hostilities whatsoever. On the *an Alliance* other hand, *Hiero* engages to surrender up all the Prisoners of War taken from the *with Hi-ro-* *Romans*, without Ransom; to pay the Republick an hundred Talents of Silver, and to cultivate her Friendship by Fidelity. §. 8. [*An * Account of the Birth, * Vide p.*

491. Education, Adventures, great Talents, and Virtues, of *Hiero*.] §. 9. The *Consuls*, after the Treaty with the King of *Syracuse*, make farther Progress in *Sicily*, where the *Carthaginians* are now their only Enemies; and when the Campaign is ended, they return to *Rome*, putting the greatest part of their Troops in Winter Quarters, upon the Coast of *Italy*. *Valerius*, as having had the chief part in the late Conquest, is decreed a Triumph; and he gets the Surname of *Messala*, for having relieved *Messana*. A Dictator is created this Year, but it is only that he may drive a Nail into the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, to stop the Plague which rages in *Rome*. §. 10. The new *Consuls*, *L. Postumius Megellus*, and *Q. Mami-* 190th Con-
lius *Vitulus*, are both ordered to go and continue the War in *Sicily*; but the Army *fulship*. appointed them, consists only of eight thousand twelve hundred *Legionaries*, Horse and Foot; because the Republick depends on the Assistance of her Allies in *Sicily*. The *Romans* land at *Messana*, without meeting with any Opposition in their Passage; and having received the Reinforcements they expected, lay Siege to *Agrigentum*, a *They besiege* strong City on the South Coast of *Sicily*, and furnished with a *Carthaginian* Garri- *Agrigen-* son of fifty thousand Men, under the Command of *Hannibal*. *Hanno*, at the same time, is preparing to sail from *Carthage* with another Army of fifty thousand Foot, six thousand Horse, and sixty Elephants. The *Consuls*, however, are not discouraged at these great Preparations of the Enemy. They sit down before the Place, just in the time of Harvest, and give their Soldiers leave, at their Request, to go in small Parties, and reap the Corn in the Plain. But *Hannibal* resolves to take Advantage of this Relaxation of military Discipline; and makes two Sallies at the same time, one upon the Reapers, and the other upon the *Roman* Camp. The Reapers, not being able to rally soon enough, are overpowered, and cut to pieces; but the *Romans* in the Camp repulse the Enemy, and make a great Slaughter of them: So that both the Besiegers and Besieged learn more Wisdom, for the future. The *Consuls* take care not to suffer their Soldiers to go out to forage in small Parties; and *Hannibal* ventures no more to insult the *Roman* Camp. §. 11. While the Siege is carrying on slowly, the *Romans* receive daily Reinforcements from the *Sicilians*. Above a hundred thousand of them follow the *Roman* Standards. However, the *Consuls* continue five Months before the Place, in perfect Inaction; and in the mean time Provisions begin to fail in the City. *Hannibal* keeps up the Courage of the Inhabitants, by giving them hopes of Succours from *Carthage*. And indeed *Hanno* at length arrives with his Fleet at *Lilybæum*. Having landed his Troops he marches to *Heraclea*, within twenty Miles of *Agrigentum*, and there he receives a Deputation from some of the Inhabitants of *Erbesa* (a Place not far from *Agrigentum*, where the *Romans* have the Magazine of all their Provisions) offering to put the Town into his Hands. *Hanno* accepts the Offer with the greatest Joy, because by this means he thinks he shall be able to intercept all Convoys going to the *Romans*, who will be as much pressed with Famine, and as much besieged in the Plain, as the *Agrigentini* are within their Walls. And indeed, he is no sooner in Possession of *Erbesa*, than the *Consuls* think of raising the Siege. But the faithful *Hiero* finds means to convey some Subsistence to their Camp, though not in sufficient Quantity to prevent those Distempers among the Soldiers, which are the usual Consequences of Scarcity. In the mean time *Agrigentum* is reduced to the utmost Extremity by Famine. *Hannibal* gives *Hanno* Notice by Signals, of the deplorable Condition of the Place, and that he has no way left but to surrender; so that the latter finds it necessary to come to a decisive Action; and he acquaints *Hannibal* with the Day of Battel, that he may make a Sally at the proper time. But notwithstanding this double Attack upon the *Romans*, they force the Besieged back within their Walls, and gain a complete Victory over the *Carthaginian* Army. Eleven *The Car-* Elephants are taken, and thirty left dead upon the Plain. And the fugitive *Cartha-* ginians, with Difficulty, recover *Heraclea*. *Hannibal* imagining, that after the Fa- *Army de-* tigues of so glorious a Day, the *Romans* will be less upon their Guard, sallies out *feated*, again in the middle of the Night with the greatest part of his Troops, to surprise the *Roman* Entrenchments; but he is again repulsed, with considerable Loss: And then he does not return to the City, but retires with his Troops to a Place of Safety. The *Agrigentini*, to revenge themselves for being thus deserted, massacre the rest of the *Carthaginian* Garrison; and they hope likewise by this means to make their Court to the *Consuls*. But such Cruelties are not agreeable to the *Romans*; and the City having surrendered at Discretion, it is given up to be plundered, and

And Agri- and above twenty five thousand Persons of free Condition are made Slaves. After Year of
gentum ta- this the *Consuls* return to *Rome*. §. 12. The Reduction of *Agrigentum* gives *ROME*
ken. the *Romans* hopes of conquering all *Sicily*. The only Difficulty is, how to make

The Ro-
mans order
a hundred
and twenty
Ships of
War to be
built.
191st Con-
sulship.

themselves Masters of the maritime Cities, without the Assistance of a Fleet, equal at least to that of *Carthage*. Hitherto they had made use only of borrowed Merchant Ships to transport their Troops. But now the Republick forms a Design of being as formidable at Sea, as she is at Land, and orders a hundred and twenty Boats to be built, at the publick Expence, after the Model of a *Triremis*, lately split on the Coast of *Italy*. While these Gallies are upon the Stocks, the new *Consuls*, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *T. Otacilius*, set out for *Sicily*. When they arrive there, all the Cities, at any Distance from the Sea, submit to them, being terrified at the Fate of *Agrigentum*. In the mean time *Hanno*, by a piece of Treachery, gets rid of four thousand intractable *Gauls* in his Army, who mutiny for their Pay. He tells them that he will soon give them the Plunder of *Entella*, a City subject to the *Romans*; and this quiets them for the present. He then sends away his Steward, who pretends to be a Deserter, to give Notice to the *Consuls* of the Day when the *Gauls* are to go, and pay themselves their Arrears. A Body of *Romans* is accordingly detached, to lay in Ambush for them; and though they sell their Lives dearly, not one of them escapes.

492.

192d Con-
sulship.

§. 13. And now in the beginning of the *Consulship* of *Cn. Cornelius Asina*, and *C. Duilius*, the building of the sixscore Gallies (most of which are *Quinqueremes*) is finished. (The *Romans* had been but sixty Days in equipping this Fleet, reckoning from the time that the necessary Timber was brought to the Ports.) In order to instruct the Rowers and Mariners in their Business, a sort of marine Exercise on Shore is appointed for them; and they learn at Land how to make use of their Oars at Sea, and to observe the proper Signals.

493.

When all things are ready for the Departure of the *Consuls*, they chuse their Commands by Lot. The Land Forces fall to *Duilius*, and he goes into *Sicily* with two *Legions*. *Cornelius*, with seventeen Ships only of his new Fleet, sails to the Island of *Lipari*, upon false Advice given him (by Persons suborned by *Hannibal* for this Purpose) that the People of the Island will put him in Possession of it, upon the first Summons. He finds himself on a sudden surrounded by a greater Number of *Carthaginian* Vessels, under the Command of one *Boodes*. However, the latter, instead of attacking him, invites him, and the Commanders of his seventeen Gallies, to come aboard his Ship, to confer about the Differences between *Rome* and *Carthage*, in an amicable way. The credulous *Consul* gives into the Snare; goes with his Officers on board *Boodes's* Vessel; is laid in Irons, and sent Prisoner to *Carthage*. In the mean time the other hundred and three *Roman* Gallies set sail, according to the Orders *Cornelius* had given, coast along *Italy*, and make the best of their Way to the Mouth of the *Streights*. There they find *Hannibal*, who, with a Detachment of fifty Gallies, had come out of Curiosity to take a View of the Enemy's new-fashioned Boats. They fall upon him on a sudden, and either sink or take the greatest part of his Squadron. However, the *Romans* are sensible that the *Carthaginians* have a great Advantage over them in the lightness of their Vessels. And when the *Consul Duilius*, upon the News of his Colleague's Misfortune, comes on board the Fleet, he makes the same Reflection; and it a little abates his Confidence. But while he is ruminating on this Matter, an Engineer, in his Fleet, invents a Machine (afterwards called the *Corvus* *) to stop the Enemy's Ships, and give the *Romans* an Opportunity of boarding them. By the help of this Machine, they, in two several Engagements, defeat *Hannibal*, take eighty of his Vessels, and sink thirteen.

* Vide p.
555.
The *Corvus*
invented.
Duilius
twice de-
feats the
*Carthagi-
nians*.

§. 14. After this, *Duilius* goes ashore in *Sicily*, puts himself at the Head of the Land-Forces, relieves *Segesta*, besieged by *Hamilcar*, and takes *Macella*. The Campaign being ended, the Conqueror returns to *Rome*, and leaves his *Legions* behind. During his Absence, a Dispute arises between them, and the *Sicilian* Troops, about the Post of Honour, i. e. the Post of Danger. And the Difference comes to such a height, that the *Sicilians* separate from the *Romans*, and encamp by themselves. *Hamilcar* takes Advantage of these Divisions; falls upon the *Sicilians* in their Entrenchments; kills four thousand of them; and then drives the *Romans* from their Posts. In the mean time *Hannibal* returns towards *Africa*; and, fearing lest Crucifixion should be his Fate, dispatches one of his Friends, with proper Instructions to the Senate of *Carthage*. The News of his Defeat had not yet reached thither, when his Friend, being introduced to the Senate, acquaints them, from the Admiral, That the *Romans* have put to Sea a good Number of heavy, clumsy Vessels, with strange new-fashioned Machines fastened to the Prows of them; and he asks, Whether it be their Opinion that *Hannibal* should attack them. They are all unanimous for the Affirmative: And then the Messenger adds, *Hannibal, my Lords, thought as you do. Fortune has not favoured him. But shall the Capriciousness of Fortune be charged on him as a Crime?* By this means *Hannibal* escapes Death. The Command of the Fleet is nevertheless taken from him. But while the

Year of the *Carthaginians* are thus disgracing their unfortunate Admiral, the *Romans* are *ROME* heaping Honours on the brave *Duilius* at *Rome*. His late Victory at Sea, makes all former Victories at Land to be in a manner forgotten. Medals are struck to perpetuate the Memory of it; and a Pillar of white Marble is erected to his Honour in the *Forum Romanum*. (This Pillar was in the last Century accidentally dug up out of the Ground. There are yet six *Prows* of *Roman* Gallies sticking to it, and a long Inscription on the Pedestal of the Column.)

494. §. 15. The *Consuls* for the new Year are *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Aquilius Flo-*
rus. While the former is busy in getting the Fleet ready for new Enterprises, the latter is detained at *Rome*, to put an end to a Conspiracy to plunder and burn the City. Four thousand *Samnites* being appointed, contrary to their Inclination, to serve as Rowers in the Gallies, unite with three thousand discontented Slaves in this Design; and they chuse *Fotilius*, a Commander of Auxiliaries, to be their Leader. He seems to go in heartily to their Measures, till he has learnt their whole Secret, and then he discovers it to the Senate.

§. 17. In the mean time *Cornelius* puts to Sea, and makes a Descent first upon *Corfica*, and then upon *Sardinia*, and conquers both those Islands from the *Carthaginians*.

§. 18. *Aquilius* goes late into *Sicily*, but recovers the Affairs of the *Romans* there, which had suffered since the Departure of *Duilius*, and he stays in the Island all the Winter, in quality of *Pro-Consul*. His Collegue holds the *Comitia* for the new Elections. *A. Attilius*

495. *Calatinus*, and *G. Sulpicius Paternulus*, are chosen *Consuls*. The Command of the Land Army falls to the former, the Fleet to the latter. Soon after *Attilius* comes into *Sicily*, *Mysistratum*, which the *Pro-Consul Aquilius* has reduced to the last Extremity, surrenders to him.

§. 19. From thence he marches his Forces towards *Camarina*; but in his Way meets with *Caudian Forks*, where he is shut in by *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* General. However, the Army is rescued out of the Danger, by the Bravery of one *Calpurnius Flamma*, a *Legionary Tribune*, who with three hundred chosen Men keeps the Enemy in play, while the *Legions* get off. *Calpurnius* is the only Man of the Detachment who escapes with Life. He is found under a heap of dead Bodies, and covered with Wounds. The Reward given him is a Crown of *Gramen*. The *Consul Attilius* having escaped this Danger, continues his march to *Camarinum*, which he takes by the help of Engines sent him by *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*. After this he takes several other Towns.

§. 20. And now being flushed with Success, he rashly lays Siege to *Lipara*, expecting that it will immediately surrender. But *Hamilcar* having got Notice of his Design, had stolen, with some Troops, into the Place. These make a Sally, when the *Romans* are beginning to scale the Walls; and the latter are shamefully repulsed, with considerable Loss. As for *Sulpicius*, he burns with Desire, to signalize his Campaign by a naval Victory: And because no *Carthaginian* Fleet appears at Sea, he spreads a Report, that he intends to go and burn the Ships of the *African* Republick in their Harbours. This News alarms the *Carthaginians*, and they trust *Hannibal* once more with the Command of a considerable Fleet. He finds *Sulpicius* with his Squadrons not far from the Coast of *Africa*. But when both sides are preparing for an Engagement, a Storm separates them, and drives the Ships of both Fleets into the Ports of *Sardinia*. After this, *Sulpicius*, by a Stratagem, surprises the *Carthaginian* Admiral, and either sinks, or takes, most of his Gallies. *Hannibal* escapes to a little Town in *Sardinia*; but there his own Crew seditiously pronounce Sentence against him, and crucify him.

496. §. 21. The Year following, when *C. Attilius Regulus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Blasio*, are *Consuls*; the former obtains a fresh Victory over the *Carthaginian* Fleet, commanded by *Hamilcar*. He takes ten of his *Triremes*, and sinks ten others. *Cornelius*, who commands the *Roman* Land-Forces, has little to do in *Sicily*, his Predecessor, *A. Attilius* (who after the Expiration of his Year, had continued there as *Pro-Consul*) having almost totally reduced that Island.

BOOK XXIV.

- §. 1. **T**HE War with *Carthage* has already lasted eight Years. The *Carthaginians* have lost *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, and all their Dominions in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*, *Panormus*, and some few Places in that Neighbourhood. And now the Roman Republick forms a Design upon *Carthage* itself. The two new Consuls, *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, are ordered to pass into *Africa*, and to make that Country the Seat of the War for the future. Their Fleet, for this Expedition, consists of three hundred and thirty Gallies, of different Sizes; and on board of each of these Vessels, are a hundred and twenty Soldiers, and three hundred Rowers. The Fleet of the Enemy, under the Command of the Admirals *Hanno* and *Hamilcar*, is yet more formidable. It consists of three hundred and sixty Sail, and is better manned than that of the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians* arrive at the Port of *Heraclea* in *Sicily*. There they watch the Motions of the *Romans*, being determined to oppose their Descent upon the Coast of *Africa*. The Consuls nevertheless pursue their Course, and appear off *Heraclea*, with their several Squadrons, drawn up in order of Battel. *Hanno* and *Hamilcar* accept the Challenge, and an Engagement ensues; (The † Circumstances of which are described.) The *Romans* prove victorious. They sink thirty of the Enemies Ships, and take sixty four. Their own Loss is but of twenty four Gallies. 497.
- 196th Consulship.
- The Battel of Heraclea † Vide p. 571.
- §. 2. The Consuls, after so complete a Victory, prepare anew for a Descent upon *Africa*. *Hanno* endeavours to amuse them by Conferences about Peace, and has the Boldness to come in Person to the Consuls, as Deputy from his Republick. But he is no sooner arrived, than the Multitude cry out, *That he should be detained Prisoner by way of Reprisal, for the Treachery practised five Years before, with regard to the Consul Cornelius Asina*. *Hanno* is alarmed at this, but with an Air of Confidence, puts this artful Question. *What Advantage, Romans, can you get by imitating our Perfidiousness? It will only be said, that Rome produces as great Villains as Carthage*. The Consuls are piqued in Honour at these Words, and suffer him to return to his Army. There being no Disposition to Peace on either side, *Hanno* makes the best of his Way to *Carthage*, to give Notice of the approaching Invasion. The *Romans* have a fortunate Voyage, appear off *Clupea*, near the Promontory of *Mercury*, and there land. The Consuls having made themselves Masters of *Clupea*, continue there quiet, and wait for fresh Instructions from *Rome*. (For such was the Dependence of the Consuls upon the Senate at this time, that they did little more than execute the Orders of the *Conscript Fathers*. And the latter being for the most part experienced and able Soldiers, who had been themselves at the Head of Armies, were very capable of directing the Conduct of their new and unexperienced Generals.) When the Messenger comes back, he brings Orders for *Manlius* to return to *Italy* with the Fleet, and for *Regulus* to continue the War in *Africa*. The latter, whether from some foreboding of what is to happen to him, or from an Impatience to have the Honours of a Triumph, is discontented with the Province assigned him, and desires to be recalled. His Pretext is the bad Condition of his little Farm of seven Acres of Land. He represents to the Senate, that upon the Death of the Husbandman who had had the Care of his Farm, he had committed the Management of it to a Day-Labourer, who had stolen his Cattle, and carried off all his Stock; so that his Presence was necessary at home, to provide for the Subsistence of his Wife and Children. Upon this the Senate give Orders to have his Family maintained at the publick Expence; but he is directed to stay in *Africa*, and to continue to command the Army there as *Pro-Consul*, when the Year of his *Consulate* shall be expired.
- The Romans make a Descent upon Africa.
- 197th Consulship.
- * Vide p. 574, 575.
- Regulus kills the Serpent on the Banks of the Bagrada.
- §. 3. *Manlius* sails back to *Italy*, carrying with him on board his Fleet twenty seven thousand Prisoners, taken at Sea, and upon the Continent. He leaves only forty Vessels to attend *Regulus*, whose Army consists of fifteen thousand *Legionaries*, five hundred Horse, and a greater Number of Auxiliaries. *S. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus*, are soon after promoted to the Consulship; but all the Attention of the Republick is upon *Regulus*, who now, as *Pro-Consul*, pushes on his Conquests with prodigious Rapidity. To oppose his Progress, *Hamilcar* is recalled from *Sicily*, and to him are joined *Bostar* and *Asdrubal*. The Army given to *Hamilcar* is just equal to that of the *Romans*. The other two Generals command separate Bodies. But now *Regulus* meets with a monstrous * Serpent on the Banks of the River *Bagrada*, and (as some Historians say) is obliged to employ his battering Engines of War to destroy it. 498.
- §. 4. After this he lays Siege to *Adis*; and the *Carthaginian* Army coming to relieve it, he attacks the Enemy in their Camp, kills seventeen thousand of them, takes five thousand Prisoners, and eighteen Elephants. The neighbouring Provinces immediately submit to the Conqueror, and

Year of and in a few Days the *Pro-Consul* becomes Master of fourscore Towns, which sur-
ROME render to him. He then besieges *Tunis*, within sight of *Carthage*, and carries the *session of*
Place. At the same time the *Numidians*, eternal Enemies of the *Carthaginians*, en-
ter their *Provinces* with Fire and Sword, and force the Peasants to take Refuge in
their Capital. So many Mouths soon consume the Stores, laid up in the publick
Magazines; and the private Merchants conceal what Provisions they have, that
they may sell them at an excessive Price. §. 5. In this Extremity the *Regulus*
People of *Carthage* are overjoyed to see Deputies come from the *Pro-Consul*, to treat *sends Pro-*
of Peace. (*Regulus* being desirous to put an end to the War, before the Expiration *posals of*
of his *Pro-Consulate*, that his Successor might not rob him of any part of the Glory *Peace,*
of his Conquests, had resolved, if possible, to conclude an advantageous Peace, *which are*
which might do honour for ever to his Memory.) But his Deputies insist upon such *rejected.*
hard † Conditions, that the *Carthaginian* Senate unanimously reject the Proposal, † Vide p.
and resolve to stand all Events. They had, before this Negotiation, sent to hire 576, 577.
Troops in *Greece*, to recruit their Army. This Reinforcement arrives just in the
height of their Distress. Among these Mercenaries is one *Xantippus*, or *Xanthippus*, a *Lac-*
cedæmonian, a Man of a mean Appearance, and only a subaltern Officer, but of great
Bravery, and wonderful Ability in the Art of War. This Man having informed
himself of the Circumstances of the late Battels, in which the *Carthaginians* had
been worsted, declares publickly, that their Misfortunes are owing more to their
own Misconduct, than any real Superiority of their Enemies. Being introduced to
the Senate, he explains himself so clearly, and talks so judiciously, that the *Cartha-*
ginian Generals, as well as the rest, are unanimously for putting him at the Head *Xantip-*
of their Army; and a Decree is made for that Purpose. *Xantippus* immediately *pus, the*
teaches his Troops a new sort of Discipline, and how to encamp to Advantage: *Lacedæ-*
Inasmuch, that the *Romans* are surpris'd at the sudden change they perceive in the *monian, ap-*
Conduct of the Enemy. However, *Regulus* despises both them and their Com- *pointed Ge-*
manders, and writes to the Senate of *Rome*, that he will soon reduce *Carthage* to *neral of the*
receive Law from the Republick. §. 6. After this he marches to attack the *Carthagi-*
Enemy, who are encamped in a vast Plain, where their Elephants have room to *nian Army.*
act, and their Horse to wheel. He finds a River in his Way, but is so confident
of Victory, that he makes no Scruple to cross it, and leave it behind him; though
he thereby cuts off all Possibility of Retreat, in case of a Misfortune. This was
the very Situation in which *Xantippus* wished to see him; and he instantly draws
out his Troops, and gives him Battel, before the *Romans* can refresh themselves,
after the Fatigue of their March. [The † Battel is described.] The *Romans* lose † Vide p.
thirty thousand Men in the Action, and *Regulus* is taken Prisoner, and led in Tri- 578, 579.
umph to *Carthage* by the Conqueror. *Xantippus* is looked upon by the People as a *The Ro-*
Hero sent from the Gods to deliver them. However, the excessive Praise they be- *mans de-*
stow upon him proves fatal to him. It raises the Envy of the *Carthaginian* Gene- *feated, and*
rals. *Xantippus* is aware of the Danger he is in, and resolves to return to *Lacedæ-* *Regulus*
mon. (Some Authors say that he was murdered in the Voyage; others, that he was *taken Pri-*
put on board a leaky Vessel; and all agree in the consummate Ingratitude of the *soner.*
Carthaginians.) As for *Regulus* he is treated in a most inhuman manner: And when *Xantippus*
he has been for a time a publick Shew, and the Sport of the insulting Populace, he *murdered.*
is shut up in the common Prison. §. 7. But now the *Consuls* for the
Year, *Fulvius* and *Æmilius*, who have hitherto lain still, enter upon Action. The
Republick orders them to take proper Measures to secure the Coast of *Italy* from
an Invasion; then to go into *Sicily*; and after that, if they judge it adviseable, to
sail to *Africa*. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* endeavour in vain to retake
Clupea and *Utica*. The News of the Approach of another *Roman* Fleet, consisting
of three hundred and fifty Gallies, makes them set all Hands to work to refit their
old Vessels, and build new ones, in order to oppose a second Descent. They ven-
ture to give the *Consuls* Battel near *The Promontory of Mercury*, but are totally de- *The Car-*
feated. They lose fifteen thousand Men; and a hundred and four of their Ships are *thaginians*
sunk. After this the *Romans* land near *Clupea*. *Xantippus* is now no more. The *defeated,*
Carthaginian Army is commanded by the two *Hanno's*, Father and Son; and not- *both by Sea*
withstanding the new Discipline it has learnt from the *Lacedæmonian* General, it can- *and Land.*
not stand before the *Roman* Legions. In the first Action, nine thousand *Carthagi-*
nian Soldiers are slain, and a great Number of their principal Lords are taken Pri-
soners. These are carefully guarded by the *Romans*, in order to be exchanged for
Regulus. After these glorious Victories, the *Consuls* find themselves obliged to eva-
cuate both *Clupea* and *Utica*, and to leave *Africa* for want of Provisions. In their
way home they are desirous to signalize the end of their *Consulship* by some important
Conquests on the Coast of *Sicily*. The Pilots in vain represent to them, that the
Season is approaching, when it is impossible to keep the Sea. The Obstinacy of *The Ro-*
the *Consuls* proves the Destruction of the Fleet. A more violent Tempest, than had man *Fleet*
been known in the Memory of Man, arises; and of near four hundred Vessels, *destroyed by*
scarce a Tempest.

- scarce eighty escape. This Disaster, however, is not imputed to the *Consuls* by Year of the Republick. §. 8. They are continued, each in the Command of an *ROME* 499.
- 198th Con- Army, as *Pro-Consuls*, for the following Year. The new *Consuls* are *A. Attilius*,
sulship. and that *Cornelius Asina*, who had been made Prisoner by Treachery, and, in his Captivity, had been forced to drive a Plough. *Carthalo* now commands the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Sicily*, and seems to threaten the total Reduction of that Island.
- The Ro- But the *Romans* in three Months time fit out a hundred and twenty new Gallies;
mans fit out and these, with the old ones that are refitted, make a Fleet of two hundred and
a new Fleet. fifty Sail. The *Consuls* and *Pro-Consuls* pass over to *Sicily*; the former command at Sea, the latter at Land: But as they besiege only maritime Towns, they all act jointly. They block up *Panormus*, and reduce it to capitulate. Forty thousand of the Besieged purchase their Liberty, at almost seven Pounds *per* Head; and the rest, to the Number of thirty thousand, are sold for Slaves. After this the *Consuls* return to *Rome*; but in their Passage, the Transport Ships, on which they have put the Money and Spoils brought from *Panormus*, are taken by the *Carthaginians*.
- 199th Con- §. 9. The *Consuls* for the new Year are *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *C. Sempronius* 500.
sulship. *Blæsus*; with a Fleet of two hundred and sixty Gallies, they sail first to *Lilybæum*; but finding this too strong to attempt the Siege of it, they steer thence to the Coast of *Africa*, a great way eastward from *Carthage*. There they make a Descent, and get some Booty. After this they narrowly escape losing the whole Fleet on the Flats of the lesser *Syrtis*, and return to *Panormus*. Having staid here a short time, they set sail for *Italy*, and have a fair Wind till they come off Cape *Palinurus*; but then so violent a Storm overtakes them, that a hundred and sixty of their Gallies, besides Transport-Ships, are lost. And now, the Republick begins to consider the two Tempets, which have destroyed her two Fleets, as a Declaration of the Will of Heaven, against her Attempt, to deprive *Carthage* of the Empire of the Seas. The Senate make a Decree, that for the future, no more than fifty Vessels shall be equipped, and that these shall be employed only in guarding the Coast of *Italy*, and in transporting Troops to *Sicily*.
- Which is destroyed by another Tempest.
- 200th Con- §. 10. *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Ser-* 501.
sulship. *wilius Geminus*, being now raised to the *Consulate*, go into *Sicily*, and take the City of *Himera*. After this *Aurelius* forms a Design upon the Island and City of *Lipara*, but is destitute of Ships to transport his Forces thither. *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*, supplies this Want. The *Consul*, having finished his Conquest, returns to *Sicily*. But though the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Armies come often in sight of each other, the former are too much disheartened since the Defeat of *Regulus*, and too much afraid of the Elephants, to hazard a Battel; so that the Campaign ends without any considerable Exploit.
- A Plebeian made Pontifex Maximus.
- §. 11. The *Consuls*, at their return to *Rome*, find a considerable change in civil Affairs. *Tib. Coruncanius*, a *Plebeian*, has been raised to the Dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*, for his eminent Virtues. At this time there is a general Disposition to a Reformation of Manners. The Great Pontiff makes Profession of an austere Philosophy; the *Censors* turn their Thoughts to reform the Senate; and these being assisted by *Aurelius*, who is naturally severe, Examples are made of those who neglect the Worship of the Gods, live irregular Lives, or break the Laws of military Discipline. Thirteen Senators are ignominiously struck out of the List; and at the Motion of *Aurelius*, four hundred *Knights*, who had refused to obey his Orders when in the Island of *Lipara*, are degraded. Their Horses are taken from them, and they are deprived of the Right of Suffrage in their *Centuries*, &c.
- §. 12. The *Carthaginians* seeing themselves Masters of the Sea, and their Hopes of reconquering *Sicily* increasing, in proportion as they find their Rivals reduced to act upon the defensive, they prepare to make new Levies, and to equip a new Fleet. But Money is wanting to execute this Design, and their Treasures are exhausted. They send an Embassy therefore to *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, to borrow of him two thousand Talents. He being desirous to stand neuter, refuses to assist them against the *Romans*. However, they make an Effort, and fit out a Fleet of two hundred Sail. The Army they put on board it, consists of thirty thousand Men, Horse and Foot, and a hundred and forty Elephants: And *Asdrubal* is appointed Generalissimo both by Sea and Land.
- 201st Con- §. 13. In the mean 502.
sulship. time *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *C. Furius Pacilus*, are chosen *Consuls*. They go into *Sicily*, and act only upon the defensive, according to their Instructions from the Senate. But though the *Conscript Fathers* approve this Obedience in their Generals, they begin to reflect, that so much Circumspection and Caution dishonours the Commanders, and must enervate the Courage of the Soldiers. They resume therefore their former Vigour, and resolve to put a new Fleet to Sea, there being no other means to preserve *Sicily*.
- The Ro- §. 14. While the Vessels are building under
mans fit out the Direction of *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *C. Attilius Regulus*, the new *Consuls*, *Me-*
a new Fleet. tellus, who continues to act in *Sicily* as *Pro-Consul*, restores the Reputation of the
202d Con- Roman Arms. By pretending Fear, he draws *Asdrubal* to a disadvantageous Ground 503.
sulship. near *Panormus* (where he has posted himself to defend the fruitful Harvests round that

Year of that City) and then by his masterly Conduct obtains one of the most memorable
ROME † Victories in the *Roman* Story. Twenty thousand of the Enemy are killed, and † Vide p.
 many Elephants. A hundred and four of these Beasts are taken alive; and 590.
 are afterwards, by the *Pro-Consul's* Orders, transported to *Italy*, where they serve to Metellus
 swell the Pomp of his Procession, when he enters *Rome* in Triumph. As the *Ro-* gains a sig-
mans had resolved never to make use of them in their Wars, and did not care to be nal Victory
 at the Expence of feeding them, they order them to be hunted to death in the in Sicily.
Circus, by common Wrestlers, for the Diversion of the People, who are hereby
 taught to despise these Animals. As for *Asdrubal*, his Sentence is past in his Absence,
 and at his return home he is crucified. §. 15. And now the two *Consuls*,
 with the new Fleet of two hundred and forty Gallies, and sixty smaller Vessels, pass
 into *Sicily*. Being excited by a noble Emulation, they resolve, if possible, to sur-
 pass their Predecessor *Metellus*, and to exterminate the *Africans* out of *Sicily* by one
 Stroke. They lay Siege to *Lilybæum*, a City deemed impregnable, and the only Lilybæum
 safe Retreat of the *Carthaginian* Armies. The People of *Carthage*, upon the News besieged.
 of this Enterprize, are so discouraged, that they begin to think of Peace. They
 soften the Rigours of *Regulus's* Confinement, and endeavour to engage him to bring
 his Republick into a Treaty of Peace, upon moderate Terms, or, at least, to an
 Exchange of Prisoners. Having first taken an Oath of him to return to *Carthage*,
 if the Negotiation proves ineffectual, they send him away to *Rome* with some Am- The Car-
 bassadors. When *Regulus* comes to the Gates of the City, he refuses to enter thaginians
 them, he being a Slave to the *Carthaginians*, and it being contrary to Law for the send Regu-
Roman Senate to give Audience to Strangers within the Walls. His Wife and lus to
 Children come to meet him, but he fixes his Eyes upon the Ground, as one ashamed Rome to
 of his servile Condition, and unworthy of their Caresses. When the Senators are treat of a
 met without the Walls, he tells them, *That being a Slave to the Carthaginians, he Peace.*
is come on the part of his Masters to treat with them concerning a Peace, and an Ex-
change of Prisoners. As soon as he has uttered these few Words, he seeks to with-
 draw, and to follow the Ambassadors. In vain the *Conscript Fathers* press him to
 stay, and give his Opinion as an old Senator and *Consul*. However, he obeys his
African Masters, who order him to continue in the Assembly. When his turn
 comes to speak, he gives very solid * Reasons against granting the *Carthaginians* a * Vide p.
 Peace, and very frivolous ones against an Exchange of Prisoners. The Senate ad- 594.
 mire his Magnanimity and Disinterestedness; and his Contempt of Life makes them
 the more desirous to save him. The *Pontifex Maximus* declares, that he may, with-
 out Perjury, continue at *Rome*. *Regulus* is offended with this, as if his Honour
 were touched, and his Courage called in Question. He tells them, *That he is not*
ignorant of the Tortures he shall undergo; but That they will not be comparable to the
continual Remorses of a guilty Conscience, and the Infamy which would follow him to
his Grave. It is my Duty, adds he, *to return to Carthage. Let the Gods take care*
of the rest. The Senate, by the same Decree by which they refuse the *Carthaginian*
 Ambassadors both Peace and an Exchange of Prisoners, leave *Regulus* at Liberty to
 continue at *Rome*, or to return to *Carthage*. He quits his native Country, to go
 and resume his Chains, with the same Serenity, as if he were going to a Country-
 Seat for his Recreation. The *Carthaginians* are so enraged against him, that they Regulus
 invent new Tortures to satisfy their Revenge. They cut off his Eye-Lids, and returns to
 then expose him to the Sun at Noon-day. After this they shut him up in a kind of Carthage,
Armoire, or Press, stuck full with Nails, so that he can neither sit nor lean; and and is put
 there they leave him to perish with Hunger, and want of Rest. The News of this to a cruel
 Barbarity no sooner reaches *Rome*, but the Senate, by way of Retaliation, give up Death.
 the chief of the *Carthaginian* Captives to be treated at the Discretion of *Marcia*,
 the Wife of *Regulus*, and she condemns them to the same cruel Death her Hus-
 band had suffered. §. 16. In the mean time *Manlius* and *Attilius* carry
 on the Siege of *Lilybæum* with Vigour. *Himilco* commands in the Place; which is
 not only strong by Nature and Art, but is defended by a numerous Garrison. The
 first Attack is upon the Cape of *Lilybæum*, where it jets out most into the Sea,
 and where are seven Towers ranged, which reach to the Rampart of the Town.
 These Towers taken, the *Consuls* attempt to fill up the Ditch, that they may ap-
 proach the Wall. *Himilco* raises a second Rampart behind the first; and when the
Romans endeavour to undermine the Walls, the Enemy countermine on their side,
 and Battels are fought under Ground, in which the Besiegers are worsted.
 §. 17. The Besieged however are reduced to great Straits, when they receive a
 seasonable Reinforcement from *Carthage*. Notwithstanding all that the *Romans* can
 do to block up the Port, *Hannibal*, the Son of *Hamilcar*, enters it with ten thou-
 sand Men, and a great Quantity of Provisions. This bold Admiral finding himself
 useless in the Place, puts all the *Carthaginian* Horse on board his Gallies, repasses
 safely through the *Roman* Fleet, and gets to *Drepanum*. There he lands; and being
 now at the Head of a numerous Body of Cavalry, makes Incursions into the Ter-
 ritories

territories belonging to the Allies of *Rome*, intercepts the *Roman* Convoys, and causes Year of a Scarcity in their Camp. This obliges one of the *Consuls* to separate with his *ROME* Legions from the rest of the Army; and he returns to *Rome* to hold the *Comitia* for new Elections. In the mean time his Colleague endeavours to shut up the Port by a Bar, made of strong Beams, fastened together with Iron. The Winds and the Current of the Sea soon destroy this Work. However, the Report of it causes such a Terror at *Carthage*, that no body will venture, for some time, to go to *Lilybæum*, to bring back an Account of the Siege. §. 18. At length

Hannibal, the *Rhodian*, a Captain of a very light Galley, ventures upon the bold Undertaking, and succeeds, in spite of all the Vigilance of the *Romans*. He passes and repasses several times before their Eyes; and his good Fortune encourages others to the like Attempt. One of these Adventurers, less skilful than *Hannibal* in the Knowledge of the Currents between the Rocks and the Flats, runs a-ground; and his light Galley is taken by the *Romans*. By the help of this they catch the *Rhodian* himself; and being now in Possession of two light Gallies, they effectually shut up the Port; and no *Carthaginian*, for the future, attempts to enter it.

The Works
before Lily-
bæum de-
stroyed.

§. 19. But now a sudden Tempest arising, and the Wind blowing from the Land with such Violence, as almost to overturn the Machines and Batteries erected by the *Romans* against the outward Rampart of the Town, the *Carthaginians*, by the Advice of some mercenary *Greeks* in their Service, take Advantage of this Accident, fall out of the Place, and set Fire to the Galleries, Platforms, Towers, and *Bal-listæ* of the Besiegers: And, in short, the Work of several Months is destroyed in an Hour's time. The Storm blowing full in the Faces of the *Romans*, they can make no Resistance, their Darts have no Effect, and the Smoke blinds them. The *Roman* Constancy is staggered by this Blow; but *Hiero* raises their Courage again, by sending them Convoys of Provisions, and exhorting them to continue their Enterprise. The Siege however is turned into a Blockade. When the News of this Disaster reaches *Rome*, the People are only the more animated by it to continue the Siege, and ten thousand of them associate together, to go and serve before *Lilybæum*. But in the Senate many are for concluding a Peace, and the Dispute rises to such a height, that Blows are given, and (according to some Author one Senator is killed for being too warm on that side. §. 20. The

203d Con-
sulship.

next Year proves more unfortunate to *Rome*, when *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *L. Junius Pullus*, are *Consuls*. The former has the Command of the Land-Forces, the latter of the Fleet. *Claudius*, inheriting the Rashness and Pride of his Family, is no sooner at the Camp, but he begins by defaming his Predecessors, and reproaching the Soldiers with Indolence and Cowardise. He then takes it into his Head, that by the help of the ten thousand Men, with which his Army is reinforced, he may surprise *Drepanum*, where *Adherbal*, an able Captain, commands for the *Carthaginians*. He sails thither with the Fleet of a hundred and twenty Gallies, that lay before *Lilybæum*. *Adherbal*, aware of his Approach, comes out of the Port of *Drepanum* with ninety Gallies, well manned, and hides himself behind some Rocks, till the *Roman* Ships have entered the Mouth of the Haven. He then appears out at Sea, and bears down upon the *Consul*, who is in the Rear of his Fleet. *Claudius* tacks about, and makes a Sign to the advanced Gallies to do the same. It is with great Difficulty that he draws them up in a Line along the Coast. His Situation is very disadvantageous, because, in case his Vessels are obliged to give way in the least, they must either run upon the Flats, or bulge against the Rocks. It is in his Power to sheer off; but he is obstinate to try an Engagement. And when the *Sacred Chickens* are consulted, and refuse to eat, he throws them, Cage and all, into the Sea. If they won't eat, let them drink, says he; not reflecting that such a Contempt of Religion would discourage his Troops. In reality, the *Romans* behave themselves like mere Cowards, and hardly make any Resistance. The *Consul* no sooner sees that things go ill, but he makes off as fast as he can with thirty Gallies, and leaves the rest to struggle with the Waves, the Rocks, and the Enemy. He loses ninety Ships. Eight thousand of his Men are either killed or drowned, and twenty thousand of his Rowers, Mariners, and Soldiers, are sent Prisoners to *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* gain this Victory without losing a single Man, or one Galley. However, *Claudius* has the Presence of Mind, in his Flight, to put Crowns upon his thirty Gallies, as if he were victorious, and thereby escapes being attacked from any of the maritime Places between *Drepanum* and *Lilybæum*.

Claudius
Pulcher
throws the
Sacred
Chickens
into the Sea.
He is de-
feated at
Sea by the
Carthagi-
nians.

He names
one of his
Clients to be
Dictator.

§. 21. The News of the ill Conduct and Impiety of the *Consul* no sooner reaches *Rome*, but he is immediately recalled, and ordered to name a *Dictator*. To insult the Senate, and in Derision of the Laws, he nominates to that supreme Dignity, one of his own Clients, named *Claudius Glycia*, a Man of the meanest of the People, and who had been his Tipstaff, while *Consul*. But this Fellow is compelled to abdicate, and *M. Atilius Calatinus* takes his Place. (Whether *Claudius* was condemned or not, upon a Trial before the People for his Misdemeanors, is uncertain.)

Year of tain.)

§. 22. As for the other *Consul*, *Junius Pullus*, he had sailed with *ROME* a Fleet of a hundred and twenty Gallies; and eight hundred other Vessels to *Syracuse*, there to get Provisions to carry to the Camp before *Lilybæum*. From *Syracuse* he had sent the *Quæstors* before him with a Squadron; and now he himself follows with the rest of the Fleet. *Carthalo*, detached by *Adherbal* from *Drepanum* with a hundred Gallies, meets first the *Quæstors*, and then the *Consul*, and obliges both to seek their Safety by running close upon the Coast, and mooring their Ships in a Place full of Rocks, where a violent Storm soon after dashes them all to pieces. *The Ro-* So that *Rome* is once more deprived by Heaven of all her naval Force, and once man Fleet more renounces the Empire of the Seas.

§. 23. The Blockade of *Lilybæum* totally de- is however continued. The *Romans*, notwithstanding these Disasters, are still stroyed. strongest by Land. *Junius*, to repair his Misfortune, makes an attempt upon *Eryx*,

situated on the highest Mountain in *Sicily*, next to Mount *Ætna*. He surprises the Place in the Night by the help of some Soldiers, who, for Money, betray it to him. To secure this Conquest, he builds a Fort at the Foot of Mount *Eryx*, and places there a Garrison of eight hundred Men. But *Carthalo* makes a Descent, besieges the Fort, takes it by Assault and puts the Garrison to the Sword. (Some Authors say that *Junius* was taken Prisoner in defending the Place; but others, that he killed himself for fear of being condemned at *Rome* for his ill Conduct.)

§. 24. One *Consul* being dead, and the other deposed, the *Dictator's* Presence becomes necessary in *Sicily*. And this being the first time that such a Magistrate appears out of *Italy*, much is expected from the Novelty. However, the *Dictatorship* 505. passes without any memorable Exploit. The *Centuries* now raise to the *Consulship*, 204th Con- *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Geminus*. (It is probable, that in their time some *fulship* of the *Vestals* were first chosen out of *Plebeian* Families.)

§. 25. The whole care of the new *Consuls*, when they come into *Sicily*, is to hinder the *Carthaginians* from carrying Succours or Provisions into *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*. And *Carthalo* having in vain attempted both, endeavours to draw one of the *Consuls* out of the Island, by making a Descent upon *Italy*, and ravaging the *Provinces* belonging to the Republick. He lands on the Coast of *Lucania*; but the *Prætor* of *Rome*, at the Head of an Army, soon obliges him to retire to his Ships. And now his mercenary Troops begin to murmur for want of their Pay. To put a Stop to the Mutiny, he punishes the most seditious with Rigour. But this provokes even those who are the most peaceably inclined; insomuch, that the Rebellion is like to be general, when he is seasonably recalled, and *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Barca*, the Father *Hamilcar* of the Great *Hannibal*, is sent to command in his stead. *Hamilcar* having appeased *Barca*, Ad- the Sedition in his Fleet, sails to *Italy*, pillages the Territories of the *Locrenses* and *miral of the* *Bruttii*, and then returns to *Sicily*. There he encamps his Army at *Epiestæ*, situated *Carthagi-* upon a high Rock, between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, both belonging to the *Romans*. *nian Fleet*. From thence he makes Incursions into the Lands of the Allies of *Rome*, and so harasses the *Consuls*, that they can make but little Progress in the Siege of *Lilybæum*.

506. §. 26. However, *Cæcilius Metellus*, one of their Successors, is ordered to continue 205th Con- that Enterprize, while his Collegue, *N. Fabius Buteo*, besieges *Drepanum*. *Hamilcar*, *fulship*. by innumerable Sallies from his Eminence, keeps both the *Consuls* in play; and by his infinite Activity and masterly Conduct, hinders them from gaining any great Advantages over his Nation. (At this time his Son, *Hannibal*, is born.) *Hannibal*

§. 27. While Affairs are in this Situation in *Sicily*, a *Roman* Fleet of Privateers, *born*. under the Command of *Aurelius*, the late *Consul*, pillages the Coast of *Africa*. They enter the Port of *Hippo*, set fire to Ships and Houses, and carry thence a great deal of rich Spoil. After this they meet a *Carthaginian* Fleet, loaded with Provi- *A Fleet of* sions for *Hamilcar*, and gain a considerable Advantage over it. However, the Pride *Roman* of the *Romans* being in a good Measure abated by their many late Misfortunes, they *Privateers* are now the first to wish an Exchange of Prisoners; and accordingly they are ex- *defeats a* changed Man for Man. And as the *Carthaginians* have more to redeem than the *Carthagi-* *Romans*, the latter receive Money for the Overplus, and thereby recruit their Trea- *nian Fleet*. sury. The Number of *Roman Citizens* appears, by a *Census* taken this Year, to be no more than two hundred fifty one thousand two hundred and twenty, which is less, by eighty six thousand five hundred and seventy five, than the Number at the

507. last *Census*. §. 28. The following Campaign of *M. Otacilius Crassus*, 206th Con- and *M. Fabius Licinus*, is as barren of military Exploits, as the preceding one. But *fulship*. the *Romans* give a remarkable Instance at *Rome*, to what a high Pitch they carry the Love of their Country. *Claudia*, the Sister of the late *Claudius Pulcher*, and thoroughly tinctured with all the Vices of the Family, returning in a Chariot from *Claudia pu-* the publick Shew, happens to be pressed in the Throng. Upon this she cries out *nished at* in a Passion, *I wish my Brother Claudius were alive again; and that he could rid Rome for* *Rome*, as formerly, of such a Mob of Scoundrels, with which the City is overcrowded. *treasonable* For these Words she is cited by two *Ædiles* to appear before the *Tribes*; and not- *Words a-* withstanding all that the whole Body of the Nobility can say or do in her Favour, *gainst the* she People.

- she is condemned to pay a Fine of twenty five thousand *Asses* of *Brass*. §. 29. Year of
 207th Con- The Romans still continue the Siege of *Lilybæum*, under the new *Consuls*, *M. Fa-* ROME
 sulship. *bius Buteo*, and *C. Attilius Bulbus*, and hope to take it at length by Famine. But 508.
Hamilcar finds means to supply it with Provisions. He sails with his little Fleet
 from *Epierète*, and in the Night, sends a part of it to lie behind some Islands, which
 shelter the Port of *Lilybæum*. In the Morning he himself appears out at Sea with
 the rest of his Ships, and defies the Enemy to Battel. The Romans make all haste
 to attack him, and when they are got a good way from the Port, the detached
 Squadron, which had lain hid, enters it, lands the Provisions, and some fresh
 Troops, and then gets away again before the Romans can return from a vain Pursuit.
 The Roman Privateers gain another Victory over a Carthaginian Fleet near the
 Island of *Ægimur*, but are afterwards dashed in pieces by a Tempest against the
 Rocks, on the Coast of *Lybia*. §. 30. The next Year, when *A. Man-* 509.
 The Ro- *lius Atticus*, and *C. Sempronius Blæsus* command in *Sicily*, *Hamilcar* surprises the
 man Pri- City of *Eryx*, situated about the middle of the Mountain of that Name; and he
 vateers de- destroyed by a maintains himself in this Post, though the Romans are in Possession of the Temple
 destroyed by a Tempest. of *Venus Erycina*, on the Summit of the Mountain, and have a Fort at the bottom
 208th Con- of it, defended by a good Garrison. The *Consuls* in vain use all their Efforts to
 sulship. dislodge him; and in the mean time the Siege of *Lilybæum* advances but slowly,
Hamilcar takes *Eryx* and that of *Drepanum* is raised. §. 31. While the new *Consuls*, *C. Fundanius*, 510.
 by surprise. and *C. Sulpicius Gallus* are vainly endeavouring to drive *Hamilcar* from *Eryx*, both
 209th Con- the Besieged and the Besiegers suffer all the Misery of War and Famine. The
 sulship. Gauls, who make the best part of *Hamilcar's* Garrison, being wearied out with
 continual Fighting, and not receiving their Pay, plot together to put the Place
 into the Hands of the Romans; but the vigilant Carthaginian prevents their Design.
 However, they desert to the Enemy, and enlist themselves in the Roman Service.
 This is the first time that we see foreign Forces in the Pay of the Republick.
 §. 32. But now the Senate being thoroughly convinced, that it will be impossible
 to establish their Dominion in *Sicily*, while the Carthaginians are Masters of the
 Seas, they turn their Thoughts to the building of a new Fleet, and they propose
 to man their Vessels with hired Troops from foreign Countries, that in case of new
 Misfortunes by Tempests, Rome may not suffer so great a Loss of her own Citizens,
 as formerly. The great Difficulty is, how to find Money for such an Undertak-
 ing; for the publick Treasury is exhausted. Upon this Occasion the Senators give
 an Example, to the rest of the Citizens, of Zeal for their Country's Service. The
 richest of them build, each a *Quinqueremis*, at his own Cost. Others tax them-
 selves at so much a Head, and a Galley is fitted out at the joint Expence of three
 or four. And, in short, a Fleet of two hundred *Quinqueremes* is thus put to Sea
 by private Citizens, without asking any thing of the Republick, but to be reim-
 bursed, when her Affairs are recovered. This new Armament is vastly better than
 any of the former ones, in as much as all the Gallies are built upon the Model of
 that light Vessel taken from *Hannibal* the *Rhodian*. §. 33. The *Consuls*
 chosen for the new Year are *C. Lutatius Catulus*, and *A. Postumius*; but the latter 511.
 210th Con- being at the same time High-Priest of *Mars*, the *Pontifex Maximus* forbids him to
 sulship. meddle in Affairs of War; so that he has little more than the Name of *Consul*.
 But the Republick not thinking it adviseable to trust the Command of her Armies
 to one General, and being unwilling to hazard the Inconveniencies which may
 arise from the too long Absence of the *Prætor* of Rome (to whom it naturally falls
 to supply the Place of the interdicted *Consul*) she creates a second *Prætor* for that
 Purpose. This latter is stiled *Prætor Peregrinus*, and is appointed not only to assist
 the General Abroad, but to be the Judge to determine civil Causes between Roman
 Citizens and Strangers. The former takes the Name of *Prætor Urbanus*, resides at
 Rome, and his Jurisdiction is confined to the judging of Causes between Roman
 Citizens only. These Magistrates are chosen annually in the *Comitia* by Centuries,
 and take their Provinces by Lot. §. 34. *Valerius Falto* is the first *Prætor*
Peregrinus, and he embarks on board the new Fleet, with the *Consul* *Lutatius*.
 They begin the Campaign with the Siege of *Drepanum*, and soon make a Breach
 in the Wall; but as the *Consul* is mounting it at the Head of his Men, to make
 an Assault, he receives a dangerous Wound in the Thigh. The Soldiers quit the
 Breach to succour him, and carry him back to the Camp. After this he no longer
 pushes on the Siege with Vigour: But being persuaded, That the Carthaginians will
 soon appear with a Fleet upon the Coast, and That a Victory over them at Sea, will
 contribute much more, than the taking of a single Town, towards the entire Con-
 quest of *Sicily*, he turns all his Thoughts to Discipline his Men, and prepare them
 for a naval Engagement. He is not yet cured of his Wound, when he receives an
 Account that a Carthaginian Fleet of four hundred Ships, under the Command of
Hanno, is approaching. He sails to meet it, and comes up with the Enemy off the
 Islands

Year of **ROME** Islands called the *Ægades*, between *Drepanum* and *Lilybæum*. There he gains a complete Victory. Having destroyed a vast Number of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, he endeavours to surround the rest, and take them. He takes seventy Vessels, and ten thousand Captives, with a great part of the Money and Provisions designed for the Relief of *Hamilcar*. *The Romans gain a complete Victory at Sea.*

§. 35. This brave *Carthaginian* General is the first who feels the Effects of so terrible a Defeat. Having no longer any hopes of Succours, he is forced to capitulate. But while the *Romans* are insisting on his passing under the Yoke with his Garrison, and he is obstinate, in chusing to suffer all Extremities, rather than submit to such an Indignity, he receives full Powers from his Republick to do whatever he judges to be most for her Interest. *Hamilcar* being sensible that *Carthage* is too much exhausted to keep her footing in *Sicily*, thinks it better to yield it by a Treaty of Peace, than expose *Africa* to the Ravages of the victorious Fleet. For this Purpose therefore he sends Deputies to the *Consul Lutatius*, who receives them joyfully, being very desirous to put an end to the War before his *Consulship* expires, that so his Successors may not have the Glory of finishing a Work, which has cost him so much Blood and Labour. The Substance of the Articles of Peace, drawn up before *Eryx*, is as follows. 1. *The Carthaginians shall evacuate all the Places, which they have in Sicily, and entirely quit the Island.* 2. *They shall in twenty Years pay the Romans, at equal Payments every Year, two thousand two hundred Talents of Silver.* 3. *They shall restore the Roman Captives and Deserters without Ransom, and redeem their own Prisoners with Money.* 4. *They shall not make War upon Hiero King of Syracuse, or his Allies.* These Conditions being agreed upon, a Truce is made, Hostages are given on both sides, and *Hamilcar* surrenders *Eryx*. The only thing remaining is to get the People of *Rome* assembled in *Comitia*, to confirm the Stipulation. *Lutatius* and *Hamilcar* both send Deputies thither for this Purpose. The Republick, though overjoyed at the *Consul's* Successes, is dissatisfied with the too easy Terms he has granted the *Carthaginians*, and therefore sends away ten Commissioners, to treat anew with *Hamilcar*, and demand farther Advantages. These Deputies require a thousand Talents to be paid down immediately, and the two thousand two hundred Talents to be paid in ten Years, at equal Payments. They likewise insist, That the *Carthaginians* shall quit all the little Islands about Italy and *Sicily*, and not come there any more with Ships of War, or to levy Mercenaries. Necessity obliges *Hamilcar* to consent to these new Terms; but he returns to *Carthage* with a Hatred to the *Romans*, never to be eradicated from his Heart. And now the *Carthaginians* employ him in a cruel War, they have to sustain with their own revolted Mercenaries. In this Distress the *Roman Republick* generously assists her new Friends. She sends them back their Prisoners gratis, furnishes them with Provisions, and permits them to hire Troops in the *Provinces* that are in Alliance with her. *The first Punick War ends.*

§. 36. *Lutatius* and *Valerius* are continued in their *Province* another Year, the first in quality of *Pro-Consul*, the second in that of *Pro-Prætor*, while the two new *Consuls*, *Q. Lutatius Cerco*, and *A. Manlius Atticus*, are obliged to march an Army into *Ættruria*, to quell a sudden Rebellion of the *Falisci*. *211th Consulship.*

§. 37. This Expedition over, they go into *Sicily*, to put the last Hand to the Peace, which is ratified by the solemn Sacrifice of a Sow, and the mutual Oaths of the two Nations. Thus ends the first *Punick War*, in which the Conquerors have lost seven hundred *Quinqueremes*, and the Conquered only five hundred.

§. 38. And now, the great Affair at *Rome* is to determine the Fate of *Sicily*, the manner in which it shall be governed, and the Emoluments which the Republick shall draw from so fine a Conquest. The whole Island, except the little Kingdom of *Syracuse*, is declared a *Roman Province*, i. e. a Country to be governed by *Roman Laws*, and *Roman Magistrates*. A *Prætor* is to be annually sent thither to be its Governor and Judge, in civil Causes, and a *Quæstor* to receive the Revenues of the Republick. (These Revenues were either fixed or casual. The Fixed were called *Tributes*, and consisted in a certain Sum of Money, which the *Province* was every Year to pay into the publick Treasury; the Casual were the Tenths of the Product of the Lands, and the Duties upon Merchandize, exported and imported. Certain Officers, called *Publicans*, were appointed to levy both these sorts of Taxes, and the latter sort were farmed by the *Publicans*.) *Sicily made a Roman Province.*

§. 39. But the Joy of the People of *Rome* for their late Prosperity is much damped by two dreadful Misfortunes, which follow close upon one another. The *Tyber* on a sudden overflows with such Violence, as to overturn a great many Houses in the lower Grounds; and the Water continues stagnating so long in the *Forum*, as greatly to damage the Foundations of the Houses there. After this a Fire breaks out in the upper City, no body knows how, and makes terrible Destruction. It reaches even the Temple of *Vesta*; but *Cæcilius Metellus*, the present *Pontifex Maximus*, gives a signal Instance of his Piety upon this Occasion, and ventures his Life to save the *Palladium*. He makes his Way through the Flames, and fetches it out of the Sanctuary. One of his Arms is much hurt in the Attempt, and he entirely loses his Sight. To reward so heroical an Action, he is permitted, for the future, to be drawn in a Chariot to the Senate-House;

House; a Distinction, which had never before been granted to any Man. (It is Year of
The Tribes probable, that the *Tribes* were this Year augmented to thirty five, by the Addition *ROME*
increased to of the *Tribe Velina*, and the *Tribe Quirina*. This Number was never afterwards in-
thirty five. creased.)

§. 40. Among the Advantages which *Rome* gains from her
 Wars in *Sicily*, may be reckoned an Improvement of her Taste for Letters, and juster
 Notions of Poesy. *Sicily* abounded with excellent Poets. In the first Year after
 the peaceable Possession of this Island, when *C. Claudius Centho*, and *M. Sempronius*
212th Con- *Fuditanius* are *Consuls*, appears *L. Livius Andronicus*, the Reformer of the *Latin*
sulship. Theatre; he introduces upon the Stage connected Fables, after the Greek manner,
 instead of the Buffooneries, and rambling Discourses, with which the People were
 before entertained.

The *Consuls* having no Employment Abroad, turn their Thoughts to establish good
 Order in *Italy*, and to secure the Frontiers against the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, by plant-
 ing Colonies in their Neighbourhood. In the mean time the Republick, ever uneasy
 when not engaged in some Quarrel, sends Ambassadors to *Ptolomy Euergetes*, King of
Egypt, to offer him her Assistance against *Antiochus* of *Syria*. But the *Egyptian* has
 got rid of his Enemy, and returns his Thanks: So that the *Romans*, having nothing
 else to do, apply themselves to invent new Games. The Festival of the *Floralia*
 is transferred from the Month of *April* to the Month of *May*, or is now instituted
 for the first time. The *Ædiles*, with the Fines laid on those who are convicted of
 having fed their Cattle on the Demefnes of the Republick, build a Temple to the
 Goddess *Flora*, and defray the Expences of the Games consecrated to her Honour.

ERRATA.

PAGE 4. Line 31. *Marcomani*; that is the *Sclawonians* fell,
 read *Marcomani*, that is, the *Sclawonians*; fell. p. 6. l. 26.
 now is. *The Insulres* on the North-side of the *Po*, r. now is, on
 the North-side of the *Po*. *The Insulres*. *ibid.* l. 29. of *Antium*,
 r. of the *Autuniois*. p. 8. N. 40. l. 14. *Veneti*, i. e. the Country
 of the *Veneti*, r. *Venetia*, i. e. the Country of the *Veneti*. p. 10.
 l. 25. by the Ruin of others, r. by their Losses. p. 13. l. 50. of
 a single *Gaul*, r. given to a single *Gaul*. p. 20. l. 17. *Wives* r.
Wines. p. 24. l. 4. *Brennus* the Sum agreed on, and, r. the Sum
 agreed on, and *Brennus*. p. 40. l. 40. fled, r. flew. p. 59. l. 9.
Lustrum, r. *Census*. p. 61. l. 34. a Country, r. a City in the
 Country. p. 82. l. 32. *Military Tribune*, r. *Tribune of the Peo-*
ple. p. 94. l. 12. *L. Manlius*, r. *T. Manlius*. p. 109. l. 30. their,
 r. her. *ibid.* l. 31. them, r. her. p. 131. l. 17. *Manius*, r. *Mar-*
cius. p. 141. l. 12. it, r. them. p. 143. l. 33. dele been. p. 149.
 l. 1. dele was somewhat abated. p. 160. l. 2. *Discipline*; to, r.
Discipline, in order to. p. 169. l. 18. *tattered*, r. *shattered*.
 p. 216. l. 51. *Creditors*, r. *Debtors*. p. 218. l. 24. *Vigour*, r.
Rigour. p. 233. l. 18. *Scalibi Herminius*, r. *Herennius*. p. 237.
 l. 1. invaded, r. usurped. p. 239. l. 12. off, r. of. p. 253. N. 23.
 & alibi, *Venusium*, r. *Venusia*. p. 261. l. 42. strong, r. stony.
 p. 265. l. 1. to the, r. to. p. 277. l. 16. fled, r. flew. p. 278.
 l. 21. three hundred and twenty two, r. three hundred and
 nineteen. p. 279. l. 8. nearest, r. newest. p. 292. l. ult. dele
 about. p. 300. l. 24. the *Rabble* into the four City Tribes,
 r. into the four City Tribes the *Rabble*. p. 311. l. 30. Port, r.
 Post. p. 350. l. 38. at first, r. immediately. p. 352. last Line
 but two, had kept, r. kept. p. 354. l. 2. than that of shewing,
 r. than what serv'd to make him shew. p. 355. l. 28. which
 would, r. which would not. p. 356. l. ult. their first part, r.
 a first part. p. 358. l. 36. after Friend, add [And the latter
 their Friends, and so on] p. 361. l. 46. over run, r. over-
 thrown. p. 365. l. 2. that when it was repaired, another Sta-
 tue of *Jupiter*, r. that a Statue of *Carvilius*. *ibid.* l. 42. And
 indeed, r. But after all. p. 366. l. 22. *Chariots*, r. *Carriages*.
 p. 370. l. 34. demean himself, r. condescend. p. 376. l. 48.
 three, r. the three. p. 380. l. 38. the same, r. an. *ibid.* l. 47.
 dele left of. p. 407. l. 22. to part, r. between. p. 408. l. 3.
 shou'd, r. were to. p. 410. l. 16. dele *Claudius*, p. 440. l. 1.
 farther, r. hither. *ibid.* l. 3. hither, r. farther. p. 455. last
 Line but one, from him, r. from them. p. 477. N. 42. &
 alibi, *Locris*, r. *Locri*. p. 514. l. 9. Imports, r. Imports. p. 539.
 l. 21. repair to several, r. repair to him from several. p. 543.
 l. 49. the *Syracusans*, r. the *Armies* of the *Syracusans*. p. 544.
 l. 21. But they, r. But these. p. 546. l. 10. eight thousand, r.
 eight thousand twelve hundred. p. 548. N. 48. *Erbeffus*, add or
Erbeffus. p. 549. l. 7 and 8. dele be as often returned him An-

swer by Signals. p. 553. l. ult. come, r. go. p. 554. l. 23. thir-
 teen, r. three. p. 561. l. 31. But indeed, r. And indeed. p. 564.
 l. 1. who themselves, r. who devoted themselves. *ibid.* l. 21.
 and kill'd by the Numbers of the Enemy, r. by the Numbers of
 the Enemy and kill'd. p. 566. l. 12. dele the Descendants of
 it. p. 569. l. 6. Ports, r. Posts. p. 572. l. 38. prolong, r. brin-
 der. p. 573. l. 18. Neck, r. Nook. p. 574. l. 44. dele and. p.
 575. l. 3. dele He. p. 578. l. 18. *Revolutions*, r. *Evolutions*.
 p. 581. l. 38. Northern, r. Southern. p. 583. l. 21. reciprocal
 Union, r. Union, and reciprocal and. p. 587. l. ult. dele only.
ibid. but, r. and. p. 588. l. 20. Centuries, r. Century. p. 589.
 l. 19. War with, r. War jointly with. *ibid.* l. 48. *Hannibal*, r.
Furius. p. 591. l. 33. gather'd, r. driven. p. 604. l. 22. basti-
 ly, r. hungry. *ibid.* l. 23. thought, r. made. *ibid.* l. 31. threw
 away, r. scatter'd about. *ibid.* l. 53. Ports, r. Posts. p. 606. l.
 10. of the Ground, r. of the Place of Battle. *ibid.* l. 34. Port,
 r. Post. p. 607. l. 27. Melancholy, r. Vexation. *ibid.* l. 28. and
 to, r. as to. p. 611. l. 19. Eighty, r. Forty. p. 622. l. 17. Pub-
 licus, r. Publicans. *ibid.* l. 27. diminishing, r. impoverishing.

The Reader is desired to correct one more Error. P. 172.
 last Line but two. This Office [the Censorship] had hitherto
 [i. e. to the Year 414.] been confined to the most illustrious of
 the Nobility, no Plebeian having yet enjoy'd it. This Office
 had been in a manner wholly confined to the Nobility, but one
 Plebeian having yet enjoy'd it. Both the Author and the Trans-
 lator forgot that *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a Plebeian, had been rais-
 ed to the Censorship in the Year 402.

In the Contents.

P. 11. l. 22. disown, r. disarm. p. 15. §. 18. l. 3. require, r.
 acquire. p. 17. §. 5. l. 13. except, p. 24. l. 8. and
 adds, r. he adds. *ibid.* l. last but one, a thousand, r. an hun-
 dred. p. 25. §. 6. l. 16. Factious at first, one by one, r. Factious,
 at first one by one. p. 31. l. 6. Prisoners, r. Poisoners. p. 36.
 l. 33. and so cover'd, r. so cover'd. p. 45. l. 5. allotted, r. ap-
 pointed. p. 51. §. 30. last Line but one, *Decius*, r. *Venus*. p. 53.
 §. 6. l. 11. Officer, r. Officers. p. 53. last Line but two, declare,
 r. declares. p. 79. §. 27. l. 12. Eighty, r. Forty.

N. B. The Mistakes made in the first Volume, in the Re-
 duction of Roman Money to English, are rectify'd in
 Page 583. N. 16. of this Volume.

The Reader is desired to correct the following Errors
 in the first Volume.

Translator's Preface, for *Cas. de Bell. Gall.* B. 4. c. 26. r.
 B. 4. c. 36. History, p. 6. l. 39. after the War, r. before the
 War. Contents, B. 4. §. 20. l. 10. Brother-in-law, r. Husband.

The NAMES of the SUBSCRIBERS omitted in the last LIST.

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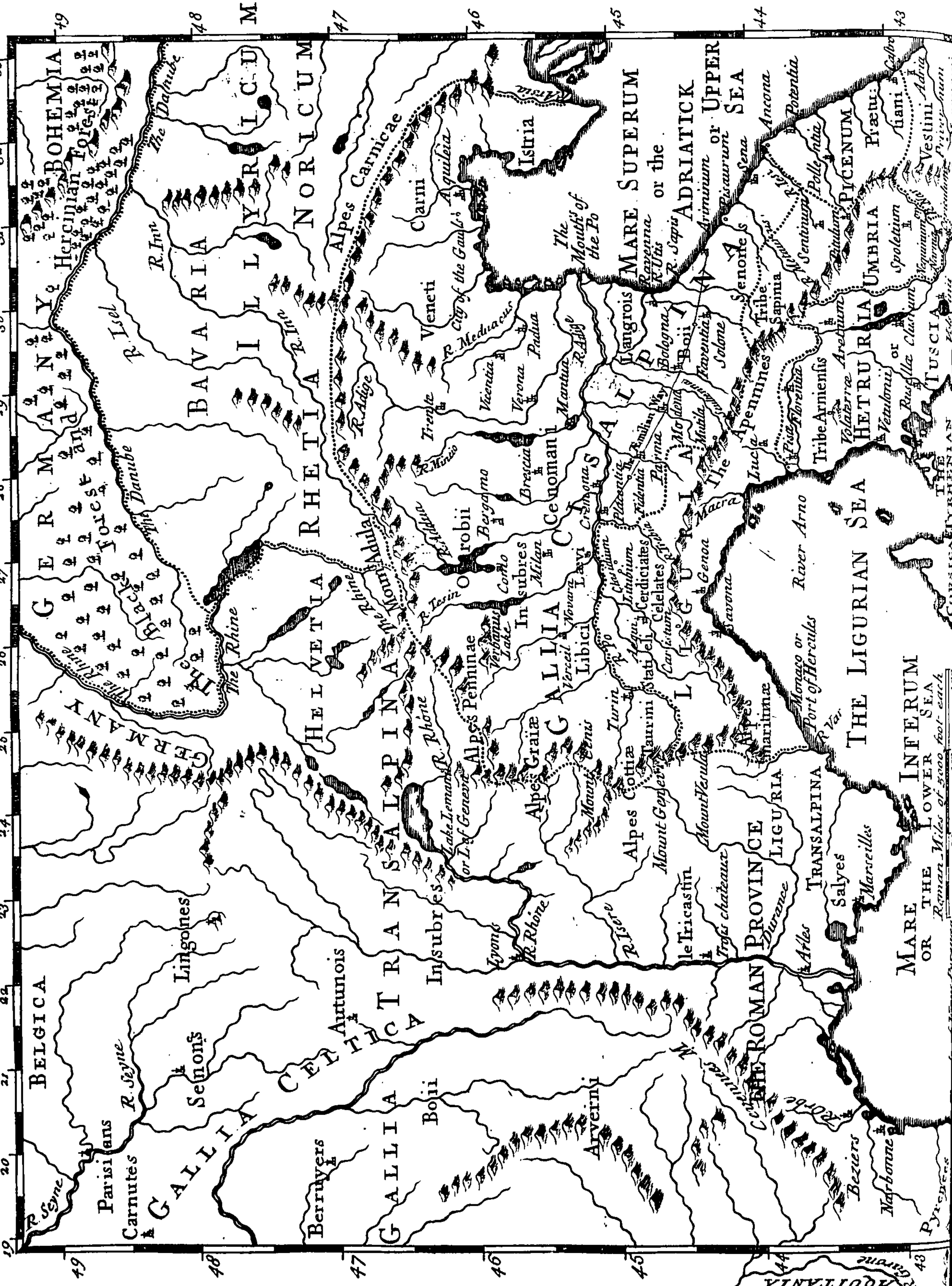
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The Rev. Mr. Thomas Yalc Calverly.

The Rev. Richard Younger, M. A.

Errata. In the last List, read *Earl* of Scarborough and Burlace Webb, Esq;

A MAP OF GALLIA CISALPINA, LIGURIA AND THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES. By G. Delisle Chief Geographer to the French King, and Member of the Royal Academie of Sciences.





T H E

**BRITISH
MUSEUM**

Roman History.

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BOOK XIII.

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TALY is divided from ¹ *Gaul* by the ² *Alpes*. But how impassable soever these Mountains seem to be, it is probable, that Travellers, in all times, found a Way from *Gaul* to *Italy*, and from *Italy* to *Gaul*, by long Windings through the Valleys ³. The Difficulty was, how to lead Armies from one Country to the other, in order to attempt Conquests, and make Settlements there. If we give Credit to Fable, *Hercules* ⁴ was the first Man who forc'd such a Passage from *Gaul* to *Italy*, which he did upon his Return from *Spain*, after he had subdued ⁵ *Geryon*.

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L. LUCRETI-
US, SERV. SUL-
PICIUS, M.
ÆMILIUS, L.
FURIUS, AGR.
FURIUS, and
C. ÆMILIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

1 The *Romans* comprehended under the general Name of *Gaul*, the Countries on both Sides the *Alpes*. That next to *Rome* gave Name to that Part of *Italy*, which was formerly called *Gallia Italica*, from the time that the People of *Gallia Transalpina* brought it into Subjection to them.

2 *Festus* contends, that these Mountains which separated Gaul from Italy, were called *Alpes*, a *candora nivium*, quia perpetuis nivibus fere albescent; i. e. because they are almost always covered with Snow. And in Proof of this Etymology he observes, that the *Sabines* call the white Colour *Alpum*, which the *Latins* pronounce *Album*: Whereas *Isidorus*, Orig. B. 13. and *Servius*, say, that in the Language of the old *Gauls*, all high Mountains in

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general were called *Alpes*. And in this Sense, several ancient Authors, and some old *Itineraries*, seem to confound the *Alpes* with the *Pyrenees*. But not to spend time in these trifling Etymologies, or the Dreams of Mythologists, who derive the Name of these Mountains from one *Albion* a Son of *Nephtune*, who, they say, was killed by *Hercules*, whose Passage over the *Alpes* he disputed; the main Point is, to understand well the Situation and Extent of these Mountains, in order thereby to understand those Parts of History, which we shall hereafter treat of. Now as to the Extent of them, *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Polybius*, and *Pliny*, differ in Opinion about it: and *Gluver*, in his *Italia Antiqua*, takes great Pains to reconcile the ancient and modern Geographers in this

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us, &c. Military
Tribunes.
Justin. 24.
D. Hal. B. 1.
Diod. Sic. B. 4.

But the *Latin* Historians, who borrow'd this idle Story of the *Greeks*, are not agreed among themselves, as to the Place where *Hercules* passed over these Mountains with his Troops. Some contend, that he crossed the *Maritime* ⁶ *Alpes*, near the Place now called ⁷ *Monaco*, and formerly, *The Port of Hercules*. Others assure us, that he passed the *Greek* ⁸ *Alpes*; that is, that he entered *Italy* by Mount *Joux*, which has since been called, *The Great Saint Bernard*. And these different Opinions being both founded on equal Authorities, they don't ⁹ make the Story of *Hercules's* Passage at all the more credible.

Plin. B. 3.
c. 17.
Corn. Nepos.

Plut. Just. &
Polyb.

As to the *Gauls*, it is not to be doubted, but they passed these Barriers, which obstructed their Entrance into *Italy*, at several different times. But many Historians confound the different Transmigrations of the *Gauls* over the *Alpes*, and reduce five to one. Which Mistake has led them to give different Accounts both of the Names of the Commanders of the *Gauls* who settled in *Italy*, and of the Motives which drew them thither. And we must therefore, in the first Place, rectify this Confusion of Opinions, if we would be clear in our History.

GAUL ¹⁰ was anciently divided into three Parts. The first, which reached from the *British* Ocean to the *Seine*, was called (by the *Romans*) *Gallia*

Particular. But we shall not trouble ourselves to enter into unnecessary Debates, which the Reader may examine into, in their Books themselves; it is sufficient for us to observe, that the *Alpes* are a long Chain of Mountains which begin at the Mouth of the *Var*, which falls into the Sea of *Genoa*, and after several irregular Turnings of above 245 Leagues, or 800 Miles, end at the *Arfa*, or *Arsa*; a little River in *Istria*: So that the *Alpes* are a Sort of Barrier, which separates *Italy* from *Gaul*, *Germany*, and *Illyricum*.

3 It's probable, that those narrow Ways thro' the Streights or Defiles of these Mountains, which were almost utterly impassable for an Army, were not so for private Persons. The Pass of the *Tende*, which is between *Piedmont* and the County of *Nice*, and that of *Argentiere*, which divides that County from the *Marquisate of Saluzzo*, might perhaps be open enough, at that time, for People to go from *Gaul* into *Italy*.

4 The *Pagans* seem to have exhausted themselves in Fictions, to multiply their *Hercules's* and *Jupiters*. *Cicero* ingenuously confesses, he should have found it difficult to say which *Hercules* it was, of the many mentioned in Fable, which the *Romans* worshiped above the rest. *Quem potissimum Herculem colamus scire sane velim; plures enim tradunt nobis ii, qui interiores scrutantur & reconditas litteras.* *De Nat. Deor. B. 3.* The *Greeks*, the *Egyptians*, the *Indians*, the *Cretans*, and the *Gauls* too, had each their *Hercules*, whom they deified, in order thereby to immortalise the Exploits of these fabulous Divinities. And as to myself, I am tempted to be of Opinion, that *Hercules* was not so much a proper Name, as a Title of Honour, which the *Greeks* gave to all those who made themselves famous for great Actions. We know the *Greek* Word *Εκκελως* signifies both *Hercules*, and *The Illustrious*. So that the *Hercules's* were the *Illustrious* Men of their Times, who signalized themselves by military Accomplishments. *Diodorus Siculus* reckons up three, *Cicero* six, and *Varro* no less than forty three.

5 Fable gives us, in the Person of *Geryon* King of *Spain*, the Picture of a Tyrant, who was so cruel as to deliver up all Strangers to be devoured by wild Bulls, which he fed with human Flesh. These Bulls were kept by a Dog which had two Heads, and a Dragon which had seven. And *Geryon*, who, according to the Poets, had three Bodies, had one *Eurytion* in his Service, who was the Instrument of his Cruelties. *Hercules* delivered *Spain* from these Monsters, and this Expedition was reckoned as one of his twelve Labours. They, who don't understand the Allegories which are concealed under this

Fiction, may consult *Noel le Compté's Mythology*, *Lilius Geraldus's Treatise of the Pagan Divinities*, and *Gerard Vossius de Idololatria*.

6 The *Maritime Alpes*, were so called from their Situation. They begin at the Side of the Sea of *Liguria*, or the Mouth of the *Var*, and, after making several Elbows, end at Mount *Vesulus*, now called *Viso*, or *Veso*, in *Piedmont*. This is the most Southern Part of the *Alpes*.

7 *Monaco* was called the *Port of Hercules*, either because a Temple was here erected to him, in Memory of his Passage over the *Alpes*; or on account of the Victory he gained over the Inhabitants of this District. *Petronius*, who confounds the *Greek Alpes* with the *Maritime Alpes*, speaks of the City of *Monaco* thus,

*Alpibus Aeriis ubi Graio nomine vulsæ
Ascendunt rupes, nec se patiuntur adiri,
Est locus Herculeis aris sacer.*

Virgil, Æneid 6. calls it *Arx Monaci*.

8 Some old Authors suppose, That *Hercules* passed these Mountains at the Head of an Army of *Greeks*; That he distributed the neighbouring Country among a Part of his Followers, who settled here in a Colony; and That they were from thence called *Alpes Græcæ*, or *The Greek Alpes*. They reach from Mount *Cenis*, beyond *The Little St. Bernard*, that is, to near Mount *Joux*, formerly called *Mont Jovis*, or *The Mount of Jupiter*, on account of its excessive Height. This Mount now goes by the Name of *The Great St. Bernard*.

9 *Livy* himself ranks this Expedition of *Hercules* among Fables. *Quas (Alpes) haud equidem miror nulla dum via, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatas.*

10 *Julius Caesar*, in his *Commentaries*, B. 1. says that *Transalpine Gaul* was divided into three Parts, before his time; namely, into *Gallia Belgica*, *Gallia Aquitana*, and *Gallia Celtica*. *Gallia est omnis divisa in tres partes; quarum unam incolebant Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostrâ Galli appellantur.* *Casaubon* is of Opinion, that this Division of the *Gauls* into three Provinces, was made by the *Greeks*, who first maintained a Commerce with the *Gauls*, and planted Colonies on the Coasts of *Provence*, from whence they might easily be informed of the different Climates and Inhabitants of *Transalpine Gaul*. Besides, all Authors, antient and modern, agree, with very little difference, that *Gaul* antiently contained all that vast Tract of Ground, which is bounded to the East by the *Rhine*, the *Alpes*, and the River *Var*; to the South, by the *Mediterranean Sea* and the *Pyrenæes*;

lia ¹¹ *Belgica*. The second, which comprehended all the Country between the *Seine* and the *Garonne*, quite to the *Alps*, was called *Gallia* ¹² *Celtica*. And lastly, the third, which contained all the Ground between the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Ocean*, was called *Gallia* ¹³ *Aquitanica*. But of all the different Nations which

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tary Tribunes.



to the West, by the Ocean; and to the North, by the Channel which separates it from *England*. *Ptolemy* reckons the Longitude of it from *Conquet-point*, or *Cape St. Matré*, which he calls *Gobium Promontorium*, to *Mount Adula*, now *Mount St. Godard*, a Part of the *Alpes* in *Switzerland*: that is, from 15 Degrees to 29 Degrees, 30 Minutes. *Strabo* reckons the Longitude of *Gaul* from the Temple of *Venus Pyrenaea*, to the Mouth of the *Var*; which, according to him, contains the space of 2600 *Stadia*, i.e. near 112 common *French Leagues*, from West to East. The antient Geographers reckoned the Latitude of it, from the Temple of *Venus Pyrenaea*, to the most Northern Part of the *Rhine*. Some *Greeks* give these large Provinces the Name of *Galatia*, and call the Inhabitants of them *Galates*.

¹¹ *Gallia Belgica*, according to the common Opinion, contained all the Country between the *Ocean*, the *Rhine*, the *Seine*, and the *Marne*; so that it was bounded to the North by the *British Channel*; to the West, by the Rivers *Seine* and *Marne*; to the East, by the *Rhine*; and to the South, by the Countries of the *Switzers* and *Burgundians*. But these Boundaries afterwards varied, according to the arbitrary Divisions made of *Gaul*, by the *Roman Emperors*, after *Julius Caesar*. Hence the Differences of the antient Geographers, about the Limits of each of the three Parts of *Transalpine Gaul*. *Ptolemy* and *Orosius* make the *British Ocean*, the *Rhine*, *Mount Adula*, *Mount Jura*, the *Alpes Pennine*, and the *Rhone*, the Boundaries of *Gallia Belgica*. *Mela* places the Country of the *Belgae*, between the *Seine* and the *Rhine*. *Pliny* makes the *Seine* and the *Skelde* its Boundaries; because the Provinces between the latter and the *Rhine* were inhabited by some Nations of *Germany*: which gave occasion to *Augustus's* new Division of *Germany*, into *The Upper*, and *The Lower*. *Strabo* places *Gallia Belgica* between the *Rhine* on one Side, and the Mouth of the *Loire* on the other. He likewise places in it the Country of the *Veneti*, or the Territory of *Vannes*, and that of the *Ocismii*, i.e. the Cities of *St. Pol*, *Leon*, *Trequier*, and *St. Brieu*. But in this he is contradicted by the other Geographers, who say these People were Inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*. *Junius* spent a great deal of pains to little purpose in searching for the Origin of the Word *Belgium*. *Isidorus* and *Hesychius* derive the Name of *Belgica*, which they give this Part of *Gaul*, from the City of *Belge*, whose Situation is disputed by modern Authors. *Ortelius* pretends, that this Country was called *Belgica*, from one *Belgius*, a Captain of the *Gauls*, who went into *Illyricum* and *Macedonia*, and forced the Inhabitants of those Countries to purchase a Peace on very hard Terms; after which he conquered *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, took him Prisoner, and beheaded him. *Justin*, *Polybius*, and *Pausanias*, mention this *Belgius*.

¹² Before *Gallia Celtica* was dismembered by the *Roman Emperors*, it comprehended all the Countries between the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Garonne*,

on one Side; and the *Rhine*, the *Rhone*, *Mount Voge*, and *The Lake of Geneva*, on the other. The other Southern Provinces, from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alpes*, made indeed a fourth Part of *Gaul*, in *Julius Caesar's* Time, which was called *Gallia Narbonensis*. It was bounded by the *Alpes*, the *Pyrenees*, the *Rhone*, the *Cevennes*, and the *Mediterranean Sea*: but this Country may be justly said to have been a Part of *Gallia Celtica* before that time, it not having been separated from the rest of *Gaul*, till after it had been subdued by the *Romans*, who made it a distinct Province. So that we are not to wonder, that *Julius Caesar*, in his Account of the Division of *Gaul*, does not reckon *Gallia Narbonensis* to be Part of it, because it was then become a *Roman Province*. *Polybius* was so well satisfy'd that this Part of *Gaul*, which adjoins to *Narbonne* and the *Pyrenees*, was formerly a Part of *Celtica*, that he seems to confine the *Celtae* to this Country. But in this he is mistaken. The Names of *Celtae* and *Celtica* were so extensive, that the *Greeks* gave them to the whole Nation of the *Gauls* in general. *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, and *Herodian*, make use of the Names *Κελτῶν*, *Κελτικὴν*, and *Κελτογαλατίαν*, indifferently, to signify all the *Gauls* in general, without mentioning the Distinction of *Belgae* and *Aquitani*. These Names were even given to the People who lived beyond the *Rhine*: probably, because several Colonies of *Gauls* had settled there. And *Cluver* adds, *Germ. Antiq. B. 1.* that the Name and Language of the antient *Celtae*, were common to *Spain*, *England*, and *Illyricum*. The Etymologists derive the Word *Celtae* from the *Greek* *κελταί*, which signifies *Horsemen*, to signify the Dexterity of the *Celtae* in managing an Horse.

¹³ *Aquitania* was, according to *Pliny*, *B. 4. ch. 17.* anciently called *Armorica*, from the old *Gallic* Word *Aarmor*, which signified the Sea; because it was a maritime Country, bounded to the West by the *Ocean*, and to the South by the *Mediterranean Sea*. Thus *Strabo* says, that the People of this Province dwelt along the Sea-shores. The *Romans* may possibly have called it *Aquitania*, either from the Name of the City of *Aqs*, *ab Aquis Tarbellicis*, the Inhabitants of which *Pliny* calls *Aquitanos*; or on account of its medicinal Waters, such as the Waters of *Bagnères*; or on account of the Number of Rivers and Springs in it. *Caesar* compares this Part of *Gaul* to both the others, as well for Number of Inhabitants, as Extent: but it is probable, *Caesar* was deceived by the Accounts given him of this Country, by *Publius Crassus*, who had subdued it, and whose Interest it was to exaggerate, to make his Conquest appear the greater. However, from the *Garonne*, or from *Bordeaux*, to the Extremity of the *Pyrenees*, is reckoned to be but 34 Leagues. *Augustus Caesar* thought it necessary to enlarge *Aquitania*, by fixing its Limits as far back as the *Loire*. One of *Galbus's* Medals has the Figures of *The Three Gallia*, which declared for him, when he was raised to the Empire, after the Death of *Nero*.

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US, &c. Military
Tribunes.

Plut. Life of
Cam.

Mela, and Cæ-
sar.

Strabo, &
Polyb. B. 2.

were comprehended under the general Name of *Gauls*, the *Celtæ* were the only People who undertook to climb over the *Alps*, in Search of new Habitations in *Italy*. Their own Country was indeed fruitful and well cultivated, but its Inhabitants were grown so very numerous, that the Fruits of the Earth were scarce sufficient to support them. And as ¹⁴ *Berry* was in the Center of the *Celtic* Nation, the King ¹⁵ of the *Celtæ* was of that Province, and made it his Place of Residence. His Name was *Ambigatus*. The chief Care of this King, who was already grown old, was to disburthen his Dominions of a Crowd of Inhabitants whom he found it difficult to keep in Order, and who were often at Variance with one another. *Ambigatus* had two Nephews, his Sister's Sons, who seem to have had some Authority over the Country which is watered by the *Allier*, and in all the Country of the ¹⁶ *Boii*; that is, most probably, in the present *Bourbonnois*, and in Part of the present *Nivernois*, *Auvergne*, and *Burgundy*. These two Lords were then in the Flower of their Age, and fit to carry on any dangerous Enterprize. The Name of the one was *Bellovesus*, and that of the other *Segovesus*. To them therefore the King disclosed his Design, and exhorted them to assemble as many People together as they could, from all Parts of *Gallia Celtica*, to form them into great Armies, and to go and seek their Fortunes with them in other Countries. Accordingly, the two Princes obeyed the Orders of the King their Uncle; and upon drawing Lots to know into what Provinces each should go, to establish his Colony, *Germany* fell to *Segovesus*, *Italy* to *Bellovesus*. The two Commanders therefore parted, each at the Head of all the *Celtæ* he could get together, Men, Women, and Children. *Segovesus* took his Way towards the *Hercinian* ¹⁷ *Forest*, of which what is now called *The Black Forest*, was then but a very small Part. That Forest reached from the *Rhine* far beyond the Country we now call *Bohemia*. It was sixty Days Journey long, and nine broad. *Segovesus* had more of the *Boii* attending him, than of any other *Celtic* Nation; and therefore when he had passed over a large Tract of Ground in the *Hercinian Forest*, and settled in a Canton of *Germany*, he gave it a Name derived from that of his *Boii*; and it has ever since been called *BOHEMIA*, *quasi* *BOIEMIA*. But after this, these *Celtæ* were driven from their first Habitations by the ¹⁸ *Marcomani*; that is, the *Sclavonians* fell down between the ¹⁹ *Inn*, and the ²⁰ *Iser*, and gave their Name to the Country of the *Boiarians*, or *Bavarians*, in which they settled.

As for *Bellovesus*, as a more delightful Country had fallen to him than to his Brother, he was followed by *Gauls*, of almost all the *Celtic* Nations. Besides a great Number of the *Boii*, who attended him likewise, there were in his Troops some of the *Veneti*, or People of *Lower Bretagne*, in the Neighbourhood of *Vannes*; some of the *Canomani*, that is, of the People who spread themselves from the *Seine* to the *Loire*, in the Provinces now called *Normandy*, *Perche*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*; some of the People of *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Saintonge*, *Autun*, *Chalons*,

¹⁴ *Livy* says, B. 5. that even in the Time of *Tarquinius the Elder*, the People of *Berry* held the first Rank among the *Celtæ*; and that it was their Privilege at that time, to have the Kings of *Gallia Celtica* chosen out of them.

¹⁵ If the Government of the *Gauls* was then such, as it was afterwards, in *Julius Caesar's* time, it is to be presumed, that this *Ambigatus* was rather an Head, chosen by the whole Body of the People, than properly a King.

¹⁶ The *Boii* antiently inhabited the Country which borders upon *Burgundy*, *Nivernois*, *Auvergne*, and *Berry*; which Province is now called the *Bourbonnois*: And some include in it even a Part of *Auvergne*, *Berry*, and *Nivernois*. We must take care not to confound the *Boii*, we are here speaking of, with the People of the same Name, who inhabited the Country of *Buck*, in *Aquitania*, near the Ocean.

¹⁷ *Julius Caesar* speaks of this Forest, B. 6. ch. 25. of his Commentaries, thus: *It is nine Days Journey over: we cannot otherwise describe it, because the Germans have no fixed Measures of Distances. It begins on the Confines of Alsace and Swisserland, and reaches all along the Danube to Transilvania; where it winds about to the left, and*

parting from the River, passes through Multitudes of different Nations. None could ever yet come to the end of it, tho' there are some who have gone sixty Days Journey in it. Mela gives this Forest an immense Length, extending it from the Rhine, to the Country of the antient Sarmates, which is at present a considerable Part of Muscovy. In process of time, the Hercinian Forest was grubbed up, and inhabited by different Nations. The Black Forest, and the Forest of Bohemia, were formerly both Parts of the Hernician.

¹⁸ The *Marcomani* dwelt originally on the Coasts of the *Baltick*.

¹⁹ The *Inn* has two Heads in one of the *Alpes*, called *Bernina*, in the *Grison's* Country, near the Frontiers of the *Valtelline*. From thence it runs into the County of *Tirol*, passes on to *Innsbruck*, *Hall*, *Kustlain*, and then enters *Bavaria*, where it falls into the *Danube*, at *Passau*.

²⁰ The *Iser* runs about thirty Leagues: It rises on the Frontiers of *Tirol*, near *Innsbruck*; from thence it rolls on to *Munich*, and after being enlarged by several other Rivers falling into it, loses itself in the *Danube*.

and some of the *Carnutes*, that is, some of the Inhabitants of *Beauce* and *Orleanois*; and lastly, some of the ²¹ *Insubres*, who I believe inhabited the two *Burgundies*. With this prodigious Multitude of whole Families, gathered together out of the upper *Celtica*, did *Bellovesus* begin his March, in order to go, and settle in *Italy*. He first took his way towards the *Rhone*, passed it, and extended his numberless Army from the ²² *Tricastin* and *Lower Dauphiny*, quite to that great Tract of Ground, which has since been called *Provence*. The *Cenomani* penetrated so far, and there stayed: Whilst *Bellovesus* was in the mean time searching for a Pass, whereby he might get into *Italy* over the *Alpes*; but the Height of these Mountains terrified his Troops; And Religion increased their Fright. They thought it not lawful to break through the Barriers; which Nature had raised between them and their Neighbours. But whilst they were deliberating and delaying, an unexpected Event brought them to a Determination. There was lately arrived a Colony of *Greeks* from *Phocis* ²³ in *Asia*, which had landed at the Place where *Marseilles* now stands. These New-comers made all possible haste to lay the Foundations of a City, in order to make a Settlement there. But the original Natives of *Provence*, then called *Salyes* ²⁴, opposed the Settlement of the *Greeks*, and drove them back to Sea, from that almost deserted Shore. The *Cenomani*, who were themselves Strangers in *Provence*, were affected with the Misfortunes of these *Greeks*. As they themselves were going out of *Gaul*, in search of new Habitations, the Similitude of their Adventures made them favour the *Phocæi*. All this Part of the Sea there was then covered with Forests. The *Cenomani* therefore cut down Wood, carried it to the *Phocæi*, and assisted them in making Intrenchments, and settling in the extreme Parts of *Gallia Celtica*. And the Example of the *Asiatick Greeks*, who came so far, and had gone through so many Dangers in search of an Habitation, encouraged the *Celtæ* to pass those Mountains, which alone obstructed their Entrance into a Country which was so near them. So that *Bellovesus*, with a Part only of his Followers, attempted to make himself a Passage between the Mountains ²⁵ *Genevre* and ²⁶ *Cenis*, and accordingly entred *Italy* that Way. But he seems first to have increased the Number of his Followers with some Detachments of those Celtic Na-

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L. LUCRETIVS, &c. Military Tribune. Livy, B. 5. ch. 34. Pliny, B. 3. ch. 17.

Herod. Justin. Livy.

Livy, B. 5. ch. 34.

²¹ We have not any Traces left of the original Situation of the *Insubres* in *Gallia Transalpina*. Livy, B. 5. ch. 34. gives us room to presume, that these People formerly inhabited *Burgundy*. He speaks of them thus: *A Part of the Gauls, who followed Bellovesus, defeated the Etrurians, near the Tefin: And when they knew the Country they were in was called Insubria, which was the Name likewise given to a Canton of the Autunois, they thought this a favourable Omen, and this induced them to build a City in this new Country.* The Latin Words are these: *Fussique acie Tuscis, haud procul Ticino flumine, quum, in quo confederant, agrum Insubrium appellari audissent, cognomine Insubribus pago Hedunorum: ibi omen sequentes loci, condidere urbem.* So that this Canton of the *Autunois*, which makes a Part of *Burgundy*, seems to have been the ancient Habitation of the *Insubres*. Otherwise they had no reason to be pleased with the Agreement of the two Names; which without it would have as nearly concerned any of the other People, who shared their Victories, as them. Some have also thought, with pretty good reason, and upon the Credit of ancient Authors, and among the rest Livy, that the People of *Insubria* were a Collection of several different Nations of *Gaul*, who conquered this Part of *Italy*, under the Command of *Bellovesus*. Of this Number were the *Bituriges*, *Senones*, *Carnutes*, *Cenomani*, and *Ædui*, or *Autunois*.

²² The *Tricastin*, which is a Part of *Dauphiné*, lies on the left Side of the *Rhone*. Its capital City is *Saint Pol Trois-châteaux*, anciently called *Auguste Tricastinorum*.

²³ We must not confound *Phocis*, a Province of *Achaia*, with the City of the *Phocæi*, we are here speaking of, who were a Colony of *Athenians* settled in *Asia Minor*. These People being besieged by *Harpagus*, Lieutenant to *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, embarked with all their Effects, and left the City to

the Mercy of the Enemy, after having taken Oaths, attended with the most horrible Imprecations, never to return into their own Country again: Which gave rise to an old Proverb, *Φωκαίων ἄρα*, to signify an execrable Oath. They landed on the Isle of *Corfica*, and from thence continued their Voyage to the Coasts of *Provence*, about the 60th Olympiad: and there they founded the City of *Marseilles*.

²⁴ The *Salyes*, or *Salyans*, formerly possessed a Part of *Gallia Narbonensis*. They dwelt on the Sea-Coasts of *Provence*. *Proton* places them in the District, in which the Cities of *Aix*, *Arles*, and *Tarascon* now are. According to *Strabo*, all the Ground between the *Mediterranean*, and the *Durance*, was theirs. And he adds, that they inhabited that Part of the *Alpes* which is next the Sea. But it is evident, that *Strabo* confounded the Mountains in the Neighbourhood of *Marseilles*, with the *Alpes* properly so called. And *Florus* and *Polybius* are fallen into the same Mistake. *Pliny* tells us, that the *Salyes* were the most considerable Nation of *Liguria Transalpina*; which is the Name the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* gave to all the Country which lies between the *Var* and the *Rhone*. For this reason the People of *Marseilles* are very early called *λέγυες*, and their Country *καταλέγυαν*, or *Gallo-Ligurum regionem*.

²⁵ Mount *Genevre*, formerly called *Matrona*, is one of the *Alpes* in *Dauphiné*, a League from *Briançon*, in the Road to *Susa* and *Pignerol*. It is the most frequented Passage from *France* to *Italy*.

²⁶ Mount *Cenis*, is one of the *Alpes*, which is very high and steep, at the Foot of *The Valley of Maurienne*, and on the Frontiers of *Piedmont*. It is as it were divided into two Parts, one of which is called *Great Mount Cenis*, which lies Northward, and the other, which lies Southward, is called *Little Mount Cenis*.

Year of R O M E CCCLXII. tions, among whom he had sojourned. Some of the *Salyes*, or Natives of *Pro-*
vence, followed him; as did some Families of the Nations which dwelt at the foot
 of the *Alpes*, on the Side of *Gaul*. These Mountaineers were called ²⁷ *Taurini*,
 from the *Celtic* Word *Taur*, which signifies a Mountain.

L. LUCRETII-
 us, &c. Mil-
 itary Tribunes.

Justin. B. 12.
 Dion. Hal.
 B. 1.

Livy, B. 5.
 ch. 34.

Polyb. B. 2.
 and 3.

Strabo, B. 4.
 Flor. B. 2.
 Plin. B. 3.
 ch. 1.

Livy, B. 4.
 Plin. B. 3.
 ch. 17.

At the time that *Bellovesus* entered *Italy*, the *Hetrurians*, whom the *Greeks* called *Tyrrhenians*, possessed the best Part of it. They had formerly spread themselves from the *Alpes* to the two Shores of the *Adriatic* and *Tyrrhenian* Seas; to the latter of which they gave their own Name. And they then possessed all the Coast of the *Adriatic* Sea, quite to the ²⁸ *Apennines*. Some of the *Aborigines* mixed with the *Greeks*, had made a Descent into the middle of *Italy*, and possessed all the Ground, from the *Apennines* ²⁹ to the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. *Rome* was, at it were, but just in being, at that time. *Tarquin the Elder* was then King; and was not, at most, past the middle of his Reign. So that the *Romans* were not at all affected by this first Inundation of the *Gauls*, who came and possessed themselves of one of the finest Parts of *Italy*. And the *Celtæ* seem to have continually driven the *Hetrurians* before them, after they had defeated them in one Battel, on the Banks of the ³⁰ *Tesin*; and to have shut them up within a narrower and narrower Compass, in proportion as they got Possession of their Lands.

But the different Nations of the *Celtæ* were not all blended together in one Body, when they made this Conquest; and each Nation had its distinct Portion, in the Country they conquered. The Inhabitants of the Mountains on the Side of *Gaul*, called *Taurini*, and who, I believe, were the present *Savoyards*, had what we now call *Piedmont* for their Share, the Capital of which is *Turin*. The Inhabitants of *Provence*, or the *Salyes*, had ³¹ *Liguria*; and for this Reason some ancient Writers give the *Salyes* the Name of *Ligures*. The ³² *Libici*, another People of *Provence*, were placed in the Country where *Vercell* now is. The *Insubres* on the North Side of the *Po*, that is, the *Burgundians*, settled in the fine Country of the *Milanese*; and these built a Town, which they called ³³ *Mediolanum*, from the Name of a little City in the Territory of *Antium*. This afterwards became the great City of *Milan*. Some of the Inhabitants of modern *Languedoc*, who came from the Banks of the River *Orbe* ³⁴, and were called ³⁵ *Orobii*, possessed *Bergamo*,

²⁷ The *Taurini* were originally *Celtæ*, and dwelt at the Foot of the *Alpes Cottiae*. *Ptolomy* and *Arrian* place them beyond the Frontiers of *Liguria Italica*, or *Cisalpine*. They afterwards settled in *Piedmont*, and gave their own Name to the City of *Turin*.

²⁸ The *Apennines* are a long Chain of Mountains, which divide *Italy* into almost two equal Parts, from the *Maritime Alpes*, where they take their Rise, near *Savonne*, quite to the Streights which separate *Sicily* from *Italy*.

²⁹ That is, all *Liguria*, and the greatest Part of old *Hetruria*, which lay between the *Apennines* and the *Tuscan* Sea.

³⁰ The *Tesin* rises by Mount *Adula*, or Mount *St. Godard* in *Switzerland*. It runs through Part of old *Insubria*, or the *Milanese*, and after mixing with the Lake *Major*, formerly called *Verbanus Lacus*, runs by the Walls of *Milan* and *Pavia*, and then falls into the *Po*: And the *Tesin*, according to *Ferrarius*, preserves its Waters clean and clear, for above four Miles together, after it has entered the muddy Streams of that River.

³¹ *Liguria* was anciently one of the most considerable Provinces of *Gallia Cisalpina*, in *Italy*. It was formerly divided into two Parts, one of which was called *Maritime Liguria*, and the other *Mountainous Liguria*. The former, exclusive of *Liguria Transalpina*, of which we have spoken already, did not reach farther than the Coast of *Genoa*, between the *Apennines* and the *Ligurian* Sea, from the River *Var*, to *la Macra*. The latter comprehended all the People which were dispersed in different Cantons, quite to the Rivers *Arne* and *Po*. *Cluver* has given us a very minute Description of all the different Nations which formerly lived in *Liguria*, in his *Italia Antiqua*, B. 1.

³² The *Libici*, or *Lebeci*, were, according to *Polybius*, Natives of the Country of the *Salyes*: Which proves that they inhabited a Part of *Provence*, or *Liguria Transalpina*; and thence *Pliny*, B. 3. and *Livy*, B. 5. speaking of the *Libici*, say, that these People were descended from the *Salyes*. And for this reason the ancient Writers call the former sometimes *Gauls*, and sometimes *Ligures*.

³³ *Ptolomy* tells us, that there were three Cities in *Gallia Transalpina*, which all bore the same Name as the City of *Milan*, formerly called *Mediolanum*. *Strabo* calls it *Μεδιολάνιον*. These two Geographers, and *Antoninus's Itinerary*, mention the Cities of *Menin* in *Berry*, *Evreux* in *Normandy*, and *Saintes* in *Aquitania*, under the Names of *Mediolanum Biturigum*, *Mediolanum Aulercorum*, *Eburovicum*, *Mediolanum Santonum*.

³⁴ The *Orbe* rises in the *Cevennes*, on the Confines of *Roiergue*, three Leagues from *Lodeve*. It discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*, two Leagues below *Beziers*. It is called *Océpe* by *Strabo*, *Océpe* by *Ptolomy*, and *Obris* by *Pomponius Mela*. We must not confound it with the *Orbe*, a little River in *Switzerland*, which the *Latins* distinguished from the former, by calling it *Orba*.

³⁵ The *Orobii* were originally *Gauls*. *Justin* says That several Nations of *Gaul*, being tired out with the Civil Wars, which laid their Country desolate, resolved to go and seek new Habitations, in the Reign of *Tarquin the First*; That they went into *Italy*; That they drove the *Hetrurians* away, and built the Cities of *Milan*, *Como*, *Bresse* or *Brescia*, *Verona*, *Bergamo*, *Trent*, and *Vicenza*. And the Authority of *Justin*, who is not contradicted by any Author, has convinced us, that the *Orobii* who founded *Bergamo*, were originally of *Gallia Transalpina*. The Difficulty is, to know exactly where they lived.

gamo³⁶, still continuing to be called *Orobii*, and built *Como*. Farther than this, *Bellovesus* does not appear to have carried his Conquests. Nor did he then carry with him into *Italy* all the *Celtic* Nations which had engaged to follow him: A great part of them stayed on this Side the *Alps*, probably waiting to hear of the Success of his Expedition in *Italy*, before they would venture farther.

So that the second Irruption into *Italy* was made by the³⁷ *Cenomani*, that is, those People of *Celtica* who extended themselves from the Mouth of the *Seine* to that of the *Loire*. They had chosen themselves a new Commander, called *Elitoüis*: which being a common Name among the *Gauls*, some have conjectured, that the Name of *Louïs* was originally derived from it. It is probable that the other People who went with *Elitoüis*, were the *Bretons* of *Vannes*, and the *Carnutes*. *Bellovesus*, who was already settled with his Followers, assisted the *Cenomani*, the *Bretons*, and the *Carnutes*, in pursuing the Paths which he had marked out for them. So that they also entered *Italy* by Mount *Cenis*. The great Inducement which prevailed upon them to climb over the *Alpes*, is said to have been the³⁸ Wine, which in all probability *Bellovesus* sent them. The Use of Wine was yet scarcely known among the *Gauls*; even in the time of *Julian the Apostate*, there was none made in *France*, at least not in the³⁹ Neighbourhood of *Paris*. As soon as the *Celtæ* had tasted it, they were in haste to go into the Country which produced so delicious a Liquor. And when they were come into *Italy*, the *Cenomani* settled South-East of the *Insubres*, and possessed the present *Brescia*, *Cremonese*, and *Mantua*, which lie on this Side the *Po*. The *Veneti*, that is, the *Bretons* of *Vannes*, settled yet more Eastward, on the Borders of the *Adriatic* Gulph, and possessed the Country of the *Venetians*, which continues to bear their Name to this very Day. This Opinion, which is built upon the Authority of the two most learned Writers of Antiquity, is to be preferred before the Fable, that the⁴⁰ *Venetians* were a Colony of the

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L. LUCRETIVS, &c. Military Tribunes. *Justin. B. 20.*

Livy, B. 5. ch. 35.

Plut. Life of Camil.

Julian. Epig.

Strabo, B. 4. and 5. Polyb. B. 2. and Scylax in Περὶ πλω.

Paphla-

lived. And this Nation seems to us, to have dwelt on the Banks of the *Orbe*, or *Orobis*, "Ὀροβίς, from which they took their Name. *Pliny, B. 3. ch. 17.* quotes *Cato* and *Cornelius Alexander*, in relation to the *Orobii*. The former confesses himself ignorant of their Origin. The latter is of opinion, that these People came into *Italy* from *Greece*. His Reason for it, is the Agreement of the Word *Orobis* with the two *Greek* Words "Ὀρος and Βίς. This Etymology, adds he, is likewise agreeable to the Situation of these People, who inhabited the Mountains in the Neighbourhood of *Bergamo*. But we don't think fit on so trifling a Foundation, to reject *Justin's* Testimony, who makes the *Orobii* to have come from *Gallia Transalpina*.

³⁶ *Pliny, B. 3.* makes use of *Cato's* Authority, to prove that the *Orobii* settled in *Bergamo*. He places the City of *Como* in their District, and says these People were the first Founders of it. *Orobiorum stirpis esse Comum, atque Bergamum, & Licini Forum, & aliquot circa populos, auctor est Cato.* *Ptolomy* is therefore mistaken, when he places the City of *Bergamo* in the Country of the *Cenomani*, and that of *Como*, in *Insubria*. *Pliny, B. 10. ch. 28.* manifestly makes a difference between the Territory of *Como*, and that of the *Insubres*. And *Livy* plainly makes them two different People, when he says, *B. 33.* that *Marcellus* triumphed over the *Insubres*, and the People of *Como*: *Triumphavit in magistratu de Insubribus Comensibusque.*

³⁷ *Livy, B. 7.* and *Julius Caesar, B. 5. Comment.* call the *Cenomani*, *Aulercos*: And the latter gives the same Name to the People who dwelt in the Territory of *Eurenæ*; and to another Nation, which *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* place in *Bretagne*, the former between *Rennes* and the Country of the *Curiosolites*, or the *Quimpercorentin*, the latter on the Side of *Vannes*, and a little more Westward. These Authors give these two last mentioned People the Names of *Aulerci Ebuovices*, and *Aulerci Diablintes*. This Agreement therefore of three Nations, who reached from the *Seine* to the Mouth of the *Loire*, all in the

same Name, leads us to conjecture, that they were all one Society or Body, of which the *Cenomani* were the most considerable Part.

³⁸ *Pliny, B. 12. ch. 1.* gives us a different Account of this Matter. *An Artificer*, says he, named *Elicon*, of *Switzerland*, went to *Rome*, where he continued some time, following the Business of his Profession. And when he returned home, he made his Countrymen taste some dry Figs, Raisins, Oil, and Wine, which he had brought out of *Italy*. Which was enough to make the *Gauls* resolve to settle in so happy a Climate, and to pass those almost unsurmountable Barriers the *Alpes*, which seemed to block up the Way to it.

³⁹ The Emperor *Julian* says, in his Work, entitled *Μισοπάγων*, that there were Vines in the Territory of *Paris*, which bore excellent Grapes; καὶ φύεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀμπελος ἀγαθή. But it is manifest, that he there only speaks of some Arbors, or little Plats of Vines, which some particular Persons took pleasure in cultivating, as is done in *Normandy* to this day. So that we cannot infer from thence, that the Neighbourhood of *Paris* then abounded with Vineyards, and that Wine was common there. On the contrary, *Julian the Apostate* declares expressly in an Epigram, which we have left of his, that *Gaul* produced no Wine, and that the Natives were forced to drink Beer, which was the common Drink of all the People of the Country. He observes on this Occasion, that *Bacchus* was no longer worshipped at *Paris*, and that this Son of *Jupiter* was turned into a Son of *Ceres*. Not but that some of the Southern Parts of *Gaul* produced excellent Wine, even then. *Martial* mentions the Wine of *Vienna* in *Dauphiné*, in one of his Epigrams, *E. 13.*

*Hæc de vitifera vasisse picata Vienna
Ne dubites; misit Romulus ipse mihi.*

But *Julian* chiefly speaks of that Canton of *Gaul*, in which he generally resided. It is well known, *Paris* was the Place of his Residence, a pretty while.

⁴⁰ Ancient Authors differ in Opinion about the Origin

Year of *Paphlagonians*, whom *Antenor* brought thither, after the taking of *Troy*. The
 R O M E Veneti, says *Polybius*, were indeed like the other Gauls, in Manners, Customs and
 CCCLXII. Dress; and differed from them in nothing but their speaking a different Language.
 L. LUCRETI- Is not this Description enough to shew us they came from *Lower Bretagne*? As
 us, &c. Military for the 41 *Carnutes*, they steered farther North; and inhabited the Country which,
 Tribunes. from them, is called *Carniola*.

BUT still there were many Bands of those *Celtæ* which *Bellovesus* had raised, remaining on this Side the *Alps*, and waiting only for an Opportunity to go into *Italy*, as the others had done. What Part of *Gaul* those two little Nations inhabited, who made the third Irruption into *Italy*, is indeed difficult to determine. We only know, that Antiquity has given the first of them, who probably came from *Provence*, or the Neighbourhood of it, 42 the Name of *Læves*, or *Lævi*; and the other, that of 43 *Ananes*, or *Anamares*. But the Historians have given us a very distinct Account of the Countries they invaded in *Italy*. The *Lævi* seized the Country of *Novarra*, on the North Side of the *Po*; and the *Ananes* settled in the Neighbourhood of *Placenza*, on the South Side of that River. The latter were the first *Gauls* who passed the *Po*, and settled beyond it.

NEVERTHELESS, the whole Colony which *Bellovesus* had engaged to bring into *Italy*, were not all arrived there even now. There yet remained the *Boii* and *Lingones*, to make a fourth Transmigration. The latter were partly Natives of *Champagne*, and partly *Burgundians*, including the People of the present *Bassigny*. And these two Nations took a different Rout from that which *Bellovesus* had taken. They went to the Place appointed for them, over the *Alpes* 44 *Pennina*; that

Origin of those People, whom the *Greeks* call *Ουέτροι*, *Βίετροι*, and sometimes *Έντροι*, on a very uncertain Tradition, which *Polybius* thinks a mere Poetick Fiction. Many Authors, as well ancient as modern, and among the rest *Livy*, B. 1. and *Pliny*, B. 3. are of Opinion, That a Colony of *Henetes* having been forced to leave *Paphlagonia*, in Times of Trouble and Sedition, went into *Italy*, and advanced as far as the Gulph of the *Adriatick* Sea, under the Command of *Antenor*, after the Destruction of *Troy*: And, That this new Colony, having driven away the Natives of the Country, founded Cities, and gave their own Name to a Country in *Italy*, which has ever since been called in *Latin*, *Veneti*; i. e. the Country of the *Venetii*. But besides that the Names of the Colony and the Country don't so exactly agree, as to amount to a convincing Proof, *Strabo*, B. 3. adopts their Opinion who thought the *Venetians* were originally Natives of that Part of *Lower Bretagne*, of which *Vannes* was then the Capital. And *Mela*, B. 2. seems to be of the same Opinion, when he says, That the Country bordering on the *Adriatick* Gulph, was divided between the *Gauls*, and the *Italians*. Add to this, that the *Venetians* have always been thought a foreign People, transplanted from some distant Country, into one of the Districts of *Italy*. Whence we may conclude, that they were some of those *Gauls*, who passed the *Alps*, in order to make new Conquests. And this Opinion is supported by *Polybius's* Authority, tho' those of a contrary Opinion interpret him so as to make him favour their own Sense. He, besides what we have said of him in the Text, speaking of the War the *Romans* made with the People of *Gallia Cisalpina*, affirms, That the *Veneti* and *Cenomani* declared against their own Countrymen, in favour of the Republick, and That *Flaminius* formed a Body of *Gauls* out of these two Nations, which was reckoned among the auxiliary Troops in the *Roman* Army. We may indeed reasonably doubt of the Truth of what *Polybius*, B. 2. adds, concerning this People, it being a Circumstance which could scarce possibly be true of the *Lower Bretons*. This Nation, says he, who settled on the Shore of the *Adriatick* Sea, are the same which are so often brought upon the Stage by our *Tragedians*. What Probability is there, may it be

objected, that the *Greek* Poets should go among the *Gauls*, and even as far as *Lower Bretagne*, for Episodes to adorn their *Drama's* with? It is utterly improbable, that the *Greeks* should ever think Foreigners and Barbarians fit Subjects to be represented on the Theatre at *Athens*. But is it not at the same time very well known, how very formidable the *Gauls* made themselves to the *Greeks*, when they spread into *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, under the Command of another *Brennus*? The Ravages they committed, the Sacrilege they were guilty of, their plundering the Temple of *Delphos*, and the miserable Fate they met with, as a Punishment for their Impieties, furnished the *Greek* Poets with very tragical Events, and very affecting Subjects. *Herodotus* mistakes, B. 1. in thinking that the *Venetes* came originally from *Illyricum*.

41 Ancient Authors agree, that the People of *Carniola*, called in *Latin*, *Carni*, were originally of *Gallia Celtica*: And we think them the same with the *Carnutes*, who went into *Italy* with *Bellovesus*.

42 The *Lævi* were, according to *Livy* and *Polybius*, a People of *Gallia Celtica*: But where they dwelt, these Historians don't inform us. Nevertheless, they seem to have at first inhabited a Canton near that of the *Libici*, on the Side of *Provence*. At least ancient Authors almost always put the *Libici* and *Lævi* together: And they were likewise Neighbours in *Italy*. *Pliny*, B. 3. makes the *Lævi* to have been the Founders of *Pavia*.

43 Ancient Authors reckon the *Anani*, or *Anamari*, among the *Gauls* who went into *Italy*; But give us no Account of the Country they inhabited before their Removal.

44 The *Alpes Penninae* reach from the Extremities of the *Alpes Cotticae*, i. e. from Mount *St. Bernard*, to Mount *Adula*, now Mount *St. Godard*, towards the Heads of the *Rhone*, the *Rhine*, and the *Tessin*. These Mountains comprehend the Countries of *Valais* and *Sion*, and in *Piedmont* the *Val d'Aosta* formerly the Country of the *Salasses*, and The *Valley of Andorno*. Some think these *Alpes* were called *Penninae*, because the *Carthaginians* went thro' these Passes after *Hannibal*. And *Paulus Fovius* speaks of an ancient Inscription, which testifies that *Hannibal* entered into *Italy* this way. But *Livy*, B. 21 derives the Name of these Mountains from the *Goc*

that is, over *Mount St. Godard*. And as all the Countries on the North Side of the *Po* were already in the Power of their countrymen the *Celtæ*, they therefore settled on the South Side of it. But the *Lingones* and the *Boii* did not take up much Ground: They settled ⁴⁵ between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*; and extended themselves but very little farther; so that they did not come very near the Sea. These were the several Colonies, of almost all the *Celtic* Nations which came and planted themselves in *Italy*, in the Year of *Rome* 156, when that City was yet of little Note. Then the *Hetrurians*, being driven out of their old Habitations, passed the *Apennines*, and fled for Refuge into that Tract of Ground, which has ever since been called *Hetruria*, or *Tuscany*. Their Dominions were divided into twelve *Lucumonies*, and extended from the River ⁴⁶ *Arnus*, at present the *Arno*, to the *Tyber*, all along the *Apennines*, and the *Tyrrhenian* Sea: And the *Italian Gauls* being now left in the peaceable Possession of the Countries they had conquered, they let the *Hetrurians* likewise enjoy the same Tranquillity. No Historian has told us, that the latter were ever disturbed by the *Celtæ* their Conquerors, for the space of two hundred Years: Till at length, about the Year of *Rome* 356, the great Desires the *Gauls* had of removing into *Italy*, revived. We have not seen any of the *Senones* yet pass the *Alpes* with *Bellovesus*, in any of these four Irruptions. They had no thoughts of it, till two hundred Years afterwards, and then acted upon very different Motives. They possessed all that Part of *Gaul* which reaches from *Paris* to *Meaux*, or even as far as *Troyes*, and a Part of the *Autunois*, *Nivernois*, *Orleanois*, and *Beauce*. Their chief City was *Sens*. The Affair which occasion'd their going in their turn, and making a fifth Irruption into *Italy*, was the following Accident.

ONE *Arunx* was one of the chief Lords of *Clusium* in *Hetruria*. He had been Tutor to a young Man of Distinction, called *Lucumo*, that being either his proper Name, or, as is most probable, his Title. He had been brought up in *Arunx's* House from his Infancy. As soon as he was of an Age to feel the Force of a Passion, he fell violently in Love with his Tutor's Wife. They at first kept their Intrigue secret; but it was at last discovered by the mad Heat of the ungrateful Pupil, and the Fears of the unfaithful Wife. As soon as she perceived her Husband suspected her, she got her self conveyed away by the *Lucumo*: and *Arunx* in vain endeavoured to have Reparation made him for the Injury he had received. The *Lucumo* had more Power in the Country than he. By the help of Interest and Money, the guilty Pupil triumphed over the Complaints of his Tutor. *Arunx* therefore, full of Grief that he could find no Protectors in *Hetruria*, went to seek some in *Gaul*; and the People among all the *Celtic* Nations, to whom he chose to apply himself for Vengeance, were the *Senones*. He might perhaps observe their Country to be the least exhausted of Men, since none of them had followed *Bellovesus*. However, he boasted to them of the great Plenty the People of *Italy* enjoyed, and made them taste some *Italian* Wine, which he had brought with him. Upon this, the *Senones* resolved to follow him, and their Army was exceeding numerous. The new Colony passed the *Alpes* after their Leader, did not attack the *Celtæ* in *Italy*, but left them in their old Possessions, and came and fell upon ⁴⁷ *Umbria*, only a small

Penninus, whom these Mountaineers worshiped. The *Alpes Pennine* are called by *Cæsar*, *Summae Alpes*, or, *The highest Alpes*; and by *Strabo*, τὰ ἄνω τῶν Ἀλπίων. The Great *St. Bernard* is called by the Name of *Summus Penninus*, in *Antoninus's Itinerary*.

⁴⁵ The *Boii* dwelt in the Territories of *Imola* and *Tarenza*, and all along the Rivers *Reno*, *Idice*, *Utens* or *Montone*, and *Santerno*. The *Lingones* were more Northwards, and nearer the Mouth of the *Po*.

⁴⁶ The *Arno* rises among the *Apennines*, about the Confines of *Romagnia Florentina*. After it has watered the Territory of *Arezzo*, the *Chiane* falls into it, and then it passes thro' the City of *Florence*, and after being enlarged by several other little Rivers, empties it self into the *Tuscan* Sea, eight Miles above *Pisa*.

⁴⁷ The *Umbri* pass for those antient People of *Italy*, of whose Origin we have no Records. For this Reason, say the *Roman* Writers, they are reckoned

to be the *Aborigines*, or Ἀυρίγονες of *Italy*, as the *Greeks* used to speak. They, thinking these People had escaped a Deluge caused by Rains, which drowned their Lands, called them therefore Οὐμβρίους, and Οὐμβρίους, quod inundatione terrarum imbris superfluent, i. e. because they had escaped a Deluge occasioned by violent Showers of Rain, (the Greek Word Οὐμβρος, or *Ombros*, signifying a Shower of Rain) according to *Pliny* and *Solinus*. Almost all Authors agree, that ancient *Umbria* contained all the Countries between the *Tyrrhenian* and *Adriatic* Seas, from the *Arno* to the River *Nar*, or *La Nera*: But the *Umbri* were dispossessed of a Part of their Country by the *Hetrurians*, who came originally from *Lydia*. *Pliny* says, B. 2. that the *Lydians* possessed themselves of 300 Cities of ancient *Umbria*, and gave the Name of *Hetruria* or *Tuscany*, to their new Conquest. And in this he agrees with *Dion. Hal.* who affirms that the *Umbri* antiently bordered on the *Ligures*. At least it is evident, that the *Arno* divided these two Nations. *Pliny* places the

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R O M E
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L. LUCRETI-
US, &c. Mili-
tary Tribunes.
Polyb. B. 2.
Liv. B. 5.

Polyb. B. 2.

Plut. Life of
Camil.
Liv. B. 5.

Year of small Part of which had hitherto been invaded. The New-comers possessed themselves of all the Country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum* ⁴⁸, including the present *Duchy of Urbino*. They were about 49 six Years in settling themselves, whilst the *Romans* were carrying on the Siege of *Veii*. And at length, in the Year of *Rome* 362, *Arunx* brought the *Senones* before *Clusium*, in order to besiege the Place, in which his Wife and her lewd Lover had shut themselves up.

R O M E
CCCLXII.
L. LUCRETII
us, &c. Military
Tribunes.
Liv. B. 5. c. 35.

§. II. *ROME* was then governed by ⁵⁰ six *Military Tribunes*: Their Names were, *L. Lucretius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *M. Æmilius*, *L. Furius*, *Agr. Furius*, and *C. Æmilius*. These Governors of the Republick entered upon their Office, contrary to Custom, on the first Day of *July*. The Sickneſs of the *Consuls* for the last Year, had obliged the People to proceed to their Elections before the usual time. The *Romans* were still carrying on the War against the *Hetrurians*. The ⁵¹ *Volſinienses* and the ⁵² *Salpinates* had taken up Arms against the Republick; and it was necessary to punish them for it, and suppress their Insolence. *L. Lucretius* and *C. Æmilius*, two of the *Military Tribunes*, were therefore sent against the *Volſinienses*; and two others of them, viz. *Agr. Furius* and *Serv. Sulpicius*, marched into the Country of the *Salpinates*, advancing towards *Clusium* in *Hetruria*. So that *Hetruria* was attacked on both Sides by two conquering Nations, the *Romans* and the *Gauls*. The *Volſinienses* first felt the Revenge of the *Romans*. They were indeed very numerous; but nevertheless became an easy Conquest to the two *Roman* Generals. They dispersed themselves upon the first Attack; and eight thousand of the Fugitives, being surrounded in their Flight by the *Roman* Cavalry, all threw down their Arms, and surrendered at Discretion. And this Victory terrified the *Salpinates*, so that they durst not appear in the Field; and their whole Country was plunder'd. As for the *Volſinienses*, they, grown wise by the Ruin of the others, demanded a Truce of the *Romans*, which was granted them for twenty Years; upon Condition, that they should restore to the *Romans* all they had taken from them, and pay their Soldiers one Year's Pay.

Liv. B. 5. c. 32.

Plut. Life of
Camil.
Liv. B. 5. c. 32.

§. III. As for the Neighbourhood of the *Gauls*, who were set down before *Clusium*, it gave the Republick less Uneasiness than it should have done. Nevertheless, one of the meanest of the *Roman* Citizens, called *Cæditius*, made some Reflections upon the Danger that threatened his Country, which would have better become the Governors of it. He came to the *Tribunes*, and told them he had heard a miraculous Voice. *I was*, said *Cæditius*, *in the Night, a little beyond the Temple of*

the same Boundary between them, beginning it at the Conflux of the *Arno* and the *Umbro*, now the *Umbro*, a little River, which both waters *Umbria*, and gave it its Name. Afterwards the *Umbri* were confined within narrower Limits on both Sides the *Apennines*. The *Abridger of Stephens* places them between *Picenum* and the *Po*, towards the Mouth of that River. But the exact Situation of *Umbria*, according to the ancient Geographers, was this: It was bounded to the West, by a Line drawn from the *Utens*, now the *Montone*, to the Heads of the *Tyber*, and from thence to the Conflux of this last River with the *Nar*; which was its Boundary to the South; to the East, by the Middle of the River *Æsis*, now called the *Fiumefino*; and to the North, by the *Adriatic* Sea. *Ptolomy* divides *Umbria* into *Olumbria* and *Vilumbria*: The former lying on the North, the latter on the South Side of the *Apennines*.

⁴⁸ *Pliny's* Account of the Situation of *Picenum*, is this: *Infra Sabinos Latium, a latere Picenum, a tergo Umbria*. According to *Mela*, B. 2. the City of *Ancona* stood on the extreme Parts of *Picenum* and *Gallia Cisalpina*. All the ancient Geographers place this Country between the Heads of the *Nar*, the River *Æsis*, *Umbria*, and the *Adriatic* Sea. The *Picentini*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, descended originally from the *Sabines*. These People, in order to enlarge their Country, sought for Lands to cultivate, out of *Sabinia*, and sent out a Colony, who upon meeting here with a good Omen from a Woodpecker, called in *Latin* *Picus*, came and settled in *Picenum*. This Bird pitched upon the Standard this little Clan carried with them, and was

their Guide, all the while they travelled. *Festus* vouches for the Truth of this fabulous Story.

⁴⁹ The Country the *Senones* chose to dwell in, was bounded to the West, by the *Utens*, or *Montone*; and to the East, by the River *Æsis*, or *Esino*, as we learn from *Livy*, B. 5. But antient Authors have not told us exactly its Boundaries to the North and South. Nevertheless, the *Senones* seem to have been shut up at first between the *Apennines* and *Adriatic* Sea; and to have afterwards encroached upon the *Hetrurians* as far as *Clusium*, and from thence, quite into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*.

⁵⁰ *Diodorus* mentions only four *Military Tribunes*, for this Year 362; namely, *Lucius Lucretius*, *Servius Sulpicius*, *Marcus Æmilius*, and *Lucius Furius Medullinus*. We suppose this *Lucius Lucretius* was the same who had been *Consul* some little time before. *Capitolinus* gives *Serv. Sulpicius* the Surname of *Betextalus*. *Zonaras* gives him that of *Rufus*. If we may credit *Pighius*, he was the same who had been *Consul* two Years before.

⁵¹ The City of the *Volſinienses*, which *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* call *Volſinium*, was a considerable City in *Hetruria*, being the Capital of one of the twelve *Lucumonies* of that Country. It formerly stood near a Lake of the same Name, in the Place where *Bologna* now stands. *Pliny* tells us, B. 36. that Grinding Mills were first invented and used in this City.

⁵² We can discover nothing of the Situation of the ancient City of the *Salpinates*, or of *Salpinum*. It is probable that this City, which entered into a Confederacy with the Inhabitants of *Volſinium*, was one of the most powerful in *Hetruria*.

Vesta, when I heard an ⁵³ articulate Voice, which had nothing in it like a human one, and which distinctly pronounced these words: Go to the Magistrates, and tell them the Gauls draw near. But this might probably be rather some foreboding of *Ceditius* himself, than any miraculous Warning. However, as the Citizen had neither Interest nor Authority, his Story was neglected; and the daily Conquests the Gauls made upon the *Hetrurians*, made little impression on the Minds of the People. This was evident from the manner, in which they treated the great *Camillus*, who was the only General they had, who was capable of making Head against these formidable Neighbours. The People's Hatred to him was more bitter than ever. They had less Gratitude for his Exploits, and the important Services he had done his Country, than Resentment for his having refused to let them plunder the Cities, and his having commanded them to restore Part of the Booty they had brought from *Veii*. He was too equitable a Commander in time of War, and too rigid a Magistrate in time of Peace, to please the *Plebeians*. The Commons stood thus affected towards *Camillus*, when one of the *Tribunes of the People* undertook to cite him to appear before the ⁵⁴ *Comitia*. The Name of this *Tribune* was *L. Apuleius*. And indeed, the Opportunity he took to serve him with the Citation, was a melancholy one for the Accused. *Camillus* had just then lost one of his two Sons, whom he tenderly loved. So that this Family-Affliction, together with the publick Attack made upon his Honour, obliged him to confine himself to an inner Apartment of his House, and not appear in publick. The Accusation the *Tribune* drew up against *Camillus*, in a manner wholly related to some Spoils of the *Hetrurians*, which he was reproached with having applied to his own Use. Among others, it was charged upon him as a Crime, that he had taken to himself a Brass-Door, at the Plunder of *Veii*, which Door then adorned his House in *Rome*. This was a very trifling Affair, in comparison of the vast Advantages he had gained the Republick by his Conquest; but the People were very unjustly enraged against him, and were inflexible. During the Interval of twenty seven Days, which were always given the Accused, before they were brought to their Tryals, *Camillus* assembled together all his Friends, Clients, Neighbours, the Officers of his Armies, and his former Collegues, at his own House. He asked them, whether they would give him up defenceless to the Injustice of his Accusers, and the Hazard of the People's Suffrages: But the Assembly, tho' numerous, did not find themselves strong enough to ward off the Blow which threatened *Camillus*. All his Friends could promise him, was only this, that they would pay the Fine, which would infallibly be laid upon him. *Camillus* therefore, having too great a Soul to bear the Affront the People were going to offer him, chose rather to withdraw himself, than to stand the Shock of it. After he had taken his Leave of his Wife and Son, he set out on a voluntary Banishment, and thereby deprived the *Romans* of their only Remedy in case of Danger. And it is said, that when he came, without any Attendance, to the Gate, through which he was to go out of *Rome*, and had turned his Eyes towards the *Capitol*, he desired the Gods, That, ⁵⁵ *if he were innocent, they would make Rome lament the Loss of him*. But both these Stories, that of the mi-

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tary Tribunes.

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⁵³ An Altar was erected, in *New-street*, to a new Sort of Divinity, which the *Romans* called *Aius Locutius*, on account of this miraculous Voice, which had forewarned them to be upon their Guard against the Gauls. *Cicero* speaks of him, in his 2d Book of *Divination*, thus: *Quid ergo? Aius ista loquens, quando cum nemo norat, aiebat, & loquebatur, & ex eo nomen invenit. Posteaquam & sedem, & aram, & numen invenit, obmutuit. What then? says he, This God Aius uttered Oracles when he was known of no Body. But he had no sooner got himself a Name, no sooner had an Altar erected to his Honour, but he became dumb.* *Varro*, *Gell.* 16. expressly mentions both the Altar, and the Worship which was paid *Locutius*. If we credit *Livy* concerning him, a Temple was built to his Honour, by way of Reparation for the little Respect which had been shewn him, in having neglected his Admonitions.

⁵⁴ The *Comitia* here spoken of, are *Comitia by Tribes*, which thro' the Intrigues of the *Tribunes of*

the People, had, ever since the Year 262, got in Possession of a Power of summoning any particular Person in *Rome*, not excepting the *Patricians* themselves, to appear before them as Criminals. This tumultuous Tribunal, if I may so speak, was entirely at the Devotion, and under the Government of the *Tribunes*, who made Use of it to gratify their Hatred, and promote their Interests, or to humble the Deserving, or keep under the Ambitious. Nevertheless, the Right of judging Capital Crimes, and punishing with Death, belonged only to the *Comitia by Centuries*. The *Comitia by Tribes* could only fine, or, at most, banish the Accused.

⁵⁵ The Pagans thought such Sort of Imprecations as this, pronounced by a Person unjustly condemned, always had their Effect; and always foreboded some Misfortune, to be inflicted by the Gods, the Avengers of oppressed Innocence. In this Sense *Horace* says, *Epod.* 5.

*Dira Detestatio.
Nulla expiatur victima.*

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CCCLXII.

L. LUCRETI-
US, &c. Mili-
tary Tribunes.

Val. Max. B. 5.
c. 3.

Liv. B. 5. c. 35.
Plut. Life of
Camil.

Liv. and Plut.
ibid.

raculous Voice, and this of *Camillus's* Prayer, are probably no more than Embellishments, invented by the Historians, to adorn their Relations of the following Event. The taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, was a considerable *Epocha* for the *Romans*; and they have therefore made it the more remarkable, by adding some Circumstances, which have much of *The Marvellous* in them. However, *Camillus* pursued his Journey, and came to *Ardea*, in the Country of the *Rutuli*: And being both a good Subject, and a Man of Honour, he continued quiet there, without shewing any publick Resentment to his Country. His Virtue in this Instance exceeded that of *Coriolanus*, who was no longer *Roman*, when once condemned to Banishment. Nevertheless, the *Tribune Apuleius* carried on his Prosecution against *Camillus*, and got him condemned for Contumacy. The People fined him 15000 *Asses* ⁵⁶ of Brass: A very moderate Sum indeed; but this was all they could charge him with having taken from the publick Treasury.

§. IV. However, *Camillus* was no sooner gone, but People came to implore the Assistance of the *Romans* against the *Gauls*. *Clusum* was besieged by the *Senones*, under the Command of *Brennus* their King, and of *Arunx*, whom the *Clusini* had justly provoked. The People of *Clusum* had not indeed entred into any Alliance with the *Romans*; neither had they, on the other hand, opposed the Conquests of the *Romans*, during the Siege of *Veii*. And as it was evidently the Interest of the Republick to stop the Progress of these foreign Conquerors, this made the *Hetrurians* hope they might engage the *Romans* in their Quarrel. The Envoys from *Clusum* therefore represented to the Senate the imminent Danger of a City, which was a Barrier to the *Romans*, against the Inundation of the Barbarians. They described the haughty Looks, high Stature, and extraordinary Arms of the *Gauls*: And then recounted the several Conquests they had made, at different times, on both Sides the *Po*. Nevertheless, the *Romans* would not engage in an open War against a Nation which never had offended them. The Senate contented itself with only sending Embassadors to *Clusum*, with Orders to offer the *Gauls* their Mediation to terminate all Differences amicably. These Ambassadors were three Brothers, of the Name of *Fabius*, the Sons of *Fabius Ambustus*, who had been *Consul* and *Military Tribune*: and when they came before the Heads of the *Senones*, they were civilly received. *Rome* had gained a great Reputation in these Countries, ever since *Camillus's* Conquests. The *Fabii* desired the *Gauls* to spare a City which was under the Protection of the *Romans*, and which the Republick would be obliged to defend, if they forced her to it: adding, that it was more for the Credit of a new settled Colony, to make itself known by Works of Peace, than by a Declaration of War. *What Injury*, said the Embassadors to them, *have the Clusini done you, and what Pretence have you for invading their Lands?* But upon this, the Chief of the *Gauls* burst out into a loud Laughter. *Is it not Reason enough to begin a War*, replied he, *that other People possess Lands which lay very conveniently for us? Their keeping Possession of a larger Tract of Ground than they can cultivate, is an Injury to us. What other Motive than this, had you yourselves, Romans, for conquering so many neighbouring Nations? Not that we accuse you of Injustice in it; but it is evident you thought this to be the first and most ancient Law, That the Weak must give way to the Strong. Either therefore no longer interest yourselves for the Clusini, or suffer us to interest ourselves in behalf of the Cities you have subdued.* This haughty Answer deprived the Ambassadors of all Hopes of negotiating a Peace: And therefore the three *Romans* being young, and descended from a Family which was famous for its Valour, advised the *Clusini* to make frequent Sallies. This they did at first, only that they might be Spectators of the Bravery of the *Gauls*, and their Way of fighting. But afterwards, being from Mediators become Enemies, they resolved to try the Courage of these Strangers in Battel themselves, and to enter the Lists with them. They all three put themselves at the Head of the Troops of the *Clusini*, and their Bravery distinguished them in the Battels which were fought under the Walls of *Clusum*. One Day, as one of the

⁵⁶ The 15000 *Roman Asses* reckoned by Weight, that is, considered as 15000 Pound Weight of Brass Money, amount to the Value of about 10125 *French Livres*, at the Rate of allowing a little more than 13 *Sols*, for each *Roman As* of 12 Ounces Weight: But if we reckon each *As* to be of the Value of a *French Sol*, according to our former Valuation of it, in Proportion to the *Attic Drachma*, or *Roman Denarius*, the Fine laid upon *Camillus* will then not exceed 750 *French Livres*. [The 15000 *Asses* amount, according to Dr. *Arbutnot*, to 481. 8s. and 9d. *Sterling*.]

Commanders of the *Gauls*, was advancing before the Ranks, to attack a Company of the *Clusini*, one of the *Fabii* named *Quintus*, instantly started forward, and rushed upon the *Gaul*. Upon this a single Combat ensued, in which the *Gaul* was wounded in the Side with a Javelin, and left dead upon the Sand. Whether the Enemy who killed him was a *Roman*, or one of the *Clusini*, could not be discerned, whilst they were fighting. The Brightness of the Champions Arms dazzled the Spectators Eyes, in the Heat of the Battel. But when *Fabius* dismounted, in order to strip his Adversary, *Brennus* discovered the Conqueror of the *Gaul* to be one of the *Roman* Ambassadors. And this was immediately reported through all the Army of the *Senones*. The *Gauls* called on the Gods to be Witnesses of the Perfidiousness of the *Romans*. They complained of this Breach of the Law of Nations, and were now wholly bent upon revenging themselves on a Nation, which proposed Peace, and made War. Immediately after the Battel, between the *Gaul* and the *Roman*, at the Head of the two Armies, was over, *Brennus* founded a Retreat. Then the *Senones* held a Council among themselves; in which, the hottest were for marching directly to *Rome*, without giving the *Romans* time to look about them; but the wisest thought it necessary to take more moderate Measures, and first send an Embassy to the Republick, to demand Justice on these perfidious Ambassadors, and to require the *Romans* to deliver up to them, both him that slew the *Gaul*, and his two Brothers: And the latter Opinion prevailed. So that the *Gauls* herein shewed themselves to be less barbarous, and to have more regard to the Laws of Nations, than the *Romans*. The Embassy from the *Senones* therefore set out for *Rome*: and these unknown Persons being immediately introduced into the Senate, they no sooner had opened their Complaints, but they threw the *Conscript Fathers* into a great Perplexity. On one hand, it seemed but common Justice to deliver up the Guilty to the Resentments of the Injured. On the other, the Glory of the *Roman* Name, and their Affection for Men descended from an illustrious Family, suspended their coming to such a Determination. Nevertheless, the Senate foresaw what would be the fatal Consequences of their Refusal; were unwilling to be chargeable with having brought them upon *Rome*; and therefore chose to act a Part, which was more mean than prudent. As the question was, whether they should deliver up some illustrious Citizens to Death, by surrendering the *Fabii* into the Hands of the *Gauls*, the Senate⁵⁷ referred the Cognizance, and Determination of the Affair, to the Assembly of the *Curia*. And the Family, being one of those which was called *popular*, for their Affection for the Commons, the three Brothers found more Protection among them, than among the Senators. The People were so far from condemning them, as to resolve on promoting the three *Fabii* to new Honours. When the time came for proceeding to the Election of *Military Tribunes* for the next Year, *Q. Fabius*, *Cæso Fabius*, and *Caius Fabius*, the three Aggressors complain'd of by the *Gauls*, were the first who were chosen to govern the Republick; and to them were added, *Q. Sulpicius*, *Q. Servilius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*.

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US, &c. Mili-
tary Tribunes.

Liv. B.2. c.36.

S. V. THE Ambassadors of the *Gauls* therefore resented the Promotion of the *Fabii*, and thought it an open Affront to their Nation. They left *Rome* in a great Rage, and inspired their Countrymen with the same: Upon which the *Senones* immediately began their March. They advanced towards *Rome* with great Expedition, and quieted the Fears of all the Cities and People in their Way, whom they found alarmed; by telling the Peasants, who were scattered about in the Country, *They had no Design but against Rome*. As for the Republick, all Orders of Men in it seemed to be in a manner intoxicated. The three *Fabii* gave Law in *Rome*; and they, depending upon one lucky Stroke of a single *Gaul*, promised themselves a sure Victory over the whole Nation. And their Confidence, and Contempt of the Enemy, made the *Romans* neglect taking those Precautions at *Rome*, which were usual in dangerous Wars. They had often chosen themselves a *Dictator* in Times of much less Difficulty. But now they trusted to the six *Military Tribunes*, whose Diversity of Opinions and Conduct were prejudicial to the State. The Levies they raised, consisted only of young Men, little inured to War. Nay, they even forgot

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXIII.
Q. FABIIUS,
CÆSO FABIIUS,
C. FABIIUS,
Q. SULPICIIUS,
Q. SERVILIUS,
SER. CORNELIUS,
Military Tribunes.
Liv. B.5. c.37.
Plut. Life of
Camil.

⁵⁷ *Plutarch* adds, That the *Feciales* prosecuted the *Fabii* with Zeal before the Tribunal of the *Comitia*; but that the People had no Regard to their Prose-

cution, and treated all the religious Motives they made use of, to press the Condemnation of the Offenders, as vain Scruples.

Year of **R O M E** to consult the ⁵⁸ *Augurs*, and to offer up the usual Sacrifices to the Gods. Never-
 CCCLXIII. theless, they marched out the Troops, and encamped sixty *Stadia* from *Rome*, on
 Q. FABIVS, the Banks of the ⁵⁹ *Allia*, near the Place where it falls into the *Tyber*. But the Ro-
 &c. Military man Generals either neglected, or had not time, to chuse a convenient Piece of
 Tribunes. Ground, whereon to encamp, and to throw up their Entrenchments. The Hurry
 and too great Confidence of the *Fabii*, made them both overlook Prefages, and neg-
 lect proper Precautions. In the mean time, *Brennus* hastned his March, and ap-
 Plut. Life of appeared in sight of the *Roman* Army. And tho' this General was lately come from
 Cam. *Gaul*, he made the *Romans* sensible, that the Art of War was as much cultivated
 beyond the *Alpes*, as at *Rome*. In reality, the Victory he gained over them, was
 Liv. B. 5. c. 38. not barely the Work of Fortune, or the Effect of a savage Fierceness. The *Latin*
 Historians themselves ascribe it to the prudent Conduct and Experience of *Brennus*.
 The *Roman* Army consisted of only 40000 Men, according to some; but of all
 the Forces the Republick was Mistress of, according to others. The *Gauls* reckoned
 D. Sic. B. 14. up 70000 fighting Men. *Brennus* was not in haste to draw up his Troops in Batta-
 lia: Before he would run any hazard, he observed the Disposition of the *Roman*
 Army. Their Right Wing, which consisted of the best *Legions*, reached from the
 River to their main Body, which was placed in the Centre of the Plain: and their
 Left Wing reached to the Tops of the Hills, which surrounded the Valley, and on
 Liv. B. 5. c. 38. which the *Roman* Generals thought fit to post their weakest *Manipuli*. As for their
 D. Sic. B. 14. main Body, it was a little thinned of Men, in order to fill up the two Wings,
 which were by that means enabled to cover a larger Tract of Ground. The Fear of
 being surrounded, made them take this Precaution. A chosen Body of the bravest
Romans were placed upon an Eminence, as a *Corps-de-reserve*, to act as Occasion
 should offer. And *Brennus* considered well the Order of the Enemy's Troops, and
 drew up his own like a skilful General. He first chose out some of the bravest of his
 Soldiers to begin the Battel, with attacking the *Corps-de-reserve* of the *Romans*,
 which he feared would suddenly fall upon him, either in Flank or Rear, in the
 Heat of the Action. Then he placed his Veterans against the weakest of the *Ro-*
mans, without regarding their having the Advantages of the Ground: And this
 Disposition gained him Success. As soon as the Trumpets began to sound, the
 Right Wing of the *Senones* made great Shouts, advanced at the same time towards
 the *Corps-de-reserve*, and fell upon the Left Wing of the *Romans*. The *Legionaries*
 of the Left Wing were already seized with Fear, and had Thoughts of flying with-
 out fighting. They left their Post, dispersed, and came down into the Plain in
 Disorder. Then the rest of the *Senones* attacked both the main Body and the Right
 Wing of the *Romans*; whilst the Fright communicated itself from the Left Wing
 to the whole Army, and all fled. They did not so much as make a Return to the
 Shouts, with which the *Gauls* filled the Air. The *Romans* were routed, in a man-
 ner without a Battel; and fewer of them fell by the Swords of the Enemy, than by
 the Hands of their own flying Companions, who cut their Way through their own

⁵⁸ The *Romans* made it Matter of Religion to undertake nothing considerable without first consulting the *Augurs*. They, who were thought the Interpreters of the Will of the Gods, carefully observed the different Motions of the Birds, while they pronounced the following Form of Words, which *Varro* has conveyed down to us, in his 5th Book of the *Latin Tongue*. *Jovis Pater, si mihi es auctor, Urbi, Populoque Romano Quiritium, hac sane sorteque esse, uti tu nunc mihi bene spon sis, beneque vo- lueris.* These Prayers were called *Effata*. The *Augurs* had made themselves so necessary, that one of them always attended the *Consul* who commanded an Army, in order to direct him in the Observation of the *Auguries*, to which Recourse was usually had, in dangerous Enterprizes. But the Men of the best Understanding among the *Romans*, honestly acknowledge the Vanity of the *Augural* Science. *Cicero* himself, tho' an *Augur*, treats all the Ceremonies of the *Augurship* as ridiculous Grimaces. But nevertheless, he blames those Generals and Magistrates, who had little Regard to Prognosticks on important Occasions: And contends, that this Custom, as much abused as it was, ought to

be respected, as being authorized by the Superstition and Prepossessions of the People.

⁵⁹ *Blundus*, and after him *Cluver*, are of Opinion, that the *Allia* was only a little Brook, which was about a Mile below *Ereta*, now *Monte Rotundo*, and five Miles above *Crustumium*, or *Marcigliano Vecchio*. They say it was the same little River which is now called *Rio di Mosso*. It rises in the Mountains of *Crustumium*, from whence it runs into a Plain, (which is divided in the Middle by *The Salarian Way*) between the *Tyber*, and those Mountains. Which agrees with *Livy's* Account of it, B. 5. c. 37. *Ad undecimum lapidem occursum est Gallis; qua flumen Allia Crustuminiis montibus præ- alto defluens alveo, haud multum infra viam, Tibe- rino amni miscetur.* *Holstenius* thinks the *Allia* is a little Rivulet which runs into the *Tyber* a little beyond *Marcigliano*, between *St. John*, and *St. Columba*, five or six Miles above *Fidena*, or *Castel Jubileo*. But however that be, this Rivulet, which would otherwise have been buried in Obscurity, is become famous, ever since the fatal Battle in which the *Romans* were there defeated by the *Gauls*.

Country.

Countrymen, in order to reach the *Tyber*. *Rome* was indeed their nearest and safest Retreat; but they were so terrified, as not to know wherein their Safety consisted. They chose rather to retire to *Veii*, their new Conquest, tho' they must cross the *Tyber*, in order to come at it. They leaped into the River with their Arms, so that some of them were drowned in it, tho' the greatest Part swam over: Whilst in the mean time, it was a Diversion to the *Gauls*, to stand and shoot their Darts at the Swimmers; and as the River was covered with these flying Troops, no Dart was thrown in vain. Some were mortally wounded, and died immediately. Others struggled with the Waves, which they stained with their Blood, for some time; and others, quite exhausted with Fatigues, gave themselves up to the Stream, to carry them whither it would. Whilst lastly, those who escaped the Slaughter in the Plain and the *Tyber*, arrived safe at *Veii*; but never thought of sending any Account of their Retreat to *Rome*. The *Corps-de-reserve* was the Body which held out longest against the Valour of the *Gauls*. The Advantages of the Ground, on which they were posted, preserved them from a more sudden Defeat. But they were at last broken, and put to flight; and were almost the only Soldiers which took the Road to *Rome*, and filled it at once with Terror and Despair. The *Romans* gave up all for lost, never once imagining that any of their routed Troops had taken Refuge in *Veii*. In short, if *Brennus* had been more expeditious in reaping the Advantages of his Victory, and had pursued the Fugitives to *Rome*, the very Name of the *Romans* would have been buried for ever in the Ruins of their City. The *Capitol* itself could not have preserved them from utter Destruction. But *Brennus* gave the *Romans* time to breathe, and recover themselves. He was so much surprized with his Victory, that he could scarce believe it was complete. He spent the remaining Part of that Day, and all the next, in cutting off the Heads of all the Dead he found on the Field of Battel: A barbarous Custom, which then prevailed among the *Gauls*. This memorable Day, which proved fatal to the *Romans*, was *The fifteenth of the 60 Calends of August*: Which was ever after thought an unfortunate Day to the Republick, and the *Romans* were forbidden undertaking any Enterprizes upon it. The next Day after the Battel, *Brennus* ⁶¹ marched his Troops into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and encamped on the Banks of the *Anio*. Thither his Scouts brought him word, that the City was defenceless, its Gates open, and not a *Roman* to be seen on the Ramparts. Upon which the former Suspicions he had had of an Ambuscade on the Day of Battel grew stronger than ever: and the Outcries which were heard in all the Quarters of *Rome*, together with the extraordinary Step the *Romans* had taken, confirmed him in this Thought. He ⁶² therefore delayed yet longer the making himself Master of an open City: which it was very

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Liv. B. 5. c. 38.

D. Sic. B. 14.

Liv. B. 5. c. 39.

⁶⁰ *The fifteenth of the Calends of August*; i. e. according to our Way of reckoning, the 18th Day of *July*, was from this time ever thought an unlucky Day. It had before proved unfortunate to the *Romans*, in the Slaughter of the 300 *Fabii*, at the Battel of the *Cremera*. The Days which were memorable for any great Disaster, were called by the *Romans*, *Dies Atri*; i. e. *Black Days*. And indeed it was customary to mark them with black Letters, and the lucky Days with white. Agreeably to which Custom, *Perfius* says,

*Quæque sequenda forent, quæque vitanda vicissim,
Illa prius cretâ, mox hæc carbone notasti.*

This was also the Custom of the *Scythians*. They used, at the End of every Day, to put a white or black Stone into their Quivers, according as the Day proved fortunate or unfortunate. And after any one died, his Quiver was produced, and the deceased was thought to have spent a happy Life, if the white Stones were more in Number than the black ones. *Pliny* says, B. 7. c. 40. that the *Thracians* likewise had the same Custom. *Macrobius* informs us, B. 1. that the *Romans* were not suffered to pay any Funeral Honours to the Memory of their Ancestors, on unlucky Days: And all Law-Suits were suspended, and Courts of Justice shut up, on those Days. And for this Reason, Authors often confound these unlucky Days, which were

called *Dies Atri*, with those which were called *Dies Nefasti*, in the *Roman* Calendar.

⁶¹ Whatever some misinformed Authors may say of it, this *Brennus* who besieged *Rome*, was not the same *Brennus* who went into *Macedonia* at the Head of an Army of *Gauls*, consisting of 152000 Foot, and 20000 Horse, killed *Sophenes*, ravaged *Thessaly*, made a Descent upon *Greece*, by the Streights of *Thermopylae*, about the second Year of the 125th *Olympiad*; that is, 278 Years before the Christian *Æra*; and lastly, who after ruining all the flat Country, took his Rout towards *Phocis*, with Design to plunder the celebrated Temple of *Delphos*, where he and a Part of his Army perished. There is reckoned to be about a Century Difference between him and the *Brennus* here mentioned.

⁶² *Plutarch* gives us another Reason for *Brennus's* Delays, in not making the best Use of his Success immediately, and going directly to *Rome*. The *Roman* Republick had indeed, says he, been utterly destroyed, if the Conqueror had known how to make the best Advantage of the entire Defeat, and Consternation of the *Romans*: But the *Gauls* not imagining their late Victory so complete as it really was, and being transported with excessive Joy, gave themselves up to feasting and reveling, and thought of nothing but dividing the Spoils they had found in the *Roman* Camp. Which made it easy for the common People of *Rome* to escape, and provide for their own Safety.

unnatural

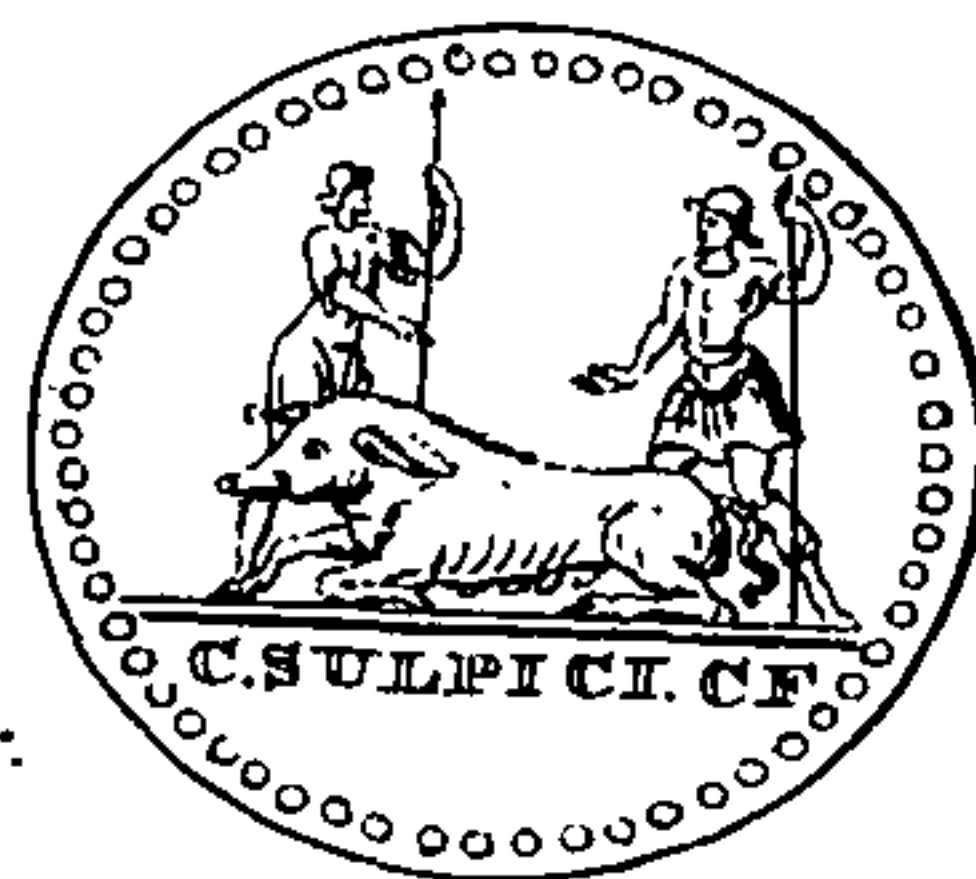
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&c. Military
Tribunes.

Liv. B. 5. c. 39.
Auth. of the
Lives of Illust.
Men.

unnatural for its Inhabitants to give up to be plundered, without making any Resistance. And this Dilatoriness in *Brennus* gave the *Romans* time to fortify the *Capitol*, remove all the Ammunition in the City thither, fill it with all the Youth which were able to bear Arms, and the bravest of the Senators; and in a word, to preserve there the last Remains of the Republick, and defend the most sacred Monuments of their Religion. One *Manlius* was at the Head of those who retired thither; and it is easy to imagine the great Concern those many Persons must have been in, who were not admitted into this Citadel. The Women, who were forced to stay behind their Husbands, screamed exceedingly. *To what Dangers, and what Indignities*, said they, *do you expose us? Where shall we find any Protection against the Violences of the Barbarians?* And this so far moved the Compassion of the Men, that those who insisted upon being admitted into the *Capitol*, were received. The greatest Part of them escaped from *Rome*, over the Bridge *Sublicius*, and reached the *Janiculus*. From thence they either dispersed themselves in the Fields, without Guides or Design, or fled for Refuge to the neighbouring Cities. The *Vestals* also themselves, and the chief of the *Pontifices*, who were devoted to the Worship of *Quirinus*, did the same. But these consecrated Virgins were even more concerned for the Preservation of their Religion, than of their Lives. Before they left *Rome*, they took Care to secure the 63 venerable Monuments of Religion, which they kept in the Temple of *Vesta*, and especially *The Sacred Fire*. It was

not



Silver.

63 Most Authors agree, that the *Palladium* was one of those venerable Monuments, which were committed to the Care of the *Vestals*. And in order to come to a distinct and clear Knowledge of it, it seems necessary to collect under certain Heads, all that the Writers of Antiquity have said about it. *Ovid* thought it was an Image of *Pallas*, which fell down from Heaven upon the Hills of *Ilium*; or, according to *Diodorus*, at *Pessinunta*, a City of *Phrygia*. The latter says this Image was made of Wood, and held a Pike in its right Hand, and a Distaff and Spindle in its left. To which he adds, that this miraculous Image was put into the Hands of *Dardanus*, who took all possible Care to preserve this precious Depositum, because he had been told by the Oracle of *Apollo*, that his new City of *Ilium* should continue to subsist so long (and not longer) as he kept this Present from Heaven in it. And this Tradition, fabulous as it is, was the Foundation of the religious Respect the *Romans* paid the *Palladium*. *Dion. Hal.* honestly confesses, that there were many Secrets belonging to this Piece of Antiquity, which he was not let into, and which it was unlawful to discover to the profane Vulgar. He makes *Timæus* the Historian say, that it was forbidden by the Laws to discover and divulge the Mysteries of the *Palladium*. But *Rome*, as soon as enlightened with the Truths of Christianity, soon confessed the Cheat; and the Keepers of this pretended Divinity made no scruple of undeceiving the credulous People. *Arnobius* and *Clemens Alexandrinus* both agree in the same Account of it. The former says, the *Palladium* was made of the Bones of *Pelops*, an ancient King of *Peloponnesus*, and that the Pagans themselves had betrayed this Secret. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* goes farther, and discovers the shameful Rites of that mysterious Worship, which the ancient Pagans paid to three Statues, on which the Fate of Cities and Nations were supposed to depend. This

Father seems to have thought it a Piece of Necromancy. These Images were partly made of the Bones, or other Parts of dead Bodies. *Serapis*, for instance, is indeed well known to have been the tutelar God of *Egypt*. But what was this famous Statue made of? *St. Clemens* tells us. *Athenodorus*, says he, discovered the Mystery of it. *Sesostris* having subdued many Nations of *Greece*, brought away from thence all Sorts of Artificers. And he ordered one *Briaxes* to make a Statue of *Osiris*, one of his Ancestors: Which the Artificer did, and used all Sorts of Metals and precious Stones in it, to make his Work the more perfect. And he took particular Care to put a Perfume in it, with which the Bodies of *Osiris* and *Apis* had been embalmed. From their two Names therefore the Statue was called *Osirapis*, and afterwards, by Corruption, *Serapis*. And it was much the same with *Jupiter Olympius*, the tutelar God of *Greece*, whose Statue, *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, was made of the Bones of an Elephant. And lastly, the *Palladium* also, which was first the Guardian of *Troy*, and then of the *Roman Empire*, was, according to the same Father, made of *Pelops's* Bones. From all which we may conclude, that the tutelar Gods of the several Countries of the Pagan World, were so many Talismans, made according to the Rules of Magick. Whether these mysterious Statues had really any Power to preserve Cities in Safety, from internal or external Violences, is not our Business to enquire in this Place. But we may observe, that *St. Austin* at least, *B. I. ch. 2. de Civit. Dei*, reproaches the *Romans* with the Inability of their *Palladium* to preserve their Empire. But why was this Statue called the *Palladium*? We might answer, according to the common Opinion, that it represented the Goddess *Pallas*. But I am rather inclined to believe, that the Goddess owed both her Name and Origin to the Statue. The Foundation of my Conjecture, is

not indeed possible for them to carry away every thing that was appropriated to the Worship of the Gods, along with them; but nevertheless, they thought it ill became them, to suffer any thing of that kind to be prophaned. They therefore put a Part of the *Depositum* they were entrusted with, into two Barrels, which they hid in a subterraneous ⁶⁴ Temple; and then began their March to the other Side of the *Tyber* (which was not infested by the Enemy) barefoot, out of respect to the Statues they carried with them. The Principles of Religion acted powerfully on the Minds of the *Romans*, in the midst of their greatest Calamities. Of which we have an Instance in *Albinus*, who shewed his Respect for the *Vestals*, and the Divinities they carried, as soon as they came to the *Janiculus*. This *Albinus* was a *Plebeian*, who was then conveying his Wife and Children in a Carriage, to a Place of Safety. But as soon as he saw these sacred Virgins bending under the Weight of their too heavy Burdens, and their Feet bloody, he came out of the Carriage, put the Priestesses and their Gods into it, and made his Family walk. In this manner, he brought them as far as *Cære*, a City of *Hetruria*, which then adhered to the *Romans*; and there these sacred Virgins met with Protection, and a favourable Reception. And as they still continued to perform their priestly Offices in *Cære*, therefore the Rites of the *Roman* Religion were called * *Ceremonies*. By this means the Memory of the Hospitality shewn the Gods and their Priestesses, by the City of *Cære*, was eternized.

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Tribunes.

Livy, B. 5.
ch. 40.
Val. Max. B. 1
Plut. Life of
Camil.

* From *Cære*
and *maneo*, to
remain or con-
tinue.
Festus. Val.
Max. B. 1.

§. VI. BUT whilst great Numbers of the Inhabitants of *Rome* were leaving their domestick Altars, and seeking Retreats in different Places; and whilst the young fighting Men were fortifying themselves in the Citadel, in order to sustain a Siege there; the most illustrious and venerable old Men of the City could not resolve either to leave their native Country, or to carry so many useless Mouths into the *Capitol*. They, to the number of fourscore, chose rather to die together, within the Compass of their own Walls, and to signalize the latter end of their Days, by an honourable Death. And in order to this, they devoted their Lives to the Tutelary Gods, by a Vow, which the *Pontifex Fabius* made, in the Name of these brave *Romans*. This was one of those Vows, which the ancient Pagans thought such an Act of Religion, as was capable of appeasing the Anger of the Gods. There were among these venerable old Men, some *Pontifices*, some who had born the Office of *Consul*, and some Generals of Armies, who were famous for their Triumphs: and these voluntary Victims prepared likewise to complete their Sacrifice with a Solemnity and Pomp, worthy of the Dignity and Constancy of the *Romans*. They all dressed themselves in their Robes of State, and had no other Arms in their Hands, but the Truncheons adorned with Ivory, which they used when in Power. Some were dressed in their *Pontifical*, others in *Consular* Robes, and some in their triumphal Vests embroidered with Palm-Branches. In these pompous Habits they were carried to the *Forum*, there sat themselves down on their *Curule Chairs*, and in this manner waited for the Completion of their Sacrifice.

Zonar. B. 10.
Livy, B. 5.
Plut. Life of
Cam.

AT length, *Brennus*, after he had spent three Days in useless Precautions, arrived

Di. Sic. B. 14.

this. *Dion. Hal.* gives us this Story of the *Palladium*, upon the Testimony of *Callistratus*. *Pallas*, say he, was a King of *Arcadia*, and the Father of *Chrysanthe*. She was married to *Dardanus*, and had this Statue for her Portion, and called it *Pallas's Present*; he having, in all Probability, made this Talisman. In After-times, to gain it Veneration, Fable made it the Statue of a Goddess, who bore the Name of *Arcadian Pallas*. And what strengthens the Conjecture is, that the two *Palladiums*, one of which was the Original, and the other the Copy, represented two young Men armed from Head to Foot. As it was easy to mistake the Sex, the Vulgar made it a warlike Goddess. We should not have enlarged so much on this Subject, but to mention a Point of Learning, which we first cleared up in our Notes on the second *Æneid* of *Virgil*. Some Authors pretend, that the two Figures of the *Dii Penates*, which *Æneas* brought with him into *Italy*, were carefully preserved in the Temple of *Vesta*. In the Time of *Dion. Hal.* there were many Copies of these Statues in different Temples in *Rome*, made

in the Form and Habits of two young Warriors, with this Inscription, *Denates*; instead of *Penates*; because, as the same Author observes, the Ancients did not use the Letter *P*. There were two of these Figures especially, which were of very ancient Workmanship. A Medal of the *Sulpician* Family gives us the Heads of these *Dii Penates* with the three Letters *D. P. P.* i. e. *Diis Penatibus*; and on the Reverse, are the same Gods in military Habits, and with Pikes in their Hands. At their Feet lies the mysterious wild Sow, whose thirty little Boars-Pigs shewed that the City of *Alba* was to be built, thirty Years after *Æneas's* Arrival in *Italy*.

⁶⁴ *Plutarch* says, That this sacred Treasure was buried under the Temple of *Quirinus*; and That this Place was therefore called *Doliola*, from the Name of the two Tuns. This Place was afterwards so much respected, that it was thought wicked to spit upon it: *Ubi nunc desuper religio est*, says *Livy*: who adds, that the two Tuns were buried in a Place dug for that Purpose, near the House of the *Flamen Quirinalis*.

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Etc. Military
Tribunes.

Liv. B. 5. c. 41.
Plut. Life of
Camil.

Liv. B. 5. c. 43.

at the Gates of *Rome*, on the fourth Day after the Battel. And whether he found them open, or broke them open without any Resistance, he entered ⁶⁵ the City by the Gate *Collina*. Upon his Entrance, *Rome* appeared to him like a mere Desert; and this Solitude increased his Anxiety. He could not believe, either that all the *Romans* could be lodged in the *Capitol*, or that so numerous a People should so voluntarily condemn themselves to Banishment. He therefore was afraid of a sudden Eruption from the Houses, which were for the most part shut; tho', at the same time, he could nowhere see any armed Men, but on the Ramparts of the Citadel. However, when he had first set Guards at the Avenues to the *Capitol*, he gave the rest of his Soldiers leave to disperse themselves all over the City, and plunder it. So that, some ran into the distant Streets, and others were seizing the Booty which was nearer at hand. Whilst *Brennus* advanced towards the *Forum*, and his Troops, which still kept themselves in order of Battel, for fear of a Surprise, came thither from all Parts of the City. And there he was struck with Admiration, at the unexpected Sight of fourscore old Men, whose Majesty, Silence, Modesty, and the Magnificence of their Habits and Seats, made him take them for so many Deities. These *Romans*, who were as motionless as Statues, saw the Enemy advance without changing Colour, or shewing any Concern at the Approach of Death. The *Gauls* kept a great while at an awful distance from these dumb Images, and were afraid to approach them; but they at length grew more familiar with the Objects of their Admiration. One of them came up to *M. Papirius*, and gently stroked his Beard. This was indeed no very heinous Offence; nevertheless the *Roman* Pride could not brook the Affront, but signally shewed itself in a Man who sought for Death. *Papirius* gave the *Gaul* a hard Stroke with the Battoon he had in his Hand, and wounded him in the Head. And then the Rage of the Conquerors got the better of their Respect and Astonishment. They threw down these Idols, and gave these old Men the Death they desired. After which, the *Gauls* no longer set any Bounds to their Fury; which was increased by the Shower of Darts the *Romans* threw down upon them, from the Top of the Citadel. The Conquerors plundered all Places. They dragged some of the *Romans* out of their Houses, in which they had shut themselves up, and put them to the Sword: and their Cries, which were heard to the Top of the *Capitol*, pierced the Hearts of those who defended it. The whole City would likewise have been laid in Ashes, the first Day the Plunder began, if *Brennus* had not out of Policy put a stop to the Fury of his Soldiers. He wisely tempered the violent Heat of his Men, who were for burning *Rome* all at once, and destroying all the Inhabitants of it that remained at one Blow. He divided the Prisoners, which were to have been massacred, into several Bands; and pointed out what Parts of the City might be burnt, assigning several different Days for the doing it. His Design in this was to bring those who defended the *Capitol*, to surrender at Discretion, either out of Affection to their Relations, or Love to their old Habitations. But the *Romans* grew hardened at last, both against the Misfortunes of their Countrymen, and the Ruin of their City. They yet preserved some small Remains of Liberty in the Republick; and this was enough to make them insensible of any Calamities to be undergone in the Defence of it.

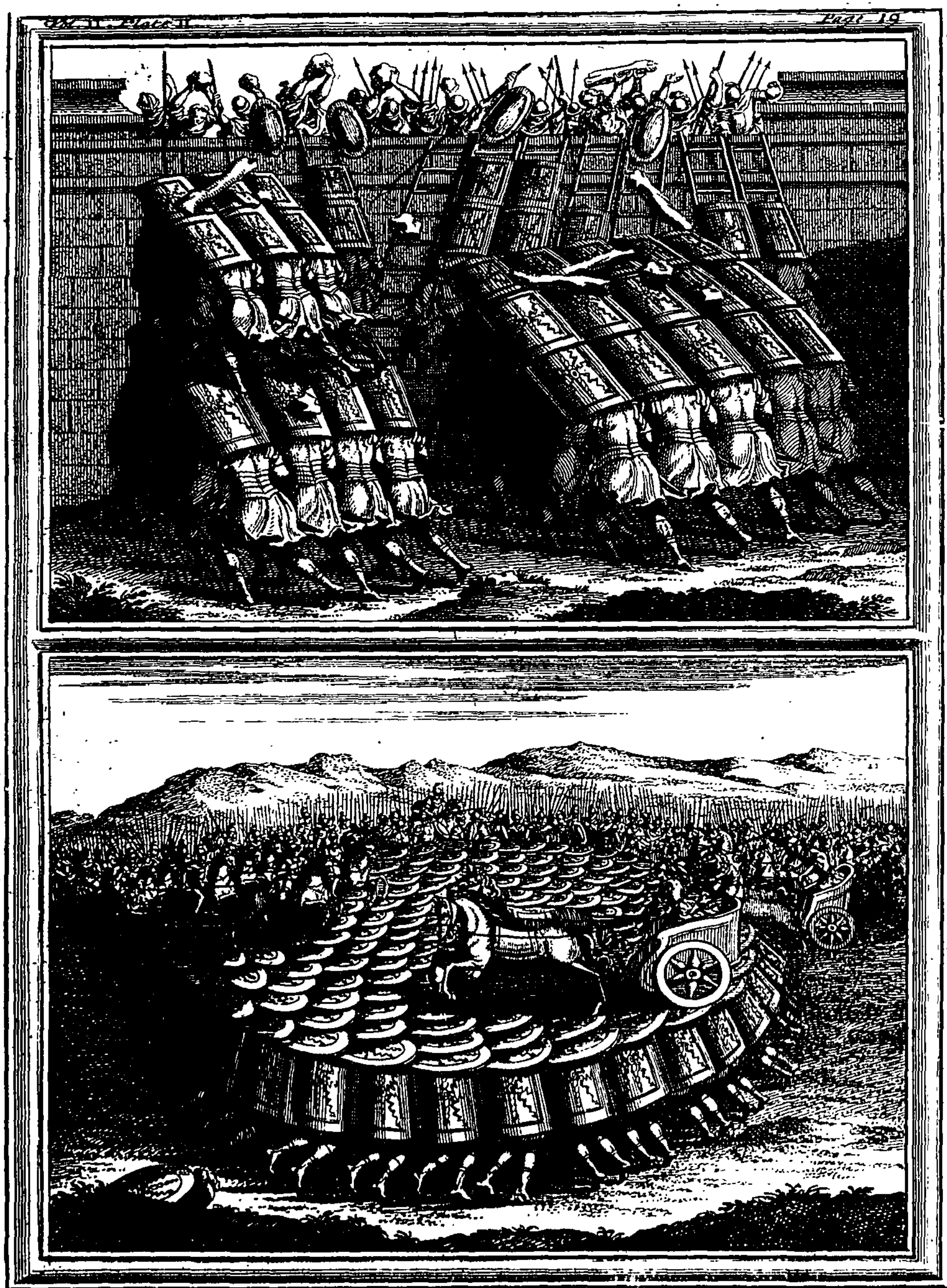
WHEN therefore the *Senones* found that the *Romans* in the *Capitol* were unmoved at seeing their City ready to be reduced to Ashes, they immediately completed the Destruction of it. And then adding Force to Artifice, they attempted to gain the Citadel by Assault. Those ⁶⁶ *Tortoises*, which were so much used in Sieges

in

⁶⁵ We have followed the Chronology of the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Sigonius*, and *Pighius*, who place the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, in the Year of *Rome* 363; tho' *Pliny* fixes it to the Year 364; and *Plutarch* honestly confesses it to be very difficult, to say exactly in what Year this famous Event happened. *Livy* seems to make it three Years sooner, when he says, that *Rome* had hitherto been victorious over all her Enemies, for the space of 360 Years. But besides that he does not pretend to any chronological Exactness in this Part of his History, where he is representing the *Romans*, as mutually exhorting one another to behave themselves bravely, for the Honour of *Rome*, which had now made herself

formidable for 360 Years together; it is evident, that he begins the Date of his 360 Years from the first War *Romulus* entered into, and not from the Foundation of the City.

⁶⁶ The *Military Tortoise*, was a Method of scaling the Walls of Towns, which *Cæsar* says, *Comment. B. 2.* was in Use among the *Gauls*, as well as the *Greeks* and *Romans*. According to the Descriptions given us of it by *Cæsar*, *Livy*, *Plutarch* and *Dio*, it was this: When the Assailants came near the Walls of a besieged City, they locked themselves very close together, and covered their Heads with their Bucklers, in such a manner, that they continued rising gradually one above another, from the hindmost



*Different sorts of Military Tortoises in use.
among the Romans .*

in *Greece* and *Italy*, were not unknown to the *Gauls*. They endeavoured to make one, by stooping and holding their Bucklers over their Heads, and by that means to form several Stages of their Bodies, one above another, till they came to be as high as the Ramparts of the *Capitol*. In order to put this Design in Execution, *Brennus* drew up his Troops in Battalia in the *Forum*, and commanded them to march up the steep Path, which led to the Foot of the Walls. But the *Romans* foresaw the Attack, and prepared for it. They first posted Guards at all the Avenues, and then suffered the *Gauls* to come up pretty high, that they might tumble them down again with the more Ease. *Brennus's* Troops got half way up the Hill, and there halted to recover their Breath. And then the Besieged made a Sally on the Enemy with a chosen Body of Men, who drove the *Gauls* headlong from a Piece of Ground, where it was so difficult to keep their footing. And the Loss the *Senones* sustained, when driven from the Avenues of the *Capitol*, deterred them from making the like Attempt upon it again.

THE Siege of the Citadel was therefore now turned into a Blockade. *Brennus* hoped he should, by Famine at least, make himself Master of a Rock, which he could not take by Force. But in the mean time, the *Gauls* themselves wanted Provisions. They had found little in the City which they had plundered. The *Romans* had removed the greatest Part of them into the *Capitol*; and the rest were burnt. Besides, the Country itself was likewise unprovided. Those *Romans* who retired to *Veii*, had carried all the Corn they could find in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, thither with them. So that *Brennus* was forced to divide his Troops, and leave one Part to surround the *Capitol*, whilst he sent the other to the neighbouring Villages to buy Corn: And even there these Foreigners could not get any, but by Violence. They ravaged the Fields indeed, and forced the Peasants to open their Granaries. But they were often obliged, even to go and appear before Cities, and threaten them with Plunder, if they did not furnish them with as much Corn as they desired. And it was happy for the *Romans*, that a Body of these Pillagers came and appeared before *Ardea*, in order to put that City likewise under Contribution.

§. VII. THE great *Camillus*, who had been so unjustly condemned by the *Romans*, had now already spent near two Years in a private manner, in voluntarily Exile, in this Capital of the *Rutuli*. But the Rigour of his Fate, and the Ignominy with which he had been loaded, had not at all diminished his Love for his Country. He had heard of the Loss of the Battel of the *Allia*, in his Retirement, and had often lamented it. *Are these*, said he, *the same Men that I led to the Conquest of Veii and Tolcria? Will these Romans, who always made War even with more Courage than Success, tamely continue to be enslaved to the Power of a King, who is a Barbarian?* These were the Sentiments *Camillus* entertained with respect to his ungrateful Republick: however, his Affection at that time confined itself to Grief. But when he understood that a Body of *Gauls* were ravaging round *Ardea*, he conceived Hopes of being able to serve his Country more effectually than Sighs could do. He first raised the Compassion of the young Soldiers in *Ardea* towards the *Romans*, and made them desirous of revenging their Quarrel. And then, knowing that the Senate of the City, in which he resided, was assembled, to deliberate about the Approach of the *Gauls*; this private Man, who had never yet intermeddled in

hindmost to the foremost. This Collection of Bucklers, thus placed one lower than another, and joined together, made a Sort of sloping Pavement or Roof, by the help of which the Soldiers defended themselves from the Darts and Stones which the Besiegers threw from the Tops of the Walls. The Besiegers had Recourse to this Stratagem, whenever they had Occasion to make an Assault on a Town. Covering themselves with their Bucklers, as a Tortoise is covered with its Shell, the hindmost supported those who stood before them; and in this manner others mounted upon them, till they raised themselves as it were in several Stories, one over another, to the Height of the Top of the Wall. The Tortoise was likewise sometimes used in Battles, either by Way of Defence, in Cases of great Danger, and in the Heat of an Action, or in attacking. On these Occasions, the Battalions closed, and shelter-

ing themselves with their Bucklers, run headlong thro' the Enemy's Troops. The *Romans* were so expert in this Way of fighting, and made themselves so stout a Bulwark with their Shields, that it was Proof against the heaviest Weight; even Horses and Chariots were driven over this Sort of walking Floor, and the Battalions not broken by it. And as this Tortoise was shelving, the great Stones which were thrown from the Top of the Walls, slid down their Bucklers; otherwise they would have overloaded and beat down the Soldiers with their Weight. But as Plates are very proper to give the Reader a clear Idea of this Way of fighting, we here present him with some engraven after two ancient Relievo's; one of *Trajan's*, the other of *Antoninus's* Pillar. The Invention of the Tortoise is ascribed to *Artemon of Clazomene*.

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Q. FABIVS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.

Plut. Life of
Camil.
Liv. B. 5. c. 43.

Year of any publick Affairs, presented himself before the Magistrates, and addressed himself
 R O M E to them thus: *Be not surprized, Ardeates, that an Exile presumes to appear in*
 CCCLXIII. *your Assemblies. I have ever been a Friend to you by Inclination, and Fortune has*
 Q. FABIVS, some time since made me one of your Citizens. Can then a Friend and a Citizen re-
 Etc. Military fuse the new Country, which his Affection led him to, his Advice in pressing Dan-
 Tribunes. gers? Ought I to forget the Hospitality you shew me? If not, how can I shew
 Liv. B. 5. c. 44. my Gratitude, but by military Services? I owe all my Reputation among the Ro-
 mans, to War: It was Peace only that proved fatal to my Glory. Employ then,
 Ardeates, my Experience and Valour. Your City is besieged. Your Lands are ra-
 vaged by an Inundation of Barbarians. Now is the proper time for you to get your
 selves Fame, by making Rome a Return for the Obligations she has heaped upon you.
 Her Enemies and her Conquerors give you an Opportunity to defeat them. Be not
 affrighted at the Name of Conquerors. It is by mere Accident only, that they be-
 came superior to the Romans. They entered an open City; but the Capitol is a
 Rock, which has already sunk their Courage. Upon their first Repulse before it,
 they retire, they are discouraged. Their Inconstancy makes them immediately ramble
 round about Rome. Their Thirst after your Wives diverts them from their Enter-
 prize, and draws them into your Territories. What have we to fear from an un-
 disciplined Army? These Men, who are formidable on no account but their Stature,
 go and lay themselves down to sleep every Night by a Rivulet, without so much as
 placing any Centinels by them, or throwing up any Entrenchments. There they lay
 buried in Sleep and Drunkenness, and their Success makes them even less circumspect
 now than usual. Will you then tamely submit to be enslaved by Men, who are them-
 selves Slaves to Intemperance? Ardeates, never suffer this. Assemble your Youth
 together, as soon as the Day is closed, and let them follow me. I will lead them,
 not indeed to fight with the Enemy, but to cut them in pieces. If I don't deliver
 them into your Hands fast asleep, I submit to undergo the same Fate at Ardea, which
 I have met with at Rome.

Livy, ibid.

Plut. Life of
Camil.

Liv. B. 5. c. 45.

Plut. Life of
Camil.

THIS Speech prevailed on the *Ardeates*. All agreed, even *Camillus's* Enemies not excepted, that he was the greatest Soldier Rome then had. His Offer was accepted; and some time after the Sun was down, the Militia of *Ardea* marched out of it in Battalia, and followed their Leader. *Camillus's* Spies had informed him of the Place where the *Gauls* were to pass the Night. Being fatigued with their Marches, and full of Wine, they were laid down upon the Ground, in a confused manner; and there was a profound Silence among them. In the mean time, *Camillus* advanced without Noise, and being favoured by the Darkness, entered into the midst of these Men about Midnight, when they were in a deep Sleep. They were so fast, that the Sound of the Trumpets, and Shouts of the Aggressors, scarce waked them. Their Case was desperate, and they were exposed naked to present Death. Some of them in the most distant Parts ran away before they were well awake; whilst others ran undesignedly into the Mouth of the Enemy. Those who escaped being massacred in the Night, were either dispatched in the Day by the Peasants they had plundered, or were killed by the *Ardean* Cavalry, which came up with them. And Fame⁶⁷ soon spreading abroad the News of this Defeat, it

⁶⁷ A great Number of the *Gauls*, according to *Livy*, being warmly pursued by the *Ardeates*, fled with Precipitation and Disorder, to escape Death. Several of them found themselves in the Territory of *Antium*, before they knew it. And these unfortunate Men, being exhausted with Fatigues, were surrounded by Peasants, who ran together from the neighbouring Districts. At the same time, adds the *Latin* Historian, the *Hetrurians* were desirous of taking Advantage of the Misfortunes of Rome. The melancholy Condition to which that City was reduced, gave them a favourable Opportunity of repairing their former Losses. They therefore laid the Country waste, and carried away a considerable Booty from it. Nay, they came and encamped in Sight of *Veii*, with Design to lay Siege to it, and thereby deprive the Republick of all Hopes of Relief. But the *Roman* Garrison could not see these Pillagers come and insult them, even to the very Walls of their City, without Grief and Resentment.

On the contrary, they were so transported with Rage, that they were for going and falling on the Enemy immediately. However, *Cadizius* the *Centurion*, who did the Office of a Commander, restrained the Fury of the Soldiers, and prevailed upon them to delay their Revenge till Night. Then they carried on their Expedition with so much Prudence, that the *Hetrurians* were surprized, and met with the same Fate as the *Gauls* had done near *Ardea*. Those who escaped the Conqueror's Sword were made Prisoners. And the *Romans* having understood that another Body of *Hetrurians* were committing Hostilities on the Side of *The Salt-Pits of Ostia*, marched with Expedition that Way. The Night following, they surprized the Enemy defenceless, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. Then they returned triumphantly to *Veii*, to carry thither the News of this double Victory. We omitted inserting these two Events in the Text, to prevent breaking off the Thread of the History of the Siege of Rome.

revived

revived the Courage of the *Romans*, who were dispersed abroad in the neighbouring Cities, especially those who had escaped at the Defeat of the *Allia*, and taken Refuge in *Veii*. Scarce any thing was talked of, but the great *Camillus*. It was a Surprize to the World, that an Exile, and a Malecontent, should retain so much Love for his ungrateful Country. The *Ardeates* were envied the Glory they had acquired. It was said, *That Camillus's Absence was the Cause of the Misfortunes of Rome, and that his Presence had done Honour to the Place of his Retreat. Why don't we demand him of the Ardeates, said the People, who still keep him with them? Why don't we go ready armed, and put him at the Head of an Army, which has no Commander? We have now neither Governors, nor Country. Camillus can no longer be deemed an Exile from Rome, which is no more; nor can we be thought Citizens of a City which is destroyed.* Such were the Discourses of the *Roman* Fugitives, after *Camillus* had given the victorious *Gauls* this first Overthrow.

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§. VIII. But still the *Capitol* continued invested. The *Romans* had also spent all the Provisions they had in it, and the *Gauls* kept a strict Guard, to prevent fresh ones being carried thither. These were indeed the only Hostilities which were exchanged on either Side. The Avenues of the Citadel were carefully watched, and no body permitted to go in or out. Nevertheless, one *Fabius*, surnamed *Dorso*, was suffered to pass the Guard the *Gauls* kept, in Safety. The Day came, on which he was to keep a Family-Festival, in Honour to his Domestick Gods: And as he had inherited the greatest Part of the Estates of his Family, it was incumbent upon him to offer Sacrifices ⁶⁸ to the Tutelary Gods of it. The Place for the Ceremony was fixed; it could be performed no where, but on the Hill *Quirinalis*. The pious *Roman* therefore went out of the *Capitol*, on this solemn Day, dressed like a Sacrificer, with his Robe girt about him, and carrying his Gods and sacrificing Instruments on his Shoulders. The *Gauls* were very religious. The *Latin* Historian, who speaks worst of them, is forced to acknowledge it: They were moved with the Piety of the *Roman*. They let him pass, offer his Sacrifices, and return to the *Capitol*. And since then, the Courage of the *Roman* is so much boasted of by the *Roman* Historians, why have they not done Justice to the Moderation of the *Gauls*? It proceeded from the same Principle of Piety towards the Gods.

Cic. B. 2. de
Leg.

Plut. Et Val.
Max. B. 1.

Liv. B. 5. c. 46.

§. IX. As for the *Romans*, they now grew daily more and more ardently desirous of revenging the Cause of *Rome*, ever since *Camillus's* Victory. There were then about 20000 Men at *Veii*, collected out of the scattered Remains of the Battel of the *Allia*. And some or other of their Allies came daily, especially from *Latium*, in Bodies, to join them, and enlarge their Army. So that these Men, who were resolutely bent on fighting, wanted nothing but a General to head them. They had indeed chosen a private Centurion, named *Ceditius*, to lead them against the *Hetrurians*, who seemed willing to take Advantage of the Misfortune of the *Romans*, and to have a Design of retaking *Veii*. But after all, *Ceditius* was not a Man fit to make Head against the General of the *Gauls*. *Veii* therefore put them in mind of *Camillus*, who had conquered that City; and the greatest Part of the new Army had served under that Hero: And *Ceditius* himself consented to desire him to accept of the Command, but protested it should never be taken out of his own Hands, till *Camillus* accepted it. So that Deputies were sent to this famous Exile, to prevail on him to take the Command of the Troops. And how surprising is the Deference the brave *Roman* shewed to the Laws of his Republick! Tho' ill used by his Nation, he paid a great Regard to their ancient Customs, even at a time when the publick Confusions seemed to make any thing lawful. *Camillus* would not accept of the Generalship, till the People assembled by *Curia* had legally conferred it upon him. He thought the publick Authority was lodged in the Hands of those who defended the Citadel, and was shut up there with them. The Difficulty therefore was, how to find a Way to them, through the *Gauls* who besieged it.

Zonaras, B. 7.

Liv. B. 5. c. 45.

⁶⁸ There were both publick and private Sacrifices among the *Romans*. The former, says *Festus*, were offered up in the Name of the People, *Tribes*, and *Curia*, for fruitful Harvests, &c. The private Sacrifices were such as were peculiar to each Family, which had its tutelary Gods, as every *Curia* had, according to *Romulus's* Institution. But these private Festivals were neither permitted, nor thought

Acts of Religion, unless authorized by the *Pontifices*, to whom it belonged to assign the Place and Day for these Family-Sacrifices. When this was done, the Observance of them became a religious and indispensable Duty, the Obligation to which was always conveyed down to the Descendants, or next Heirs of the Family. *Cicero*, B. 2. de *Legib*.

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&c. Military
Tribunes.

Liv. B. 5. c. 46.

Plut. Life of
Camil.

Liv. B. 5. c. 47.
and Plut. Life
of Camil.

The *Romans* could not come even at the City itself. But whilst they were deliberating, how to get the General which those of *Veii* desired, confirmed in the *Capitol*, one *Pontius Cominius*, a Man of mean Birth, but bold, and very ambitious of Glory, undertook to go thither. He would not indeed undertake to carry any Letters to the Senate, for fear he should fall into the Hands of the Enemy, and those Letters should discover his Design. But he dressed himself in a plain light Dress, and providing himself with Cork, to keep the longer above Water, threw himself into the *Tyber*, above *Rome*, in the beginning of the Night, and suffered himself to be carried down with the Stream. At length he came to the Foot of the *Capitol*, at a steep Place, where the *Gauls* had not thought it necessary to post any Centinels: and there, climbing up with Difficulty, made himself known to the Guard, which was posted on the Ramparts; and being received into the Citadel, was brought before the Magistrates. The Senate was instantly assembled; the Envoy opened his Commission to them; they deliberated upon it, and a Decree was past, that the *Curia* should assemble, and abrogate the Act of Condemnation which had been passed upon *Camillus*. In short, the *Curia* nominated him *Dictator*; and *Cominius* returned without delay. The same good Fortune which attended him to the *Capitol*, accompanied him in his Return. He came safe to *Veii*, and filled all the City with Joy. And it was probably there, that the rest of the *Curia* assembled, and those of *Veii* confirmed the Decree of the Senate, and declared *Camillus Dictator* a second time. So that, nothing was now thought on, but fetching him from *Ardea*. He had indeed been proclaimed *Dictator*, in his Absence, contrary to Custom. But this was a small Defect, in point of Form only, which the Necessities of the State made very excusable.

§. X. AND whilst the *Romans* were going to *Ardea* for their new General, the *Gauls*, rambling round the *Capitol*, perceived that some body had lately climbed up into it. They saw the Print of a Man's Hands and Feet on the Sand. They observed likewise that the Ground was fresh broken up in several Places, and that the Grass had been trodden down. By these Marks they judged that some body had lately gone up to, and returned from, the *Capitol*. And the *Gauls* making a Report of this to *Brennus*, he immediately formed a Design, which he communicated to no body. After he had well examined the Nature of the Place, the King ordered a chosen Body of brave Men to attempt to take the *Capitol* the same Way which was there marked out for them. He commanded them to climb up two a breast, that one might support the other, in getting up the steep Parts of the Precipice. It was on that Side of the Rock, which overlooked the Gate *Carmentalis*, that the *Gauls* endeavoured to carry on this nocturnal Expedition. And they proceeded in it with such a profound Silence; that their March was neither perceived by the Centinels, who were upon Guard in the Citadel, nor even by the Dogs, which are usually awakened with the least Noise. Insomuch, that the *Senones* had already gained the Foot of the Ramparts, and were drawn up in Battalia to scale them. But what had eluded the Sagacity of the Dogs, could not escape the Vigilance of the Geese. A Flock of these Birds was kept in a Court in the *Capitol*, in Honour to *Juno*, and near her Temple: And the Lives of these Animals had been spared, notwithstanding the Want of Provisions in the Garrison, out of Religion; but they had been more sparingly fed than in times of Plenty. Geese naturally hear very quick; and Hunger had made these more vigilant than ordinary. They therefore hearing some Noise, first with their cackling, and then with beating their Wings, awakened *Manlius*, a good Soldier, who, three Years before, had been *Consul*. Upon this he sounded an Alarm, and was the first Man who mounted the Rampart. As soon as he came thither, he found two *Gauls* already upon the Wall, one of which lifted up his Battel-ax to strike him with it; but the *Roman* cut off his Right Arm at one Stroke with his Sword, and giving the other *Gaul* a strong Push with his Buckler, tumbled him down from the Top of the Wall. He, in his Fall, beat down many others with him; and the rest of the *Gauls*, who continued hanging on the Top of the Wall with their Hands, were stabbed by *Manlius*. In short, the *Romans* then crowding to the Place, beat off the Aggressors with Stones and Darts, and preserved the Citadel from being taken. The rest of the Night was spent in as much Tranquillity, as could be enjoyed by Men who had just escaped a great Danger, which was still before their Eyes.

It was the Custom of the *Romans*, at that time, not to suffer any laudable Action to go unrewarded: And therefore the *Tribune Sulpicius* assembled his Troops the next Morning, in order to bestow the military Rewards on those, who the Night before had deserved them. Among whom *Manlius* was first named; and in Acknowledgment of the important Service he had just done, every Soldier gave him a Part of the Corn, which he received sparingly from the publick Stock, and a Measure of Wine, about five Ounces. An inconsiderable Present indeed in itself, but a very agreeable one, at that time, to the Person to whom it was made. And after the *Tribune* had rewarded the Brave, he punished the Negligent. He condemned the Captain of the Guard, who ought to have had an Eye over the Centinels, to die; and he was immediately thrown down from the Top of the *Capitol*. But what is most surprizing, is, that the *Romans* extended their Rewards and Punishments even to the Animals. Geese were ever after had in Honour at *Rome*, and a Flock of them always kept at the Expence of the Publick. A golden Image of a Goose was erected in Memory of them, and a Goose was every Year carried in Triumph upon a soft Litter finely adorned: Whilst those dumb Guards, the Dogs, were held in Abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every Year empaled one of them alive, on a Branch of Elder.

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Plut. Life of
Camil.

Plin. & Plut.
de Fortunâ
Rom.

§. XI. BUT to return; the Blockade of the *Capitol* had now been carried on between six and seven Months. So that the Famine began to be very sensibly felt both by the Besieged and the Besiegers. The latter no longer kept the Field, they durst not appear in it any more, since *Camillus* was at the Head of an Army. Besides, a Plague raged in their Camp: Being posted in the Midst of the Ruins of the City they had burnt, and lying confusedly among the dead Carcasses of the *Romans* whom they had slain, and not buried, the infected Air bred a Contagion among their Troops. Which was increased by their Negligence, in not burying but burning their own Dead; by the Clouds of Ashes, with which the Wind filled the Air; and by the Heat of the Climate, which these Foreigners were scarce able to support. So great a Number of them died in one Quarter of the City, that it was afterwards called *Busta Gallica*, or the Place where the dead Bodies of the *Gauls* were burnt. But in the mean time, the *Romans* in the *Capitol* were more pinched with Want than the *Gauls*. They found themselves reduced to such Extremities as the most steady Courage could not support it self under. And at the same time they were ignorant both of the lamentable Condition to which the Enemy's Army was reduced, and of the Steps *Camillus* was taking to relieve his besieged Countrymen. This Great General had already gathered together near 40000 Men, half *Romans*, and half Allies to the Republick. He waited only for a favourable Opportunity to fall upon the Enemy; but he suffered them to pine away, for the present, in their infected Camp: For he knew nothing of the extreme Want the *Romans* suffered in the *Capitol*. They were so destitute of all Sorts of Provisions, that they could no longer subsist. So that the Soldiers who mounted the Guard began to murmur. They were so weak that they could scarce carry their Arms. These therefore insisted on the Necessity of capitulating: And their Complaints being brought to *Sulpicius* the *Military Tribune*, he thought them reasonable. Accordingly, the Senate was assembled, and gave the *Tribune* Power to treat with the *Gauls*: And the Besiegers made no great Difficulty in coming to Terms. They themselves had long desired to end the War, and raise the Siege. So that an Agreement was made, and sworn to, in a Conference between *Brennus* and the *Tribune Sulpicius*, to this Effect, That the *Romans* should pay the *Gauls* the Value of about 1400 Marks * of Gold, and the *Gauls* quit *Rome*, and all the *Roman Territories*. A terrible Mortification for the *Romans*, had the Agreement been performed! It would have been said, in After-times, that the People who conquered the whole World, had redeemed themselves at a very low Price.

Liv. B. 5. c. 48.

* About
45000 l. Ster-
ling.

HOWEVER, I have Reason to believe, that after this Convention, there was a sort of Truce settled between the *Romans* and the *Gauls*, and a free Communi-
cation

69 *Livy* says, both Parties agreed on a Truce for some Days, to facilitate the holding their Conferences. And he adds, that in these Conferences the *Gauls* made some Jest upon the Want the *Romans* suffered during the Siege. But this the *Roman Pride*

was shocked at, and made no Answer to these Rallies, otherwise than by throwing a great many Loaves into the Enemy's Camp, from the Top of the *Capitol*. This Air of Confidence surprized the Barbarians, and baffled their Hopes. *Manlius*, says *Florus*

Year of cation opened between the two Nations. So that all that now remained to be
 R O M E done, was to pay the *Gauls* the Sum stipulated. But there were then neither any
 CCCLXIII. Gold nor Silver Coins in Being. Metals passed current only by Weight. On the
 Q. FABIVS, Day appointed therefore, *Sulpicius* brought *Brennus* the Sum agreed on, and of-
 &c. Military fered him Scales and Weights to weigh it. But it is said, to the Shame of the
 Tribunes: *Gauls*, that their Weights were false, and their Scales not true. At least it's certain
 Plut. Life of *Sulpicius* complained of them: and the King, enraged at the Reproach, put his
 Camil. Sword and Belt likewise into the Scale where the Weights were. Upon which,
 the *Roman*, provoked at this barbarous Way of Proceeding, asked, *What he meant*
by it? And *Brennus* haughtily replied, *I did it, to make you sensible, how mise-*
erable a thing it is to be conquered. And this hasty Expression became afterwards
 proverbial. The noble-spirited *Sulpicius* felt the Sting of it, and had like to
 have broken off the Treaty. Some of the *Romans*, which attended him, were
 likewise for carrying back the Gold, and continuing the Hostilities. But the wisest
 of them thought it more adviseable to comply with the unjust Exactions of a Barba-
 rian, which would turn to his own Shame; and judged it necessary to purchase the
 Deliverance of *Rome*, at a Price, which was in reality a very moderate one, and
 at the Expence of a little Shame, which the present State of Affairs made it neces-
 sary to bear. And whilst they were disputing this Matter, *Camillus* came with a
 Surprise upon them, attended with his principal Officers. The *Dictator's* finding
 it so easy to enter the Gates of the City, was without doubt owing to the Truce.
 He had left his Army in the Neighbourhood of the City, with Orders to follow
 him slowly. However, his Presence raised the Courage of the *Romans*, and low-
 ered the Pride of the *Gauls*. *Take away these Instruments of an infamous Com-*
merce, said the *Dictator*; *Rome must not be redeemed with Money, but with the*
Sword. To which the *Gauls* answered in a Rage, *The Convention is confirmed by*
mutual Oaths. *I grant it,* replied *Camillus*; *but it is of no Force notwithstanding,*
because it was made by an inferior Magistrate, without the Privy or Consent of the
Dictator. *I, who am invested with the supreme Authority over the Romans, de-*
clare all Treaties made to the Dishonour of Rome null; and I declare War with you.
Have recourse to your Arms, and let us come immediately to an Engagement. Upon
 which it is said, some Blows ensued; but whether there did or not, *Camillus* in-
 stantly rejoined his Troops, and addressed himself to them thus, *The time is now*
come, Fellow-Citizens, for you to reconquer your desolate Country. Fight then for
your Temples, yourselves, your Wives, your Children, and your distressed Republick.
 Indeed *Rome* itself was the Field of Battel, on which the Fate of the *Romans* was
 determined. *Camillus* drew up his Army within its Walls, amidst the Ruins of
 the Houses, and upon an uneven Piece of Ground, which was covered with Rub-
 Liv. B. 5. c. 49. bish. But his Skill in military Affairs enabled him to provide against all these In-
 Plut. Life of conveniences, and even draw Advantages from them. The *Gauls*, on the other
 Camil. hand, prepared to begin the Attack with their natural Fury and Impetuosity,
 Livy, ibid. which their Rage augmented. However, the *Romans* received their first Onset
 with Intrepidity. After which, the *Gauls* gave way, were repulsed, and put to
 Plut. Life of flight, with as much ease, as the *Romans* had been, near the *Allia*. Their Loss in-
 Camil. deed was not great, but they left *Rome* the Night following, and encamped about
 three Leagues from it, in the Road to *Gabii*. And here the *Romans*, being per-
 suaded that the Gods and *Fortune* were now become propitious to them, came to

Florus the Historian, B. 1. c. 13. persuaded the Gar-
 rison to make use of this Stratagem, to tire out the
 Patience of the *Gauls*, who thought the Famine
 would soon oblige the *Military Tribunes* to surren-
 der the Citadel. But *Lactantius*, B. 20. gives us a
 different Account of this matter. He says that when
 the *Romans* were reduced to Extremities, for Want
 of Provisions, they were commanded in a Dream,
 by *Jupiter*, the tutelary God of the *Capitol*, to make
 all the Corn they had left into Bread, and then
 throw it into *Brennus's* Camp, reserving none to sup-
 ply their own Wants. And this Artifice succeeded,
 continues *Lactantius*. The *Gauls*, deceived by this
 great Appearance of Plenty, despair'd of reducing
 the *Romans* by Famine, as they had expected, and
 raised the Siege. And *Rome* being at length deliver-

ed by the visible Interposition of *Jupiter*, paid him
 particular Honours. In Memory of so signal a
 Blessing, the *Romans* erected an Altar to this God
 under the odd Name of *Jupiter Pistor*, i. e. *Jupi-*
ter the Baker. *Ovid* seems to countenance this Sto-
 ry, *Fast.* B. 6.

Posse fame vinci spes excidit, hoste repulso,
Discam Pistoris quid velit ara Jovis.

But the Account given by *Livy*, *Plutarch*, and the
 other Historians, is without Contradiction the most
 credible: And, whatever *Lactantius* may say of it,
 it is certain *Camillus* always had the Credit of hav-
 ing driven away the *Gauls*, and of deserving, by that
 memorable Act, the Title of *Deliverer of his Coun-*
try.

another

another Battel, which was more bloody than the first. They found their *Roman* Bravery revive, under the Command of their new General. The Battel was long, and fought with great Bravery on 70 both Sides. But at last *Camillus's* Valour made every thing give way before it. There was a great Number of the *Gauls* left dead on the Field of Battel, and the rest were partly dispersed, and partly put to the Sword, by the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages. Thus ended a War, which seems very wonderful in all its Circumstances. Strangers came from far, took and demolished *Rome*, which to that time had seemed invincible to the most warlike Nations in *Italy*. An Exile became the Deliverer of his Country, which was then sensible of her Want of a Man, whom she had thrown out of her Bosom.

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§. XII. NEVERTHELESS, it was *Camillus's* Fate to be always an Object of Jealousy. The unusual Magnificence of a Triumph formerly drew upon him the Odium of the People. And now the Triumph itself, which was decreed him for his having delivered *Rome*, raised him up new Enemies. The Victor indeed affected nothing new in the Pomp of his Procession; but it was not in his Power to command the Shouts and Applauses of the Soldiers and People, who returned to the conquered City from all Parts. Wherever he came, they gave him the Appellations of *A second Romulus*, and *A Deliverer of his Country*. And this gave the *Tribunes of the People* Suspicions of a *Patrician*, their Enemy, who was going to become the Idol of the *Romans*. They therefore revived an old Quarrel, which the present Circumstances of things made it easier for them to succeed in now, than formerly. They had some Years ago proposed a Law, against which *Camillus* had declared himself. The *Tribunes of the People* had then been for dividing the Senate and Government of the Republick, between the Cities of *Veii* and *Rome*. But now, their View was to get the demolished City of *Rome* entirely deserted, and to make *Veii* alone the Seat of the Government, and sole Capital of the Republick: And the People seemed readily enough inclined to leave a City, which was buried in its own Ruins. *Camillus*, whose Zeal for Religion was equal to his Merit in War, had indeed rebuilt the chief Temples of the Gods: and he had erected one new one, in Honour to that propitious God, who had revealed the near Approach of the *Gauls* to *Cæditius*. A new Name was coined for this unknown Divinity, and he was called *Aius Locutius*. The City had likewise been purified from all the Profanations committed in it. But when the Houses of private Persons came to be built, every one was sensible of the Difficulty of so burdensome an Undertaking. The publick Treasure had been exhausted; the Goods of private Persons had been exposed to Plunder for six or seven Months past; and lastly, their Strength of Body was diminished, and the *Romans* wanted Rest too much, to undertake such painful Works. And this Reluctance in the Publick emboldned the *Tribunes of the People* to utter their seditious Harangues against *Camillus*. They represented him as an ambitious Man, who was very fond of acquiring the Honour of being the Restorer of *Rome*; and suggested, that his having had the Name of *Romulus* given him, was in effect threatening the Republick with a new King.

Liv. B. 5. c. 49.

Plut. Life of
Camil.

70 According to *Livy*, the *Gauls* were terrified at their first Defeat, and made but a slight Resistance. It was not, says he, so much a Battel as a Slaughter. The Enemy being intimidated, suffered themselves to be cut in pieces, without Mercy. There was not one single *Gaul* left to carry his Countrymen the News of this fatal Catastrophe. The Camp of the Barbarians was plundered; and *Camillus*, laden with Spoils, entered *Rome* in Triumph, attended with the Acclamations of his Army, and the People.

71 The *Legionary* Soldiers marched after the triumphal Chariot, crowned with Laurel. They filled all Places with their Acclamations, and the Praises of the Victor. This numerous Train incessantly repeated the triumphal Song, *Io Triumphe! Io Triumphe!* And as the Soldiers thought they might take great Liberties on these publick Festivals, they mixed licentious Expressions, and often satirical and injurious Reflections on the Conqueror himself, with their Shouts; perhaps to balance the Honours

he enjoyed, with these poignant things, and to keep him within the Bounds of Modesty, in the midst of the Pomp which surrounded him. *Livy* seems to insinuate, that this was done in *Camillus's* Triumph: *Triumphans in Urbem redit: interque jocos militares quos inconditos jaciunt.* It is evident, says *D. Hal. B. 7.* by what was practised in Triumphs, that those Diversions, which were mixed with Ridicule were anciently in esteem among the *Romans*. Those who followed the triumphal Procession, had Liberty to say what they pleased, and be as severe as they pleased, on the most deserving Men. They did not spare even the Generals of the Army, like those Buffoons at *Athens*, who rode through the Streets in Chariots, and insulted those who passed by, with severe Raileries. He adds, that the same thing was done in the Funeral Pomp of Persons of Distinction. Choirs of Satyrs, adds he, attended them, and joined their Songs with the *Sicinnus*, which was a comical, merry Dance.

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§. XIII. But the Senators would not come into the Measures of the *Plebeian* Faction, in this Instance. They were for *Camillus*, and desired to see *Rome* rebuilt. And in order to give the *Dictator* time to execute his own Designs, and disappoint those of the *Tribunes*, they continued him a whole Year in that Office; tho' the *Dictatorship* had hitherto always expired, at the end of six Months. No *Comitia* were therefore held as usual, for the Election of chief Magistrates. *Camillus* alone supplied the Place of *Consuls*, or *Military Tribunes*. None but inferior Magistrates were elected in *Rome*, all the Year; namely, such as *Quæstors*, *Tribunes of the People*, and *Ædiles*. So that *Camillus* being solely invested with the supreme Authority in the Republick, for some time, he made it his whole Business to extinguish the headstrong Desire the People had, of leaving *Rome*, to go and inhabit *Veii*. And in order to this, he commanded the *Curia* to be ⁷² assembled, and addressed himself to them thus. Romans, *your Tribunes are now reviving their old Bitterness and Rage against me, and endeavouring to put you upon pernicious Undertakings. I am not afraid to declare this to you. The Remembrance of my former Quarrels with the Tribunes, made my Abode at Ardea agreeable: and I should on that account never have returned to Rome again, if your distressed Condition had not drawn me from all the Pleasures I enjoyed in my Banishment. And even now, I would not open my Lips, could I think myself at liberty to be insensible of the Interests of my Country. But this would be shameful in any other Citizen, and criminal in Camillus. Alas! what Benefit will it be to me, that I have forced Rome out of the Hands of formidable Enemies, if we voluntarily abandon, what it has cost us so much Pains to conquer? Shall our Success prove more destructive to Rome, than our Adversity? The barbarous Gauls have indeed demolished some of the Houses in the City, but you would not willingly spare the Capitol itself! And has not this Jupiter Capitolinus, who has always protected us, now deserved greater Degrees of Zeal and Affection from us, than ever? It was through his Assistance, that we were enabled to recover Rome. And if you will look back to the earliest Times of the Republick, you will find, that our Prosperity has all along been owing to Religion. When we took *Veii*, were we not forewarned of this important Conquest, by a Prodigy? Did not the Gods foretell the Misfortunes with which Brennus threat-*

Liv. B. 5. c. 51.

Liv. ibid.

⁷² According to *Livy*, the Senate was assembled by *Camillus*, as soon as he had been confirmed *Dictator*, and before this Assembly of the *Curia*. And the Senators, continues the *Latin* Historian, passed a Decree, which they drew up at *Camillus's* Solicitation and Request, commanding, 1st, That the Temples which had been polluted by the Impiety and Robbery of the *Gauls*, should be purified with the usual Rites on such Occasions. 2^{dly}, That the Ruins of the other Buildings dedicated to the Worship of the Gods should be repaired, and the Buildings made as large as before, and have no other Limits but those which the *Augurs* had originally marked out for them. 3^{dly}, That the *Duumviri* should consult the Sacred Books, to know what Forms should be observed in the Expiations. And 4^{thly}, That *The Right of Hospitality* should be granted to the Inhabitants of *Cære*, in Acknowledgment of the good Offices they had done the Republick, in giving the Priests, who had the Care of the Sacred Depositum, which they had carried away from *Rome*, to avoid the Fury of the *Gauls*, an hospitable Reception; and in permitting the *Romans*, who had taken Refuge among them, the free Exercise of their Religion. To which *Anlus Gellius* adds, that the People of that City were rewarded with the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens, only with these Provisoos, That they should have no Right of voting in the *Comitia*, or being elected into Offices, or bearing any Part in the Administration of Affairs. The Inhabitants of *Cære*, says that Author, were the first who were honoured with the Title of *Roman Citizens*, with these Limitations. And lastly, continues *Livy*, the Decree of the Senate commanded solemn Games to be celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of Thanksgiving for his having protected *Rome* when reduced to the last Extremity,

and saved the *Capitol* when on the Brink of Destruction. *Camillus* also received a Commission from the Senate, to establish a College, the Members of which should be chosen out of those People who lived on the *Capitol* it self. The chief Business of this College, was to make all due Preparations for, and take Care that every thing was well performed in, the Celebration of these Games. After this Decree was obtained, the next Question was to know to what Use the Gold which had been taken from the *Gauls*, and the Riches which had been brought from other Temples to that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, to prevent their being seized by the Barbarians, should be applied. As these Things had been removed in a Hurry, amidst the Confusion occasioned by the Approach of the Enemy, they were all confounded together, and it was impossible to distinguish what belonged to each Temple. It was therefore resolved that these Effects should be put into the Sacred Treasury, in a Place under the Chapel dedicated to *Jupiter*. Lastly, there was a Deputation sent to the *Roman* Ladies, with Orders to thank them, in the Name of the Senate, for their Generosity in serving their Country, and supplying the Necessities of the State, at a time when the publick Treasury was exhausted, by chusing rather to strip themselves of all the valuable Things they had, than to suffer the Sum which the *Romans*, when on the Brink of Destruction, had agreed to pay the *Gauls*, (in order to induce them to leave *Rome*, and raise the Siege of the Citadel) to be taken out of the Sacred Treasury. And then, adds *Livy*, the *Roman* Ladies had the Privilege granted them of having Funeral-Orations spoken for them; an Honour which the Men only enjoyed before. But *Plutarch* refers the granting this Privilege to another Occasion, as we have observed above.

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ned us? We indeed neglected their Admonitions, and they have punished us for it. But when our Misfortunes had made us wiser, we then had recourse to the Gods, and preserved the Capitol, the Habitation of Great Jupiter: and our Victory was the Reward of our Piety. By which, Romans, you may easily judge, how enormous a Crime it would be in you, to reject those Protectors, who have never yet deserted you. Our City is full of them; it has had almost as many Temples as Houses, ever since its Foundation. Every Family has its ⁷³ peculiar Gods, whose Worship cannot be performed, but in the Places appointed for it, and in Rome. Shall we then abandon them? Fabius Dorso was not afraid to pass through the midst of the Enemy's Troops, in the Heat of War, in order to offer Sacrifices in the proper Place. A noble Example of a steady Adherence to the Gods of our Fathers! And shall then our Pontifices be less scrupulously observant of sacred Customs in the publick Exercise of Religion, than a private Roman, in celebrating the Festivals of his domestick Gods? Nor let it be objected, that the Ceremonies of Religion may either be observed in Veii, or Priests sent from thence to Rome, to perform them here. How many Acts of Worship do we perform, which must necessarily be done within the Compass of these Walls? Did the sacred Bucklers fall from Heaven in any other Place but Rome? Will Romulus consent to our paying him that Homage at Veii, which is now paid him in a City founded by himself? Will Mars protect a People who do not reside within the Walls, which bear his Son's Name? Shall the Progress I have already made in Building the Temple of Aius Locutius, and repairing so many others, be all lost, and come to nothing? What, Vesta, will your Priestesses forsake you? Will the great Priest of Jupiter, for whom it is unlawful to leave Rome but for one Night, become an Inhabitant of Veii? Shall Foreigners share the Honours of the Priesthood with us? Can our Comitia ⁷⁴, which are always consecrated by the Augurs, be held any where, but at the Foot of the Ramparts? Or shall we lay ourselves under a Necessity of coming into a desolate Country, if we would hold our civil Assemblies, or perform the Ceremonies of Religion, in a legal manner? How expensive, how inconvenient must it be, to come so often, and so far to Rome? But, say some, neither the publick nor private Persons are in a Condition to erect so many new Buildings: and Veii offers to supply us with more convenient Houses than we have here. But this is only the vain Pretence of restless Spirits! Would not your Tribunes have removed you to Veii, before the Gauls came, or Rome was destroyed? Were your Houses burnt down then? For my part, I am of opinion, that it would have been less inconvenient for us to have removed, before Rome was destroyed, than now. It might then perhaps have been for

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⁷³ The Roman Families, such as the Claudian, Æmilian, Julian, and Cornelian, had their private Festivals, Expiations and Sacrifices, and a Time and Place were appointed for the Celebration of these Solemnities: As also their Anniversaries in Memory of their deceased Relations, in order to repeat annually the last Duties they owed them, according to the Ceremonies of Paganism. Every Year renewed the Remembrance of the Birth or Decease of some Head of a Family; or of the Success of some important Enterprize; or some Day of Prosperity or Misfortunes, of Joy or Sorrow, to these illustrious Families. Which were so many Obligations to return Thanks to the Gods, to invoke their Protection, appease them by Sacrifices, and lastly, to assemble together to worship them in private, under the Direction of the Father of the Family, who was indispensably obliged to preside at the Ceremony. This the Romans thought so essential a Duty, that Fabius Maximus the Dictator was called back to Rome by the Pontifices, when engaged in opposing Hannibal's Army, in order to assist at a private Festival his Family was obliged to celebrate. And Livy tells us, B. 11. that Sextus Digitius, a Legionary Tribune, came from Macedonia to Rome on purpose to do the same thing. Cicero speaks of this Custom, *ch. 15. de Aruspicum responsis*, thus: — *Multi sunt etiam in hoc ordine, qui Sacrificia Gentilia, illo ipso in sacello, statuto loco, anniversarii facerant.* Macrobius confirms the Truth of this Custom, *Sunt præsertim Feriæ propriæ familiarum, ut Claudiæ familiæ,*

vel Æmiliæ, seu Juliæ sive Corneliæ, & si quas ferias quæque familiæ, ex usu domesticæ celebritatis, observat; sunt singulorum, ut natalium fulgurumque susceptione. The Celebration of these Festivals, tho' established according to the Will and Pleasure and Devotion of the Institutors, were thought indispensable Duties of Religion on every Family: So that the Son, who succeeded to the Rights and Possessions of his Father, contracted an Obligation at the same time to defray the Expences of these Solemnities. And so likewise did other Heirs. An adopted Child, whose Adoption gave him the Advantages of the Family, was likewise necessarily obliged to join in this Duty. *Marci Anci filius in Suffenatis familiam, & sacra transferat,* says *Val. Max. B. 7.*

⁷⁴ The Romans made it an essential Part of Religion, to assemble the Comitia, whether those by Curie, or by Centuries, only in such Places as had been consecrated by the Augurs. For this Reason, they thought it not lawful to hold any Comitia by Curie, without the Inclosure, or Pomerium of Rome; the Bounds of which it was the Augurs Duty both to fix and consecrate. The Campus Martius, which was the usual Place for assembling the Comitia by Centuries, had likewise its Boundaries, which were settled and consecrated by the Augurs. The Case of the Comitia by Tribes indeed was otherwise: They were held indifferently, sometimes in the Forum Romanum, sometimes in the Capitol, and sometimes out of the City, because not subject to these religious Forms.

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our Honour, to have gone and taken Possession of a conquered City. But now we cannot desert Rome, without magnifying the Victory of the Gauls. Our Flight would be imputed to them; and tho' we have in fact driven them away, they would nevertheless boast of having dispossessed us of our City. And they would then have nothing to do, but to come and take Possession again of a City, which they will have forced us to abandon. Or, if they should not do this, perhaps the Volsci or the Æqui, will think it worth their while to make themselves Masters of these Ruins which you despise: And then, they will enjoy the Name of Romans, whilst you are only called by that of Veientes. Ought we not then to chuse to live in as poor Cottages, as that of our Founder Romulus, rather than suffer this Disgrace? Our Ancestors, who were content at first to live in mean Huts, soon after built themselves tolerable Houses: And yet we are not in so bad a Condition now, as they were then. The Capitol remains entire. The Temples of our Gods are restored. We have nothing more to do, but to rebuild our Houses, which might as well have been consumed by an accidental Fire, as designedly burnt by an Enemy. Let us therefore all do, what each of us would have done, had his Houses been destroyed by Accident. If we were to remove to Veii, as you incline to do, could any Man be sure of escaping sudden Fires there? And must we in such a case find out some third Place of Retreat? Where can we find more pleasant Hills, or finer Air, or a more wholesome Situation, than here? Does not the River, which waters our City, supply its Inhabitants with Plenty, and convey to us the rich Products both of Sea and Land? My greatest Mortification in my Banishment, was, that I was forced to remove out of so delightful a Country. It is not without Reason, that both Gods and Men have pitched upon this Place to be the Capital of an invincible Nation. Have the Æqui and Volsci in conjunction, or has indeed all Herruria, been able to shake, or even equal your Power, in War? Why then should we go to try the Vicissitudes of Fortune in another Place? Have not the Destinies promised, that the City which is overlooked by the Capitol, shall be the Mistress of Nations? The perpetual Fire of Vesta, the Bucklers which fell down from Heaven, and the great Multitude of Deities which protect us, are infallible Assurances to us of it.

Plut. Life of
Camil.

Liv. B.6. c.1.

THE Multitude was much affected with the Motives mentioned in this Discourse, but with none more than those of Religion. The People seemed determined to recover Rome out of her Ruins: but it was necessary that this Resolution should be confirmed by the Authority of the Senate. The Dictator therefore himself reported the Affair to the Conscript Fathers, and gave them all free Liberty of voting according to their Judgments. Lucretius, who was to speak first, was just ready to begin, and all kept Silence in order to hear him, when it happened that a Centurion, who had been upon Guard, and was marching off his Men, cried out to them, *Stop here.* Which 75 Words being heard into the Place where the publick Council was held, they were interpreted to be dictated by the Gods themselves: and the Senator, who was going to speak, took Occasion to declare from thence, that the People must continue in Rome. In short, a Decree was passed, for the rebuilding the ruinous City, with the unanimous Consent of both Senate and People. So that Camillus carried his Point against the Faction of the Tribunes of the People. Nevertheless, they determined to exercise their Authority against another Patrician at least, who certainly deserved Punishment. This was Q. Fabius. He, when sent on Embassy to the Gauls, with his two Brothers, had violated the Law of Nations, in killing one of the Generals of the Gauls, in a single Combat; and had thereby brought all those Misfortunes on Rome, which had like to have utterly destroyed her. As long as he continued Military Tribune, he was undisturbed, out of respect to his Dignity; but as soon as Fabius had laid down his Office, and before Camillus's Dictatorship was expired, the Tribunes cited him to appear before the People. His Crime was

75 These Words passed for an Oracle, or Admonition of the Gods: Which is what the Romans properly called *Omen*. How frivolous soever these Signs might be, which had often only an arbitrary Relation to the Event; the Persons concerned took Advantage of them, to impose on the Credulity of the Simple. These Presages indeed may be so remarkable in themselves, and bear so strong a Relation to the Thing in hand, that no Body can despise

them without Irreligion. This is Cicero's Thought, when he says, *Men may indeed laugh at these Things, and ridicule them; but nevertheless, to despise the Admonitions of the Gods, is to disbelieve their Existence.* His Words are, *Omina hæc posse contemni & videri præclare intelligo, sed id ipsum est Deos non putare, quæ ab iis significantur contemnere.* B.1. De Divin.

known;

known; and his ill Conduct had been the Cause of all the Calamities of the Publick. So that the Criminal had reason to fear the severest Punishment; but he died, so opportunely, to avoid Condemnation, that he was suspected of having killed himself. And now *Camillus* had nothing more to do, but to close this glorious Year, with laying down the *Dictatorship*; which he did, before the time came for electing new Magistrates. The time of his Abdication was about the end of *January*; and an *Interregnum* ensued. But *Camillus* was again nominated to take his Turn, in governing the State alternately, with *P. Cornelius Scipio*, as long as this *Interregnum* should last. And it happened to fall to *Camillus's* Lot to preside at the Election of new supreme Magistrates for the Year ensuing.

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§. XIV. The *Comitia by Centuries* placed six *Military Tribunes* at the Head of the Republick; whose Names ⁷⁶ were, *L. Valerius Poplicola*, *L. Virginus Tricostus*, *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *A. Manlius Capitolinus*, *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Posthumus Albinus*. The first Care of these new Magistrates, was to collect all the ancient Monuments of the Religion and Civil Laws of *Rome*, which could be found, in this confused Heap of Ruins. The Laws of the *Twelve Tables*, and some of the Laws of the Kings, had been written on Brass, and fixed up in the *Forum*; and the Treaties which had been made with several Nations, had been engraven on Pillars, erected in the Temples. Pains was therefore taken to gather up some Remains of these precious Monuments; and what could not be found, was supplied as well as it could be, by Memory. As for the Ceremonies of Religion, the *Pontifices* undertook the Re-establishment of them. After which, a List was made of lucky and unlucky Days; meaning by the latter, those, on which it was not lawful to offer Sacrifices, administer Justice, or begin any new Expeditions. Of this Number ⁷⁷ was the eighteenth Day of *July*, which was remarkable for two unfortunate Actions; That in which the three hundred *Fabii* perished near the *Cremera*; and That, in which the *Romans* were beaten by the *Gauls*, upon the Banks of the *Allia*. In this List of unlucky Days, was also the sixteenth of ⁷⁸ *July*, because the Sacrifices offered the Gods by *Sulpicius* the *Military Tribune*,

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L. VIRGINIUS,
P. CORNELI-
US, A. MAN-
LIUS, L. Æ-
MILIUS, and
L. POSTHUMI-
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⁷⁶ *Lucius Val. Poplicola* was now promoted to the *Military Tribuneship* a second time. *Aulus Manlius*, one of his Collegues, was Brother to *Marcus Manlius*, who defended the *Capitol* against the Attacks of the *Gauls*. This *L. Æmilius* was he who was honoured with the *Military Tribuneship* five times, and with the *Consulship* twice. He is supposed to have been the Father of *Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas*. At least, the *Fasti Capitolini* make the latter the Son of *Lucius*, and the Grandson of *Lucius*. *L. F. L. N. Lucius Posthumus's* Father seems to have been that *Publius Posthumus* who was killed by his own Army. It is evident *Macrobius* is mistaken, when he gives the *Posthumus* here spoken of, the *Prenomen* of *Aulus*. And he is no less mistaken in the Number of *Military Tribunes*, which he makes to have been but four, for this Year. Upon the Credit of some ancient *Annals* of *Gellius*, and *Cassius Hemina*, some put *Vigilius Mallius* in the room of *Lucius Virginus*, and read *Celius* instead of *Cornelius*. This *Cornelius* may possibly have been the Son of *Publius Cornelius Cossus*, who was *Military Tribune* in the Year 338.

Vana Mortalitas est ad circumscribendam seipsam ingeniosa.

⁷⁸ Besides *The sixteenth*, or *The Day after the Ides of July*, *Livy* says, That the Days immediately following the *Calends*, *Ides*, and *Nones*, of every Month, were thought unlucky by the *Romans*, upon the Credit of an old Tradition: and *Verrius Flaccus* tells us in *Aulus Gellius*, B. 5. ch. 17. the Reason why the *Romans* reckoned these Days among the *Dies Atri*, i. e. unlucky Days. After the *Gauls* had been driven from *Rome*, says he, *L. Attilius* made a Report to the Senate, That *Quintus Sulpitius* the *Military Tribune*, when ready to engage the Enemy on the Banks of the *Allia*, offered a Sacrifice to the Gods, *The Day after the Ides*, before he gave Battel; That notwithstanding this, his Army was cut in pieces; and That three Days after, *Rome* itself fell into the Hands of the Barbarians, the *Capitol* only excepted. To which, continues *Verrius Flaccus*, several of the Senators replied, That they had remarked, that the Sacrifices offered to the Gods, on *The Days after the Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, had always been followed by some fatal Event to the Republick. Upon which, the Examination into this Affair was referred to the College of the *Pontifices*, who determined, that no Sacrifices should for the future be offered up on those Days. And *Aulus Gellius* adds, that *The fourth of the Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, were inauspicious Days; *Dies Inominales*. But he observes, That the ancient *Annals* mention nothing which could give Birth to this Superstition; unless it were, that the *Romans*, according to *Claudius the Annalist*, lost the Battel they fought with *Hannibal*, at *Canna*, on *The fourth of the Nones of August*. *Livy*, B. 6. calls these unlucky Days, *Dies Religiosi*; which *Aulus Gellius* explains, B. 4. ch. 9. *Religiosi Dies dicuntur tristi omine infames impeditique, in quibus & res divinas facere, & rem quampiam novam exordiri, temperandum est.*

⁷⁷ That is, *The fifteenth of the Calends of August*. *Plutarch* indeed fixes these two Events to *The sixteenth of the Calends*, or the 17th Day of *July*. And *Tacitus* places them on *The seventeenth of the Calends of August*. *Cicero* in a Letter to *Atticus*, 9. 5. says, That among the *Romans*, the Day of the Battel of the *Allia*, was deemed a more fatal one, than that on which *Rome* was taken, inasmuch as the latter was only the Consequence of the former. *Allienus Dies dicebatur apud Romanos obsecrissimi nominis*, says *Festus*. Upon which Occasion, *Pliny*, B. 7. exclaims with reason, against the Blindness and Superstition of Mankind; who are, says he, ingenious in finding out Means to enslave themselves, and set Bounds to their Liberty.

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on that Day, by Way of Preparation for the Battel, were not propitiatory 79 and agreeable; and to these several Days, were added some others.

THIS done, the Governors of the Republick applied themselves wholly to repairing the Ruins of the Houses. It has been already observed, that *Camillus* had begun with putting in hand some of the chief Temples. But as it was the Superstition of that time, to fix the Dimensions of sacred Edifices with religious Ceremonies, it was found very difficult to discover the old Limits of each Temple so fully, as that it might be rebuilt exactly on the same Foundations. And an Accident then happened, which how fortuitous soever, passed for a Prodigy. *Romulus's Augural Staff* was found not burnt, amidst the Ashes of the Temple of *Mars*, near the Hill *Palatinus*. The *Romans* inferred from thence, That their City would continue for ever; and That the same Fate which favoured *Romulus*, would preserve it from all Misfortunes. But may it not be suspected, that *Camillus* had Address enough to substitute another *Augural Staff*, in the room of *Romulus's*, which had hitherto been kept hid, to gain it the more Veneration? As to private Houses, they were not begun to be built, till after the new *Military Tribunes* had entered upon their Office. The Expence of them was partly defrayed out of the publick Treasure; and the *Ediles* were commissioned to regulate, and hasten the Works. But they appear to have executed this Office with little Care, or little Taste. They suffered every Man to chuse what Spot of Ground he pleased, and to build his House upon it, without any Symmetry, or Order, or even so much as obliging them to build in strait Lines, that the Streets might be handsome, and the Cross-ways regular. An Agreement was made with Undertakers, who obliged themselves to finish the Houses in a Year. The Timber and Shingles for the Roofs were paid for out of the publick Treasury. All Proprietors of Lands were ordered to let any Man dig in their Quarries, and carry away what Stones he pleased from them *gratis*. And lastly, every *Roman* was obliged to put his Hand to the Work, and no body exempted from Labour. The Common-sewers, those Master-pieces in Mafonry, were indeed placed at first directly under the Streets; but now the People built upon the Crowns of their Arches, as much as any where else, and they served them for Foundations; so that the Sewers now ran under private Houses. And indeed the *Romans* were too much in haste with their Work, to consult the Beauty of the new City. *Rome* was nothing but an Heap of Houses, confusedly scattered abroad in several Places; and the Streets wholly consisted of narrow Turnings: which made it necessary to go a great way about, and through Multitudes of difficult Passages, in order to come at any Place. This City was even less regular now, upon its being rebuilt, than it was originally in *Romulus's* time. Nevertheless, it continued in this shapeless Condition, as long as the Republick subsisted. And tho' in *Augustus's* time, when *Rome* became the Capital of the World, the Temples, Palaces, and private Houses were built in a more magnificent manner than before; yet even then, these new Decorations did not rectify the Faults of the Plan, upon which the City had been built, after its first Demolition.

BUT scarce was the City of *Rome* rebuilt; before its Inhabitants were oppressed with great Poverty and Want. And if we will give any Credit to Fables, they took a very barbarous Method to rid the Republick of a multitude of People whom they thought useless. That is, they threw all the Citizens who were above sixty Years of Age, from the Top of the Bridge into the *Tyber*. Hence the Expression of *Depontani* 80 *Senes*, which is said to have become proverbial at that time; as the thing

79 *Livy* says of *Sulpicius*, *Quod postridie Idus non litasset*; i. e. *Sulpicius's* Sacrifice was not a fortunate one; and That the Entrails of the Victims had shewed him, that the Gods would not be propitious to him, but the Event prove fatal. This is the Meaning of *non litasset*, in opposition to *litare*, which is spoken of a propitiatory Sacrifice, which is acceptable to the Gods. *Virgil* uses this Word in that Sense.

Tu modo posce Deos veniam sacrisque litatis. *Æn.* 4.
And *Plautus*, agreeably to this, says,

Summe Jupiter!

Facias ut semper Sacrificem, & nunquam Litem.

Penul. 2.

80 *Manilius*, who is quoted by *Festus*, says, That the *Aborigines*, who first inhabited the Territory of *Rome*, had made a barbarous Law, whereby they were obliged every Year, to offer up in Sacrifice a Man, who, according to *Ovid. Fast. B. 5.* was to be sixty Years of Age, to *Pluto* or *Saturn*. And the same Author says, That *Hercules's* Arrival put an end to this Custom, some Remains of which Superstition still continued among them; and they substituted a Man made of Reeds, in the room of the real one, and threw this Figure into the *Tyber* from the Top of the Bridge; which occasioned the calling Men of sixty Years of Age, *Senes Depontani*; (from the Word *de*, which signifies *from*, and *Pont*, which

Juv. Sat. 3.

Festus.

thing is said to have been practised ever after. To which it is added, that the Piety of a Son towards his Father, prevented the entire Execution of so cruel an Ordinance. The Son concealed his Father, and hid him so that the Magistrates could not find him. And when he was accused of acting contrary to this Law, it is likewise affirmed, that he was absolved by the Judges, and the Law revoked. But this Story, which is built on the Testimony of only one Author, and he not of the greatest Credit, and is besides so little probable in itself, would on no account have been thought worthy of being mentioned here, but merely to make the History complete, and prevent the Charge of an Omission.

§. XV. THE many Misfortunes which befel *Rome*, drew the neighbouring Nations into a Confederacy against her. Before she had recovered her Losses, the *Volsci* and *Æqui*, those antient Enemies of the Republick, renewed their malicious Designs against her. The Merchants brought Information, that all the *Lucumonies* in *Hetruria* were assembled at the Temple of *Voltumna*, and had conspired the Destruction of the *Romans*: And to complete their Misfortunes, their faithful Allies, the ⁸¹ *Latins* and the *Hernici*, were fallen off from their Alliances, and had joined the *Volsci*. The Republick therefore, under these Terrors, had recourse again to *Camillus*. He was nominated *Dictator*, a third time; and he chose *C. Servilius* ⁸² for his General of Horse. The first War ⁸³ the *Dictator* undertook, was against the *Latins*; who would fain have found out some Pretence for their Defection. They sent, when they were already in Arms, to demand that some of

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POPPLICOLA,
&c. Military
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which signifies a Bridge.) But *Dion. Hal. B. 1.* gives us a different Account of this Matter. In the first Ages, says he, Men were sacrificed to *Saturn*, as was continually done at *Carthage*, as long as that City subsisted, and as was formerly practised by the *Gauls*, as well as the Western Nations. To which he adds, that *Hercules* being desirous of abolishing these Sacrifices, erected an Altar on the Hill *Saturnius*, and there offered up Victims upon it, which were without spot, and purified with Fire. But, that he might at the same time shew some regard for the Religion of the People, who might have reproached him with having abolished their old Ceremonies, he taught them how to appease the Wrath of *Saturn*, without violating the Laws of Humanity. He persuaded them to substitute the Figures of Men, instead of Men, which they used to throw into the *Tyber*, bound Hand and Foot. This Ceremony, continues *D. Hal.* the *Romans* always regularly performed on *The Ides of May*. On this Day, the *Pontifices*, *Vestals*, *Prætors*, and all that had a Right to assist in the offering Sacrifices, came to the wooden Bridge; where, after they had offered up some Victims, they threw thirty Images of an human Figure into the *Tyber*: And these Images, says *Plutarch* in his *Roman Questions*, they called *Argivas*, in Allusion to the Custom of the first Inhabitants of the Country, who threw all the *Greeks* or *Argives*, who fell into their Hands, into the River. But *Sicinnius Capito*, and *Festus*, give us a more probable Origin of the Word *Deponentus*. They declare, that one Day, when the *Comitia* were assembled, the young Citizens pretended to exclude all those, who were sixty Years of Age, from a Right of Suffrage. In order to this, they conspired together, to hinder the old Men from coming to the Place where the Tickets were distributed, and cried out at the same time, that all the Men of sixty ought to be thrown off the Bridge, which the Citizens all passed over in their turns, either by *Tribes* or *Centuries*, in order to give their Suffrages. If we may believe *Nonnius* and *Varro*, *De Vita Populi Romani*, as to this Matter, it was customary among the *Romans*, for none to have Votes in the *Comitia* before they were seventeen, or after sixty. *Nonnius's* Words are these. *Sexagenarios per pontem mittendos maledice popularitas intellexit; cum Varro honestam causam patefecerit. Cum habebant sexaginta Annos, cum erant a publicis negotiis liberi: ideo in proverbium quidam putant venisse, ut dicerentur, sexagenarios de Ponte dejici oportere: id est, quod suffragium non ferant,*

quod per Pontem ferebant, Cicero seems to suppose this was formerly a Custom in *Rome*, when he says, in his Oration for *Roscius Amerinus*, *Habeo etiam dicere, quem contra morem majorum, minorem annis 60, de Ponte in Tiberim dejecerit. Ovid* gives us the Origin of the Expression, *Deponenti Senes*, in *Fast. B. 5.* in these Words:

*Pars putat, ut ferrent Juvenes suffragia soli,
Pontibus infirmos præcipitasse Senes.*

Macrobius mentions this Custom, *Saturnal. B. 1.* thus: *Hinc tam doctis viris adinvenire vis, in verborum Comitibus, Jus suffragandi? Et tanquam sexagenarios, majores de Ponte dejicies?* But whatever Authors may say of it, History is so far from giving us any Footsteps of this Custom, that it gives us an Account of several *Dictators* and *Consuls*, who were very much advanced in Years, as particularly, *Quinctius Cincinnatus*.

⁸¹ *Livy* says, that from the time of the Battel of *Regillus*, the *Latins* and *Hernici* continued faithful to the *Romans*, for the space of near an hundred Years. Now this Battel was fought about the Year 254. So that strictly speaking, there must have been a Mistake in *Livy's* Calculation, since from the Year 254, to this present Year 363, is 110 Years, and not barely 100; unless we date this 100 Years with *Glarean*, from the Peace granted to the *Hernici*, in the Year 266. Then indeed *Livy's* Computation will be exactly true, since there was near 100 Years between that time, and the Year here spoken of. *Per annos prope centum, nunquam ambigua fide, in amicitia Populi Romani, fuerant.*

⁸² *Livy* gives *Gaius Servilius* the Surname of *Abala*. He seems to have been descended from the Family of the *Servilii*, who came to *Rome* after the Destruction of *Alba Longa*, and were ranked among the *Patricians*, by King *Tullus Hostilius*, together with the *Quintian*, *Geganian*, *Curatian*, and *Clælian* Families.

⁸³ During the Commotions, which the Preparations for the Wars with the *Latins* and *Hernici* raised in *Rome*, *Livy* says, the *Dictator Camillus* ordered what the *Romans* called the *Jusitium*, that is, *The Courts of Justice*, to be shut up. This was customary in *Rome*, in Times of Danger, and of Mourning. The *Latin* Historian adds, That the General insisted only a chosen Body of young Men; and That the strongest of those, who had already served the Time required by Law, offered their Service of their own accords.

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the Daughters of the *Romans* might be given them in Marriage, thereby to strengthen, as they pretended, the Friendship between the two Nations. They hoped, That either the Refusal of the *Romans*, if the Demand was rejected, would justify them in treating them as Enemies; or else, That their Compliance, if they obtained the young Women, would furnish them with so many Hostages to guard them against the Vengeance of *Rome*. The *Romans* plainly saw the Snare; but the Difficulty was, how to avoid it. And it is said that a *Roman* Slave, named *Tutela*, or *Philotis*, extricated the Senate out of this Difficulty, by a Stratagem of her own Invention: She advised them to chuse out among all their Women-Slaves, a Company of such as had the genteelst Looks, and might, by their Appearance, pass for Women of free Condition. *Tutela* put herself at the Head of this Company, and agreed on the Signals she was to give the *Roman* Generals, if Occasion offered. She entered into the Camp of the *Latins*, carrying her Company of young Slaves with her, artfully disguised in their Mistresses Cloaths. When they came there, they made the *Latins* believe, that this Day was a Festival with them, invited the *Latins* to come and rejoice with them, and gave them Entertainments, at which no Wine was spared. In the Dead of Night, the Drunkenness of the *Latins* made them sleep very soundly: And then these Girls hid the Swords of the sleeping Soldiers, whilst *Tutela* climbed up into a wild Fig-tree, with a burning Flambeau in her Hand, and thereby gave the *Romans* a Signal, that it was time for them to approach. Upon this, they made haste to march; but found some Difficulty in assembling their different Companies, under their proper Colours, in the Night-time. However, they arrived at last at the Camp of the *Latins*, surprized it, and few of the Enemy escaped the Slaughter. But as this Story is wholly founded on a popular Tradition, on account of a Festival, which was called ⁸⁴ *The Feast of the wild Fig-tree*, and solemnized on the 17th Day of *July*; we mention it, without giving much Credit to it.

THE best Historians relate the Matter otherwise. They say, That the *Latins* and *Volsci* joined their Forces together: And then the *Military Tribunes* formed a Camp to oppose their Enterprizes. But the Enemy exceeded the *Romans* in Number, and were preparing to force their Entrenchments. Which News being brought to *Rome*, the Republick had recourse to its usual Remedy, in this Extremity. *Camillus* was nominated *Dictator*; and he hastily gathered together all the Youth which were left in the City, and forced those likewise to march under his Command, whose Age exempted them from military Services. So that the new Levies were considerable enough to be divided into three Bodies. One was commanded by *Camillus* to encamp under the Walls of *Rome*, and *A. Manlius* appointed General of it. The second he sent near *Veii*, under the Command of *L. Æmilius*, with Orders to observe the Motions of the *Hetrurians*: Whilst the *Dictator* himself hastned at the Head of the third Body, to deliver the *Tribunes*, who were straightly besieged by an Army of *Volsci* and *Latins*. The Enemy was encamped

⁸⁴ *Plutarch* adds, that by way of reward for this good Office, the Senate gave these young Slaves not only their Liberty, but Portions likewise out of the publick Treasury. This Stratagem of *Philotis*, says *Plutarch*, in his *Lives* of *Romulus* and *Camillus*, gave Birth to a Festival, called *The Caprotine Nones*, from the Name of this wild Fig-tree, which the *Romans* called *Caprificus*. This Festival was kept on the 7th of *July*. On that Day, adds *Plutarch*, the People go out of the City in a confused Croud, bawling out different Names, some *Caius*, others *Marcus*, others *Lucius*, in Imitation of the Confusion of those armed Men, who marched out of the City without any Order, inviting one another to go and engage the Enemy. On this Day the Slaves walk round the City, very finely dressed. As they walk, they affect antick Postures, and take the Liberty of seizing upon any they meet. Then they engage with one another, and fight with Stones. Their Design in skirmishing in this manner, is to shew the Share they had in defeating the *Latins*. And lastly, they are made to sit down at Table, at an Entertainment prepared for them, without the City, in Arbours made of Branches of wild Fig-

trees. *Macrobius*, *Saturn. B. 1.* says, that on this Day the Slaves offered Sacrifices to *Juno Caprotina*, and presented her with some Milk drawn from the Leaves and Branches of a Fig-tree. Hence the Name of *Caprifica*, which was given to the Festival, as well as to her. But *Plutarch*, *Parall. 313.* seems to contradict himself, when he says, that this Stratagem of the Slaves was made use of against one *Atepomerus*, a Leader of the *Gauls*. He, says this *Greek* Writer, made War with the *Romans*, and would not consent to make any Peace with them, but upon Condition that they would surrender up their Wives to him. Upon which Occasion, a Slave named *Retana* played the *Gauls* the same Trick, as *Philotis* or *Tutela* played the *Latins*. The Authority *Plutarch* quotes for this, is *Aristides* the *Milesian*. And *Ovid*, *de Art. Am.* seems to be of the same Opinion.

*Porrige & ancilla, quâ penas luce pendit
Lusa maritali Gallica veste manus.*

These various Accounts therefore, give us Reason to doubt of the Truth of a Fact, which has likewise all the Appearance of a Fable in it self.

near

near ⁸⁵ *Lanuvium*, on the Declivity of the Hill ⁸⁶ *Marcus*. *Camillus* came and posted himself behind the Hill, and by lighting great Fires, gave the *Romans* notice, that he was come to their Relief. Upon which, the Enemy marched out of their Camp, with a Resolution to fight the new Army; but as soon as they understood that *Camillus* commanded it, their Boldness was turned into Fear. They shut themselves up in their Entrenchments, and fortified them with great Trees, which they cut down in haste, to make themselves a Barrier. And as soon as their Camp was thus fortified, both *Volsci* and *Latins* sent into their own Countries, and to the *Hetrurians*, for Succours. *Camillus* therefore thought it necessary to hasten the Attack of the Camp, lest whilst he was investing the Enemy, he should be invested himself by those new Reinforcements. And the *Dictator* observing, That the Inclosure which surrounded the Confederate Camp, was all made of green Wood; and That there arose a Wind every Morning, which would blow the Flame and Smoke on the Besieged, if it was set on Fire; he, for these Reasons, ordered two Attacks to be made at once, one on the Side from whence the Wind blew, and the other over-against it. Accordingly, at Break of Day, one Part of the *Roman* Army came to the Windward Side of the Camp, carrying Firebrands; and the other made a brisk Attack on the opposite Side of the Camp, Sword in Hand. The latter threw their Darts; the former spread the Fire (which by the Help of a brisk Wind, communicated itself, by degrees, to all Parts of the Inclosure) quite round the Entrenchments. By this means, *Camillus* not only opened himself a Way into the *Latin* Camp, but struck Terror into the Enemy, who were stifled with the Smoke, and terrified at the crackling of the green Wood. The *Latins* at first drew up close into Plottoons, and kept continually retiring from the Places where the Fire came. But afterwards, some escaped at those Places which the Fire had not yet reached: others ventured to leap through the Flames; and both found the Enemy ready drawn up in the Plain, who put all the Fugitives to the Sword. When the *Latins* were all gone out of their Camp, *Camillus* ordered the Fire to be put out, that his Troops might plunder it. He gave all the Booty they found to the Soldiers; which was the more agreeable Bounty to the Troops, because *Camillus* had been too rigid in all his former Wars, in assigning over the Spoils of the Enemy into the *Quæstors* Hands, for the Use of the publick Treasury. But *Camillus* did not give the Conquered a Moment's Rest. Leaving his Son in the Camp to guard the Prisoners, he entered the Country of the *Æqui*, ravaged it, and made himself Master of ⁸⁷ *Bola*, their capital City. From thence he penetrated into the Territories of the *Volsci*. A less considerable Man than the *Dictator* could not have given the finishing Stroke to this turbulent People. But *Camillus* obliged the *Volsci* to surrender themselves up to the *Romans*, and forced them to become subject to the Republick, after they had harassed it with continual Hostilities for above 107 ⁸⁸ Years. Nor was the *Dictator* content with this fine Conquest. He immediately marched his Army into the Territories of the *Hetrurians*. They had laid Siege to ⁸⁹ *Sutri*, a City in Alliance with the *Romans*, and pursued it with Vigour. The Inhabitants had had recourse to the *Romans* in their Calamities, desiring their Assistance: and the Senate ordered the *Dictator* to march his Army to the Relief of *Sutri* without delay. But notwithstanding all the Expedition *Camillus* could use, he did not arrive in *Hetruria*, till the Place had capitulated. The *Sutrinis* being oppressed with Famine, and exhausted with Labour, after having re-

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⁸⁵ The City of *Lanuvium* stood in Old *Latium*, on The *Appian Way*, eight Miles from *Antium*, and about 20 from *Rome*. It lay on the Confines of the Territory of the *Volsci*. The Natives at present give it the Name of *Civita Lavina*, or by Corruption *Civita Indorina*.

⁸⁶ *Diodorus Siculus*, B.14. places the Hill *Marcus* 200 *Stadia*, i. e. 25 Miles from *Rome*, and consequently 5 Miles from *Lanuvium*. This Hill seems to have been one of those which were the Boundaries of the *Pomptin* Territory, and the Country of the *Volsci*. *Marcus Coriolanus* might possibly have encamped on this Hill, and given his Name to it. The *Latin* Interpreter of *Diodorus Siculus*, by an intolerable Mistake, puts The *Campus Marcus*, instead of the Hill *Marcus*.

⁸⁷ *Bola* was one of the most considerable Cities of the *Æqui*, in the Neighbourhood of the *Latins*, and not far from *Præneste*, and *Laticum*.

⁸⁸ If we reckon from the Year of *Rome* 227, in which *Tarquin the Proud* began the War with the *Volsci*; instead of 107 Years, we shall find it to be near 140. But if we reckon only from the Year 259, when the *Consuls Appius Claudius*, and *Publius Servilius* renewed the War with the *Volsci*, *Livy's* Calculation is very exact.

⁸⁹ This City, which stood in old *Hetruria*, 33 Miles from *Rome*, bears its first Name of *Sutri*, to this Day. It was then in Alliance with the Republick, whatever *Diodorus* may say to the contrary, who makes it to have been a *Roman Colony* at this time.

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received many Wounds, had surrendered to the *Hetrurians*; who had granted them nothing but their Lives, and the Cloaths they had on. In this destitute Condition therefore they had left their own Country, and were going in search of new Habitations, when they met *Camillus*, who was leading an Army to their Relief. As soon as they saw the *Romans*, this unfortunate Multitude threw themselves at the *Dictator's* Feet. The Women wept; the Children cried; and *Camillus* was greatly moved at this melancholy Sight. *Stay*, said he to these afflicted People; *take a little rest here, and lay down your Burdens, and refresh yourselves. I will soon dry up your Tears, and transfer your Sorrows from you to your Enemies.* It was a Part of *Camillus's* Character to be able to form an exact Judgment beforehand, of the Situation in which he should find his Enemies at his Arrival, and to know how to make his Advantage of it. He suspected, that the *Hetrurians* would give themselves wholly up to plundering the City, and enjoying the Booty they should find in it, without being upon their Guard, or observing any Discipline. And he was not mistaken. The *Roman* Army passed through the Territory of *Sutri*, without finding any advanced Guard posted, or any Scouts sent out. The *Hetrurians* could not believe, that the *Dictator* could come so speedily, from so great a distance, as to surprize them. Nevertheless, he was already at their Gates, which he found open, whilst the Enemy was entirely taken up, either with plundering the Houses, and carrying off the Spoils, or feasting on the Provisions they found in them. So that *Camillus* and his *Romans* marched into *Sutri* without any Opposition, and then ordered the Gates to be shut. And now the *Hetrurians* seemed to awake a little out of their Stupefaction. The greatest Part of them ran in Crowds to the Gates, to escape out of *Sutri*; but all the Passages out of the City were shut up. Then some assembled together in Despair, and resolved to die fighting: but the prudent *Dictator* ⁹⁰ ordered Quarter to be offered to all that would lay down their Arms. Upon this therefore there was no more fighting: all submitted to the Conqueror, and were well satisfied, that they had saved their Lives. So that the City of *Sutri*, which was twice taken in one Day, was immediately restored to its Inhabitants, who did not wait for the Performance of the *Dictator's* Promises in vain. The Number of the *Hetrurian* Prisoners was so great, that *Camillus* was forced to canton them in the Villages round about *Rome*. And now, after these glorious Exploits, which were finished in so little time, *Camillus* had nothing more to do, but to return home, and enter *Rome* in Triumph, a third time. This Honour was decreed him on three different Accounts. 1. For having conquered the *Volsci*. 2. For having taken the capital City of the *Aequi*; and, 3. For having retaken *Sutri* from the *Hetrurians*. Some Historians indeed make *Camillus* to have had three several Triumphs successively, after this glorious Campaign: but it is a Mistake. The greatest Part of the Captives which graced his Procession, were *Hetrurians*; who were all sold, and Money enough raised thereby, to pay the *Roman* Ladies for all the Jewels which they had lent the Republick. And besides this, three Vases of Gold were purchased with the Remainder, *Camillus's* Name inscribed on them, and they placed at the Feet of the Statue of *Juno*, in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Then was the Glory of *Camillus* bright enough to obscure that of all his Rivals. These envious Men had hitherto ascribed the greatest Part of his Victories to Chance. But after these three last Expeditions, against three different Nations, who were partly overcome by Force, and partly by Conduct, Envy itself was silent, and honoured the superior Merit of the great *Camillus*. In his *Dictatorship* ⁹¹ the City was rebuilt, and repeopled. All the *Romans*, who had retired to *Veii*, to avoid the Trouble and Expence of rebuilding their Houses, were summoned to return to the Capital. At first indeed they murmured at it, and their Grumblings fell little short of a Sedition. But being at last ordered to return, and repopulate their old Habitations, by a certain Day, on Pain of Death; their Fears made them obedient; and *Rome*, in a Year's time, made as good a Figure as before.

Eutrop. B. 2.

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Camil.

⁹⁰ According to *Plutarch*, the greatest Part of the *Hetrurians* were surprized in the midst of Wine and good Cheer, and were put to the Sword, in the Houses, in *Sutri*.

⁹¹ *Livy* says, the Senate granted the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens, the same Year, to the *Veientes*,

Capenates, and *Falisci*, for their faithful Adherence to the Republick in the preceding War. They had all, continues he, fled to *Rome* for Refuge, and in Return for their Fidelity, Lands were assigned to every one of them.

§. XVI. WHEN the time came for new Elections, the Republick again chose itself six Governors, with the Title of *Military Tribunes*; whose Names were, ⁹² Q. *Quinctius*, Q. *Servius*, L. *Julius*, L. *Aquilius*, L. *Lucretius*, and Ser. *Sulpicius*. But it's probable there was some Defect, in Point of Religion, in the *Comitia*, wherein they were elected. At least we shall soon see them laying down their Office, out of Scruples, which the late Misfortunes made yet more common among the *Romans*. Nevertheless, Affairs abroad prospered, under the new Administration. Some *Roman* Troops were sent into the Country of the *Aequi*; not indeed to make War with them; they were already subdued; but to punish them with a general Devastation, and put it out of their Power to revolt. As to the *Hetrurians*, the *Romans* marched an Army into the *Lucumony* of the *Tarquinienses*; and took two Cities there, *Cortuosa* ⁹³ and *Contenebra*. These were both dismantled, and their very Names were so buried in Oblivion, that we don't find them mentioned by any Historians, or Geographers, who lived after they were destroyed. *Cortuosa* was taken by Surprise, and without any Opposition: but *Contenebra* sustained a Siege for some time; which the *Romans* pursued closely, Day and Night. They were divided into six Bodies, which relieved one another every six Hours, and gave the Besiegers no Respite. Being therefore worn out with the continual Attacks of so many Troops, which were always fresh, they at length surrendered. As to the Booty, the *Military Tribunes* intended to have appropriated it to the publick Treasury; but the Soldiers were too quick for them, and seized it.

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US, Q. SER-
VIUS, L. JU-
LIUS, L. AQUI-
LIUS, L. LU-
CRETIUS, SER.
SULPICIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.
Liv. B. 6. c. 4.

As the *Romans* were now in a building Humour, it was thought proper to repair the *Capitol*: and new Works were added to those Parts of the Hill, which were never before covered with Stones, and where the *Gauls* had endeavoured to scale the Citadel; by which they were rendered utterly unpassable. This Edifice was thought a beautiful one, even in the time ⁹⁴ of *Augustus*, after the City was full of pompous Decorations.

THE *Tribunes of the People* had now continued silent for some time. But they renewed their seditious Harangues, as soon as *Rome* was reinstated in her former flourishing Condition. *Camillus's* new Conquests furnished these factious Men with a Pretence for raising Disturbances. They revived the old Quarrels, about the Distribution of Lands. The *Pomptin* Territory, which had hitherto been struggled for, by the *Volsci* and *Romans*, was now no longer Matter of Dispute between them. *Rome* had taken Possession of it; but the *Patricians* had appropriated all the Lands of this new Conquest to themselves. The *Tribunes* therefore com-
Liv. B. 6. c. 5.
plained, *That the Nobility, ever covetous of appropriating Lands, which ought to be common, had taken Possession of them for themselves, exclusive of all others. At this rate, said they, we shall suffer more from the Usurpation of the Patricians, than we did from the Disputes we had with the Volsci, about the Property of this Territory. For we then, by Intervals, made Incursions into it, and brought away some Booty from it. But now these Lands are to be for ever plundered by Patricians only: And if we tamely suffer them to enjoy their Usurpations now, without demanding the Share which belongs to us, how can we ever hope to recover it afterwards?* However, these Declamations made but slight Impressions on the People. They were too much taken up with building their Houses, to attend to them, and came but in small Numbers to hear the Harangues of these Declaimers. Besides, the Citizens were so drained of their Money, that they had not enough left to cultivate new Farms, and stock them with Cattel: So that the *Tribunes* Project vanished. This was an ill chosen time for them to attempt to gain Weight and Authority

⁹² In the *Fasti Capitolini* we read, *Quintus Servilius*, Q. F. P. N. that is, the Son of *Quintus*, and Grandson of *Publius*. He was now *Military Tribune* the fifth time, according to these *Fasti*, which give him the two Surnames of *Priscus* and *Fidenas*. *Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus* was the Grandson of the famous *Dictator* of that Name. Of the other four *Military Tribunes*, L. *Julius*, L. *Aquilius*, L. *Lucretius*, and *Servius Sulpicius*, the first is surnamed *Inlus*, the second *Corvus*, the third *Tricipitinus*, and the fourth *Rufus*. But *Diodorus Siculus* differs from the *Fasti Capitolini*, both as to the *Prenomen*

of *Servilius*, whom he calls *Lucius*, and the Surname of *Lucretius*, whom he calls *Ancus*.

⁹³ Authors have not told us enough of the old Situation of *Cortuosa*, and *Contenebra*, to enable us to say exactly where those Cities stood. All we know of them is, that they belonged to the *Hetrurians*, and were not far from *Tarquini*.

⁹⁴ *Livy* tells us, that this Building was so beautiful, in his Time, as to deserve every Body's Notice. *Capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum est, opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspicuum.* B. 6. c. 4.

among

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXVI.
Q. QUINCTI-
us, &c. Mili-
tary Tribunes.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXVII.
L. PAPIRIUS,
C. SERGIUS,
L. ÆMILIUS,
L. MENENIUS,
L. VALERIUS,
C. CORNELI-
us, Military
Tribunes.

among the Multitude. As for the *Military Tribunes* ⁹⁵, they owned their Election had been defective; and lest the Irregularities of the former *Comitia* should be continued in succeeding ones, they voluntarily laid down their Office. So that, after a short *Interregnum*, in which *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Serv. Sulpicius*, and *L. Valerius Potitus*, governed the Republick, the Elections of supreme Magistrates came on for the ensuing Year.

§. XVII. WHEN the six *Military Tribunes*, ⁹⁶ *L. Papirius*, *C. Sergius*, *L. Æmilius*, *L. Menenius*, *L. Valerius*, and *C. Cornelius* were chosen, *Rome* was in Peace at home and abroad; and they were wholly employed in Works of Peace. In the time of the War with the *Gauls*, the *Romans* had made a Vow to erect a Temple to the God *Mars*: and *T. Quinctius*, one of the *Duumviri*, who presided over the Affairs of Religion, was now nominated to dedicate it. After this, the Number of the *Roman Tribes* was increased. The Right of Citizenship had indeed very lately been granted to the *Veientes*, *Capenates*, and *Falisci*, who had adhered to the *Romans*: but this was not all. The Republick assigned them Lands in the conquered Parts of *Hetruria*. And as there had hitherto been but ⁹⁷ few *Roman Tribes*,

⁹⁵ The *Romans*, terrified at the very Remembrance of their late Calamities, accused themselves of Negligence in the Worship of their Gods, and the Observation of those Ceremonies in which their Religion chiefly consisted. The Fear of provoking the Gods, and drawing down fresh Misfortunes on themselves for Want of Care in religious Concerns, made them carry their Cautions even to Superstition. The new *Military Tribunes* being prepossessed with these Notions, abdicated the Magistracy, out of an Opinion that their Election had been made against the Will of the Gods; that is, under inauspicious Omens. Indeed, the holding the *Comitia* was always preceded by, and attended with, some religious Observances, which were as follow. 1st. The Magistrate who presided in the Assembly, went to the *Capitol*, or some other Place within the *Pomerium*, or Inclosure of the City, and there, attended by the *Augur*, consulted the *Auguries*, before he went to the *Campus Martius*. And if the Observations were fortunate, the People were assembled to proceed to the Election of new Magistrates. If not, the *Comitia* were postponed to some other Day. 2^{dly}. The Candidates were obliged to wait for the *Augur's* Answer. *Those who are to enter upon any Office*, says *Dion. Hal.* *pass the Night in Tents, whence they go out at break of Day the next Morning, to repeat some Prayers in an open Place. Then the Augurs come and tell them what manifest Proofs Heaven has given of its rejecting or approving of their Election.* This Custom of consulting the Will of the Gods by *Auguries*, had long subsisted: But in the *Greek* Historian's Time it was nothing more than a mere Shadow of what it had been. The *Romans* being grown less scrupulous, had shaken off the Yoke of so troublesome a Law, which was a Restraint upon the Ambition of the Great. The *Augurs* were then consulted only for Form's sake: And they always return'd a favourable Answer, without making any Observations. But the Devotees among the Pagans lamented this disorderly Practice. They thought it the only Source of the Misfortunes with which the Republick was afflicted, from Time to Time, in the midst of its Prosperities. 3^{dly}. As the *Comitia* by *Curia*, and by *Centuries*, were both thought religious Assemblies by the *Romans*, they therefore prepared themselves for them, by Prayers, and publick Sacrifices, in order to secure the Protection of the Gods. 4^{thly}. The *Comitia* either by *Curia*, or *Centuries*, were interrupted, and postponed to another Day, if either any Person fell down of the Falling-Sickness, or the Thunder grumbled, or a Storm or Tempest happened, at the Time of their Deliberations. And lastly, the Assemblies of the People, and Elections of Magistrates were both subject to many trifling Observances before they could be deemed legal, the Folly of which

the *Romans* themselves acknowledge. But at the Time we are speaking of, all these were esteemed Parts of Religion; and ever since the taking of *Rome*, the People being become more fearful, multiplied their religious Duties, in Proportion as they advanced in Superstition. *In civitate plena religionum, tum etiam ab recenti clade superstitionis Principibus, ut renovarentur auspicia, res ad interregnum rediit*, says *Livy*, B. 6. c. 5.

⁹⁶ Neither *Livy* nor *Diodorus* give *L. Papirius* any Surname. *Pighius* and *Sigonius* say he was surnamed *Cursor*, and was the same with the *Censor* *L. Papirius Cursor*, who took the last *Census* of the People. *Diodorus* is mistaken in putting *Caius Servilius*, instead of *Caius Sergius*; as he also is, in making *L. Mallius* one of these *Military Tribunes*, instead of *Lucius Menenius Lanatus*. He likewise strikes *Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus*, who was now *Military Tribune* the second time, out of this List; and puts *Quintus Fabius* in his room. In the old Editions of *Livy*, we don't find the Name of *Caius Cornelius*, surnamed *Cossus*. He seems to have been the Son of *Cneius Cossus*, who had been twice *Military Tribune*. *L. Valerius Poplicola* was now created *Military Tribune* the third time, according to *Livy*; and *Diodorus* gives him the Name of *Valerius Aulus*.

⁹⁷ Besides the four *City-Tribes*, whose Extent and Situation we have already observed, *Servius Tullius* established also fifteen *Country-Tribes* in the *Roman Territory*. So that the whole Number, in his Reign, amounted to nineteen. And if we add to these nineteen, two others which *Livy* says were established in the Year 258. *Rome Tribus una & viginti factæ*, they will then be twenty one. To which if we add likewise the four new ones mentioned by the *Latin* Historian in this Place, that will bring them to twenty five, agreeably to the Remark of the same Writer, *Eæque viginti quinque Tribuum numerum explevere*. The Names of the *Country-Tribes*, according to their Seniority, as near as we can judge, are these. 1. THE TRIBE ROMULIA, which, according to *Festus* and *Varro*, lay West of the *Tyber*, in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. It contained the first Lands which *Romulus* gained by Conquest from the *Hetrurians*, and reached from the *Janiculus* to the Sea: *Diodorus* and *Strabo* agree, in giving it this Situation. 2. THE TRIBE LEMONIA, on the East Side of the *Tyber*. It took its Name from a Village near *Rome*, on the Side of the Gate *Capena*, on the great Road to the Country of the *Latins*. 3. THE TRIBE PUPINIA was in *Latium*, on the East Side of the *Tyber*, and at a little distance from the City, according to *Livy*, B. 36. and in the Neighbourhood of *Tusculum*, according to *Festus*. 4. THE TRIBE CLAUDIA, was one of the most ancient. It took its Name at first from the

Tribes, beyond the *Tyber*; which had a Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia*; there were four new ones now created, under the Names of the *Tribes*, *Stellatina*, *Tromentina*, *Sabatina*, and *Narniensis*. We may remember, that *Servius Tullius* instituted nineteen *Tribes* at first, four in the City, and fifteen in the Country: and we have seen, that two others were created in the Time of the Republick. So that if we add these four to the one and twenty ancient *Tribes*, the Number of the whole will be five and twenty, which all enjoyed the same Rights and Privileges. Those in the Country had as much Authority as those in the City; and all together made up that Body, which was called *The Roman People*, and *The Comitia by Tribes*. But in the mean time, the *Tribunes of the People* revived the Quarrel about the Distribution⁹⁸ of Lands. The Citizens were now more at leisure; so that they assembled to hear their *Tribunes*, in greater Numbers than they had done the Year before: and yet, which may seem very strange, no popular Faction then arose. Nevertheless, the Senate was divided into Parties. They received Advice, that the *Latins* and *Hernici* had taken up Arms, but they did not think them formidable enough to have a War declared with them; and were more intent upon the Motions of the *Hetrurians*, whose Ruin they were projecting.

§. XVIII. THE Expectation therefore of an approaching War, made the *Centuries* chuse *Camillus* again, for one of the six *Military Tribunes*, for the next Year. The

Place in which it lay: but afterwards it changed it, for the Name of the *Claudian* Family; which was incorporated into this *Tribe*, when the Head of that Family, *Atius Clausus*, since called *Appius Claudius*, retired to *Rome*; with his Attendants, who obtained of the Republick, Lands for them to cultivate, in one of the most antient *Tribes* beyond the *Teverone*. 5. THE *TRIBE PAPYRIA*, and its Territory, lay on the Side of *Tusculum*, near the *Tribe Papiria*. At least, *Festus* tells us, That these two *Tribes* were so near one another, that they often came to Blows about their Limits. THE *TRIBES* 6. *ÆMILIA*, 7. *CORNELIA*, 8. *FABIA*, 9. *MENENIA*, 10. *POLLIA*, 11. *VOLTINIA*, 12. *GALERIA*, 13. *HORATIA*, 14. *SERGIA*, and 15. *VETURIA*, lost their old Names, which they had taken from the Places in which they lay, to assume those of the Families, which were as it were the Patrons, and most considerable Members, of them. All we know of their Situation, is, that they lay in the *Roman* Territory, some in *Latium*, others in *Sabinia*, and some in a Canton of *Hetruria*, which bordered upon the *Tyber*, and was called *Septem Pagium*, that is, *The seven Villages*; which the *Lucumony* of the *Veientes* had formerly yielded to *Romulus*. They lay between *Veii*, the *Tyber*, the Sea, and the River *Aron*. 16. THE *TRIBE CRUSTUMINA*, so called from the City of *Crustumium*, in the Country of the *Sabines*. *Festus* indeed places it in *Tuscany*, near a City of the same Name; but his Testimony is not of more Weight than *Livy's*, who makes *Spurius Ligustinus* speak thus, B. 42. *Spurius Ligustinus, Tribus Crustumina, ex Sabinis sum oriundus*. 17. THE *TRIBE VEIENTINA*, beyond the *Tyber*, in that Part of *Tuscany*, which the *Romans* had made themselves Masters of, before the Conquest of *Veii*. *Veientina Tribus, a Veii Urbe dicta, licet nondum esset a Romanis oppugnata Festus*. 18. THE *TRIBE STELLATINA*, was so called from the Name of a little Country in *Hetruria*, near *Capena*, a little beyond *Veii*, which the *Romans* had already conquered some Years since. They, who place it in the Neighbourhood of *Stellata*, a City of *Campania*, don't consider, that the Republick had not yet extended its Conquests so far. *Stellatina Tribus dicta non est a Campo, qui est in Campania, sed eo qui est in Etruria, Regione Capena, ex quo Tusci profectum Campum Stellatam appellaverunt Festus*. 19. THE *TRIBE TROMENTINA*. We know not either the true Situation of this *Tribe*, or of the *Tromentin* Territory, or Field, which gave Name to it. All we know, is, that it was a Part of *Tuscany*. *Tromentina Tribus a Campo Tromentino dicta Festus*. 20. THE *TRIBE OF THE NAR*, *Tri-*

bus Narniensis. In most Editions of *Livy*, we read *Tribus Arniensis*, THE *TRIBE OF THE ARNE*. But it's certain the *Romans* had not penetrated so far as to the River *Arne*. For this Reason, modern Authors have put *Narniensis*, instead of *Arniensis*. Nevertheless, if they would justify their Correction, they ought to have shewn, that the Republick already reached to the Banks of the *Nar*; but of this neither do any of the Historians of old *Rome* furnish them with any Proof, nor can they draw any from old Inscriptions, wherein we don't find *The Tribe of Nar* so much as once named. Some therefore guess, it should not be *Arniensis*, but *Axiensis*; THE *TRIBE AXIA*: which, say they, lay near a City of that Name, in the Territory of *Tarquinius*. Whilst others pretend, that the *Tribe* *Livy* here speaks of, was THE *TRIBE OF THE ANIO*, *Tribus Aniensis*, and not *Arniensis*. 1. Because the Copyists might easily mistake, in putting one of these Words for the other, since they are so very much alike. 2. Because it is certain the *Romans* had Lands on the Banks of the *Anio*, at that time. 3. Because all Authors agree, that *The Tribe of the Anio* was one of the thirty five *Tribes*, whereas they don't mention *The Tribe of the Nar*. 4. Because it is certain there was another *Tribe*, which bore the Name of *Arniensis*. Now it appears, that the *Romans* had not yet made any Conquests on the Banks of the *Arne*, in the Year 367. This *Tribe* therefore was of later Date than *The Tribe of the Anio*. 5. Because, say the Authors of this Opinion, *The Tribe of the Arne* was the last, and farthest distant from *Rome*, of any of the *Country-Tribes*; grounding themselves upon this Passage of *Cicero*, against *Rullus*: *A suburrana usque ad Arniensem*. Whence it will follow, that it was of later date than *The Tribe of the Anio*. But the Reader is left to his own Judgment in this Matter. Our Rule, amidst this Confusion, was to follow the most correct Editions of *Livy*. 21. THE *TRIBE SABATINA* possessed a Part of *Tuscany*, between *Suturi*, and the Sea, near the Lake formerly called *Lacus Sabatinus*, now *Lagodi Bracciano*. Some Authors mention a City of *Sabatium*, situated on the same Lake: but there are now no Footsteps of it remaining. *Sabatina Tribus, a Lacu Sabatino qui est in Etruria, juxta mare, ad quinque millia*. We shall speak of the ten other *Tribes* which were added to the twenty five here mentioned, in their proper Place, according to their Date.

98 The Distribution here spoken of, was the Distribution of the Lands in the *Pomptin* Territory. *L. Sicinius*, then *Tribune of the People*, was the most zealous Prosecutor of this Affair in favour of the Commons.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXVII.
L. PAPIRIUS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXVIII.
M. FURIUS
CAMILLUS,
SER. CORNELIUS,
Q. SERVILIUS, L.
QUINCTIUS,
L. HORATIUS,
P. VALERIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXVIII.

M. FURIUS
CAMILLUS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.

five Collegues they gave him, were 99 *Serv. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Horatius*, and *P. Valerius*. They were all Men of Moderation, who knew how to do both themselves and *Camillus* Justice. We have observed, that it was already resolved to turn the Arms of the Republick against the *Hetrurians*. But News came from the *Pomptin* Territory, which altered that Design. Those *Romans* who had made themselves Masters of it, had been obliged to quit it, and brought Advice to *Rome*, that the *Antiates* had entred it in Arms, and the *Latins* permitted their Youth to come and commit Hostilities there. And the Republick was not yet in a Condition to neglect the least Motions towards a War. However, it rejoiced exceedingly, that *Camillus* was in the Administration; because if he had not been *Military Tribune*, there would have been a Necessity of creating him *Dictator*. Indeed *Camillus* became so now in effect; tho' he had not the Title, he discharged the chief Part of that Office. His Collegues agreed, that it was necessary to invest him with the sole Management of Affairs in time of War; and declared they thought it no Dishonour to themselves, to transfer their Honour, and all their Power, into the Hands of so great a Man. It was in full Senate, that the five *Military Tribunes* thus sacrificed their own Interests to the Glory of *Camillus*, and the Good of the Publick. But he, who did not expect this, was confounded at the Deference they paid him, and replied; *What Obligations are you now laying me under, Conscript Fathers! and what a Weight are you, my illustrious Collegues, loading me with! This is putting me under a Necessity of making new Attempts at least to improve my past Labours and former Vigilance, in order to answer the Expectations of the Republick, and the Esteem of the City and the Senate. I am well satisfied, we have not much to fear from a War with the Antiates; but I am at the same time convinced, that this is not a time for Rome to neglect any thing, considering to what her late Misfortunes reduced her, and her later Victories have raised her. Hatred and Jealousy surround us; and one Army is not sufficient to preserve us. We must divide our Forces, and form several Camps, in order to oppose the Attempts of the several Nations which are our Enemies.* This said, the new *Dictator*, if we may call him so, immediately allotted each of the five *Military Tribunes* his Collegues, a different Employment, suitable to his Rank. He chose to join *P. Valerius* with himself, in the Command of the Army he was going to lead against the *Antiates*. *Q. Servilius* was placed at the Head of a Body of Troops, which were to continue in *Rome*, and be in continual readiness to march upon the first notice, either against the *Hetrurians*, or the *Latins* and *Hernici*, in case they began to move. The third Army wholly consisted of old Men, and those Citizens 100, whose Infirmities excused them from taking the Field: and the Command of them was given to *L. Quinctius*, whose Business it was to guard the Walls of the City. *L. Horatius's* Office was to furnish the Troops with Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions. And lastly, the Superintendency of civil Affairs, the *Comitia*, the Laws, and Religion, was left to *Serv. Cornelius*. So that, none of the *Military Tribunes*, who had in some sort divested themselves of their Power in favour of *Camillus*, was left without an Employment: and they all joyfully accepted the Provinces *Camillus* assigned them. Only *P. Valerius* refused to put himself upon an equal Foot with *Camillus* in the Command of the Army. *You shall be my Dictator*, said he to him, *and I will serve under you, as your General of Horse.*

THIS great Complaisance, which was founded in the vast Esteem *Camillus* was then in, turned to the Advantage of the Republick. He marched against the Enemies of *Rome*, and was absolute Master of his Troops. The *Antiates*, in Con-

Liv. B.6.c.7.

99 This was *Camillus's* fourth *Military Tribuneship*, and not his fifth, as some Authors compute it to be. *Servius Cornelius*, surnamed *Maluginensis*, was now elected the second time. *Q. Servilius Priscus* was now made *Military Tribune* the sixth time. The Surname of *Fidenas* was transmitted to him from his Father *Q. Servilius Priscus*. The latter had been twice *Dictator*, and acquired that Surname by the Conquest of *Fidene*. *Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus* is supposed to have been the Brother of *T. Cincinnatus*, who was *Military Tribune* in the Year 366. *L. Horatius* has the Surname of *Pulvillus*, in the *Fasti Consulares*. *Publius Valerius Po-*

tius Poplicola, was the Son of *L. Valerius Potius*, who was *Consul* with *Marcus Manlius*, and General of Horse, in *Camillus's* second *Dictatorship*. *Diodorus* mentions but four *Military Tribunes* for this Year, *Serv. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *M. Furius*, and *L. Quinctius*.

100 The Soldiers who were dismissed the Service on the account of Sickness, were called *Canisani Milites*; whereby they were distinguished both from those, who had served their full Term of Years, and had a Right to retire; and from those who were turned out of the Army, with Discharge.

junction with the *Latins* and *Hernici*, were assembled near *Satricum*. Their Army was numerous, because their Youth were greatly multiplied during the Peace: and this prodigious Number of Enemies gave the *Romans* at first some Terror. The inferior Officers of the Army perceived it. They saw, by the Words and Looks of the Soldiers, as they were drawing them up, that they were terrified: Which being told *Camillus* the General, he instantly mounted his Horse, rode through all the Ranks of his Army, and looking his Soldiers in the Face, said to them: *Fellow-Soldiers, why don't I see that Joy and Desire of fighting in your Looks, which you used to have? Have you forgotten who I am, who you yourselves, and who your Enemies, are? Have not the Volsci and Latins been the Occasions of your gaining immortal Fame? Have you not conquered Veii, beaten the Gauls, and delivered Rome, under my Command? Did you not, in the very last Victories you gained under me, vanquish these very Volsci you are now afraid of, and the Hetrurians with them? Am I not Camillus, because I have not the Title of Dictator? Be assured, neither Honours nor Banishment make any Alteration in me. I am still Camillus, you are Romans, and our Enemies are Volsci. The War is the same with former ones, and why then should the Success be different? Do you but attack the Enemy, and we shall succeed, as usual. You will conquer, and they will fly.* As soon as he had said this, *Camillus* dismounted, took the next Standard-bearer to him by the Hand, led him towards the Enemy, and cried, *Soldiers, advance.* A noble Example, which raised all their Courage! They were ashamed not to follow through any Danger, a General who was already advanced in Years, and exposed himself to the first Attack. The *Romans*, after they had made a great Shout, came to the Charge, and mutually encouraged one another to fight; crying, *March, Follow the General.* Nor was this all. A Standard was thrown into the middle of the Enemy's Battalions, by *Camillus's* Order: which made the Soldiers who were fighting in the first Ranks earnest to recover it. Then the *Antiates* gave way on the Right; and their Fears, spreading from Line to Line, affected even the *Corps-de-reserve*. *Camillus's* Presence, who appeared every where, terrified the Enemy more than all the Bravery of his Soldiers. Wherever he came, Victory followed him. But whilst he was in the Right Wing, his Left suffered; he therefore mounted his Horse again, hastened thither, shew'd himself there armed with a Foot-Soldier's Buckler, and told his *Romans* the Advantages his Right Wing had gained. Upon this, the Battel was renewed, and the Enemy were ready to disperse, when suddenly a Storm came upon them; and was the sole Occasion of the *Romans* not reaping the Fruits of a complete Victory. The Enemy was so pent up, that it was difficult for them to make their Escape; and the *Romans* were so fatigued, that they were not able to kill the Fugitives. *Camillus* therefore sounded a Retreat, and in the Night, some of those of his Enemies, whom the Sword had spared, fled. The *Latins* and *Hernici* separated from the *Volsci*, returned home, and by their sudden leaving the Confederacy, shewed that their ill Success had made them repent of their ill Designs. The *Volsci* alone continued in their Camp, and had no other Refuge, but to retire to some Place of Safety. The City of *Satricum* therefore being near at hand, they took Refuge there: but its Ramparts were too weak Obstacles to stop the General's Progress. He immediately surrounded *Satricum*, and threw up Lines of Circumvallation about it. And then finding that the Besieged had neither Courage enough to make Sallies, or to be brought to a Battel, he hastned the taking of the City. *Romans*, said he to his Soldiers, *have you a mind to make this Siege as tedious as that of Veii was? Let us subdue the Place immediately. It is easy to do so, if your Courage be as great as the Fears of the Enemy.* *Camillus* is believed and obeyed. The *Romans* scale the Walls on all Sides, and the City is soon taken by Assault. The *Volsci* throw down their Arms, and surrender at Discretion.

THE General had also formed a more important Design than this, which was to besiege the rebellious City of *Antium*, which had been the Occasion of the War: but he wanted Ammunitions and Machines for so great an Enterprize. He therefore quitted the Army, left it under the Command of his Colleague *Valerius*, and returned to *Rome*, to solicit the Senate's Consent for going on this designed Expedition, and to get Provisions and proper military Instruments for it. But whilst he was proposing this Affair to the Senate, some Deputies arrived from *Nepete*

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Tribunes.

Nepete ¹⁰¹ and *Sutri*, two Cities in Alliance with *Rome*, in the Neighbourhood of the *Hetrurians*. They demanded Succours against the *Hetrurians*, who were assembled together under Arms, in order to invade these two Frontier Towns. These Places were as it were the Keys of *Hetruria*, and the Bulwarks of the *Romans*. So that these new Difficulties made it necessary to employ the Troops of the Republick, and *Camillus's* Valour, on that Side. Nothing more was said of *Antium*. The Senate prevailed on the General to march an Army against the *Hetrurians*, and the Troops assigned him were those which *Servilius* ¹⁰² had commanded in *Rome*, and kept in a readiness to march on any Emergency. *Camillus* would much rather have led the same Army into *Hetruria*, which had just been victorious under his Command; but he submitted to the Inclinations of the Senate, with this only Proviso, that *Valerius* should likewise be joined with him in the Command of the new Body of Troops committed to his Conduct. So that ¹⁰³ *Quinctius* and *Horatius* were put at the Head of the victorious Army, which *Camillus* had left in the Territories of the *Volscei*.

CAMILLUS and *Valerius* set out for the new War: and upon their Arrival they found *Sutri* not only besieged, but half taken. The *Hetrurians* had made themselves Masters of some of the Gates; and the Inhabitants in the Heart of the City, had no other Way left to defend themselves, but by the Barricadoes which they had made in the Streets. The Enemy had taken Possession of all the Avenues behind them: So that the *Sutrimi* were scarce in a Condition, either of holding out any long time against the Enemy, or of receiving any Succours from their Allies. But nevertheless, as soon as they heard *Camillus* was come to their Relief, the very Name of so great a General gave them new Life, whilst the *Hetrurians* on the other hand pressed upon the Besieged with less Vigour than before. *Camillus*, in the mean time, divided his Army into two Bodies. With one of these he ordered *Valerius* to march round the Walls, and make a Feint of scaling them; not with any real Intent to enter the City that Way, but only to terrify the *Hetrurians*, and by attacking them in Front, to force them to give the *Sutrimi* (who were attacked by them) time to breathe. With the other, *Camillus* himself undertook to charge the Enemy in the Rear, force his Way into the City, and shut in the Enemy between the Besieged and Him. A Design, which was not only very prudent in itself, but executed with equal Expedition. The *Romans* appeared scaling the Walls on one Side of the City, and at the same time entring it, in Order of Battel, on the other. Upon which, the Fright of the *Hetrurians* was general. They fled away in Crowds through a Gate which was not invested. *Camillus's* Troops made a great Slaughter of them within the City; whilst *Valerius* put great Numbers of the Fugitives to the Sword, in the Country; and continued cutting them in pieces, till the Night hid them from him.

THEN, from reconquering *Sutri*, *Camillus* fled to the Deliverance of *Nepete*. But this second Enterprize seemed more difficult than the former. *Nepete* had voluntarily surrendered to the *Hetrurians*, and was become absolutely subject to them; before which it had been a free City. So that it was necessary, in order to proceed equitably, that *Camillus* should begin with Negotiations, before he came to open Violence. And therefore a Message was sent to the chief Men of the Country, to know of them, whether they preferred their old Alliance with the *Romans*, to the late Treaty they had made with the *Hetrurians*, or not. To which they returning

¹⁰¹ *Nepete*, now *Nepi*, lay on the Borders of the Countries of the *Falisci* and *Veientes*. It stood in that Part of old *Hetruria*, which is now Part of *The Patrimony of St. Peter*.

¹⁰² According to *Livy*, the Troops assigned over to *Camillus*, were those which had been before commanded by *Quinctius* the *Military Tribune*, and not those which had been under *Servilius's* Command. But this is evidently a Mistake of the Copyist, who took *Lucius Quinctius* for *Quintus Servilius*. The Body commanded by *Quinctius*, consisted, according to *Livy's* own Account, only of old Men, and such Soldiers as were very unfit to support the Fatigues and Labours of military Services, by reason of their Infirmities. It is not therefore probable, that the Senate should make so odd a

Choice, for so important an Expedition, as that which the Republick was proposing to carry on against the *Hetrurians*, and had much at heart. But the most rational Account to be given of it, is, that *Camillus* had the Conduct of those Troops committed to him, which had continued in *Rome*, under *Servilius's* Command, in order to be ready to march on the first Summons, either against the *Hetrurians*, or against the *Latins* and the *Hernici*. Besides, it is evident from what follows, that *Quinctius* was sent against the *Volscei* with *Horatius*.

¹⁰³ *Quinctius Horatiusque successores Valerio in Volsceis missi*, says *Livy*, B. 6. ch. 9. This confirms our Observation above. It is probable, *Quintus Servilius* took the Command of the Troops, which were before commanded by *Quinctius*.

only this ambiguous Answer, *We are not our own Masters, the Hettrurians are in Possession of our Gates and Ramparts*: the Romans began with laying their Territory waste. But these Hostilities did not move the Inhabitants. They appeared to be better affected to the *Hetrurians* than the *Romans*. It was therefore necessary to bring up the Troops against this faithless City. Accordingly, Fascines were cut in a neighbouring Forest, the Ditches filled with them, and the Walls scaled. And the Ardour of the *Romans* was so great, upon the first Shout they made to encourage one another to the Attack, that the City was almost as soon taken, as assaulted. But the *Hetrurian* Garrison, and the Citizens, were very differently treated. The *Hetrurian* Soldiers were all put to the Sword, without Distinction. As for the *Nepefimi*, the Citizens who had had no hand in surrendering the City, had their Lives and Effects given them. The Authors of the Revolt died by the Axes of the *Lictors*. Such was the glorious Campaign, which continued to aggrandize the Name of the illustrious *Camillus*: But tho' it was distinguished by Victories and Conquest, no Triumph followed: Which we are doubtless to ascribe to the Modesty of the General, who was not forward in asking an Honour which he could not share with his Collegues, whose Esteem and Moderation had contributed so much to his Glory. Nevertheless, this was a great and memorable Year for the Republick; insomuch, that the People at *Rome* readily declared, that if they had always had such Magistrates as *Camillus* and his Collegues, they should never have been under any Necessity of creating *Dictators*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXVIII.
M. FURIUS
CAMILLUS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.

§. XIX. BUT as well established as *Camillus's* Reputation was, he had a Rival in *Rome*. *M. Manlius*, who was surnamed *Capitolinus*, for two Reasons, both because his Family lived in the *Capitol*, and because he had preserved this Citadel from being surprized by the *Gauls*, could not bear to see his Glory obscured by that of *Camillus*. Nay, *Manlius's* Ambition carried him so far, as to make him desirous of becoming absolute Master of the Republick; but the Superiority he was for assuming, was opposed by a greater Hero than himself. The artful *Manlius* had already attempted to seduce the People, and bring them into his Measures, before *Camillus's* Office expired. He was become the Protector of all People over-run with Debt. As the necessary Expences of rebuilding their Houses had exhausted every Man's Purse, several were forced to live upon Credit. And all Debtors (who were innumerable) found a ready Help in the Patronage of this illustrious *Patrician*, who either paid their Debts, or gave Security for them. These were the first Steps *Manlius* took toward that Tyranny which he attempted to usurp. His Design appeared indeed but faintly, in this fourth *Tribuneship* of *Camillus*; but it afterwards became more notorious, and we shall see it at last punished by that very Hero, whom he intended to involve in the same Ruin with the Republick.

Plut. Life of
Camil.

HOWEVER, *Camillus's* *Tribuneship* did not end till he had obtained Satisfaction of the *Latins* and *Hernici*. These old Allies had lately given but too plain Proofs of their Unfaithfulness, by taking up Arms against *Rome*. They were therefore summoned to shew Cause, why they had for some Years neglected to supply the Republick with the Number of Troops they were obliged by their Conventions to furnish. Upon which, the Diets of both Nations were assembled. The *Roman* Deputies complained to them, that their Youth had joined with the *Volsci*, in committing Hostilities against the *Romans*: And their Fears dictated to the two Nations, the following submissive Answer. *The ungovernable young Fellows who followed the Standards of the Volsci, did it, without either the Authority, or the Consent, of the Publick. And they have accordingly suffered the Punishment they deserved. Not one of them is returned to his Father's House. And if our Troops have not served in the Roman Armies in the late Wars, as usual, it was only because they were wholly taken up with preserving our own Lands from the Invasion of the Volsci. The Neighbourhood of these People has been an incessant Plague to us.* The Senate were very willing to accept of this Excuse, tho' they thought it but a Subterfuge. There was indeed just Cause given for a War with these faithless Allies; but this was not a Time for the Republick needlessly to multiply Enemies. Thus ended one of *Camillus's* *Military Tribuneships*, which brought him as much Honour as the most glorious of his *Dictatorships*.

Liv. B. 6. c. 10.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXIX.
A. MANLIUS,
P. CORNELIUS,
T. QUINCTI-
US, L. QUINC-
TIUS, L. PAPI-
RIUS, and C.
SERGIUS, Mi-
litary Tri-
bunes.
Liv. B. 6. c. 11.

§. XX. The next Year the *Romans* chose six other *Military Tribunes* to govern the Republick, whose ¹⁰⁴ Names were, *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *T. Quinctius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Papirius*, and *C. Sergius*. And now, the factious *Manlius* thinking this Administration less formidable than the preceding, openly vented his Spleen against *Camillus*, and made fresh Attempts upon the Republick. He gave his Jealousy its free Course. He complained, that *Camillus* only had been at the Helm of Government, and the Head of Armies. *His Colleagues*, said he, *were no more than Subalterns to him, and subject to his Will and Pleasure. And after all, his greatest Glory is his having recovered Rome out of the Hands of the Gauls; which he could never have done, if I had not first saved the Capitol. So that his Glory is founded upon mine. Nor did he conquer the Gauls, till they had been tired with a long Siege, and were taking Money to retreat. But I repulsed them from the Capitol, when they were most flush'd with Success. A whole Army shared Camillus's Victory with him; Manlius had no Companion in his.* To which Words, he added seditious Actions. When he thought his Credit sufficiently established, he entered into the Faction of the *Tribunes of the People*. Tho' a *Patrician*, he was no longer a zealous Advocate for the *Patrician* Party; but was now become wholly *Plebeian*. He inveighed against the Nobility. He was captivated with the Love of Applause, and no longer hearkened to Reason. He little regarded a good Reputation, provided only he became popular. He espoused the Cause of the Citizens, against the Nobility, in the Affair of the Distribution of Lands. And lastly, *Manlius* still continued to relieve all those who were kept in Slavery for their Debts. He opposed the Rich, whenever they seized their Debtors; and set at Liberty those who were already in Chains. So that he was always attended by a Company of ruined, insolvent, and factious People.

Plut. Life of
Cam.

THESE Steps therefore made *Manlius's* Conduct suspected: and it being necessary to stop him in his Career, and prevent the ill Consequences of his Proceedings; the Senate, in order to this, created a *Dictator*. Indeed the Army which the *Volsci* had just then raised, furnished them with a specious Pretence for taking these Measures; but the true Cause of this new Creation, was the Disturbance *Manlius* had made. The *Dictator* ¹⁰⁵ chosen, was *Aul. Cornelius Cossus*, who made *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus* his General of Horse. By which it appears, that the *Manlian* was not the only Family which had the Surname of *Capitolinus*. Probably a Branch of the *Quinctian* Family had also a House upon the *Capitol*.

Liv. B. 6. c. 11.

THEN *Cossus* and *Quinctius* set out from *Rome* to make War on the *Volsci*. It is indeed surprizing, that a Nation which had been so often beaten, and so often subdued, should not yet be exhausted of Soldiers. But it may be said, that their Obstinacy supported them: And it is probable, That each of the Cantons of this little Country must have been exceeding populous; and That they never brought all the Forces of the whole Nation into the Field together; but let one Part rest, and recover its Losses, while the other went to War. The *Rendez-vous* the *Volsci* appointed for their Troops was in the *Promptin* Territory; where they were to meet a Party of those very *Latins* and *Hernici*, who had not dared declare themselves Enemies to *Rome* in a national Body, when *Camillus* was in Office. Some *Circenses*, and some of the Inhabitants of *Velitræ* had likewise joined the *Volsci*, whose Army was by this means considerably more numerous than that of the *Romans*. Nevertheless, the *Dictator Cossus* came and encamped in the *Promptin* Territory; and gave himself but one Day's time to form his Camp, before he came to a Battel. The next Day, after he had consulted the *Auguries*, and offered Sacrifices to the Gods, he assembled his Soldiers, to whom he had given notice of the Battel overnight; and bespoke them thus. *If the Diviners can foretel future things, the Victory is ours. Let then this certain Hope raise your Courage. You need not make use of your Javelins and Darts against so weak an Enemy; use only your Swords. Let us keep our Ranks close and in good Order, and receive their first Onset without*

¹⁰⁴ *Aulus Manlius Capitolinus*, *Publius Cornelius Cossus*, *Lucius Papirius Cursor*, and *Caius Sergius*, who is surnamed *Fidenas*, in the *Fasti Capitolini*, were now raised to the Dignity of *Military Tribunes* a second time. The *Fasti Capitolini* give both *Titus Quinctius* and *Lucius Quinctius*, the Surname of *Capitolinus*.

¹⁰⁵ Which shall we believe, *Livy*, or *Plutarch*? According to the former, *Aulus Cornelius Cossus* was created *Dictator*; according to the latter, *Quinctius Capitolinus*. But the Authority of the *Fasti Capitolini*, which agrees with *Livy*, takes away all Doubt which Opinion to receive.

stirring. After that, let us brandish our Swords, and cut our Aggressors in pieces, as soon as they have thrown their Javelins. As for you, Quinctius, do you restrain the Ardor of your Cavalry, till the first Attack is over. Don't suffer them to strike a Stroke, till the Enemy has already taken a Fright, and is easily susceptible of fresh Terror: and then break into the intimidated Battalions. Accordingly the General's Orders were exactly observed; and the Success was answerable to the Expectations he had given his *Romans*. The *Volsci*, whose whole Dependence was on the Multitude of their Soldiers, engaged inconsiderately, and retired as hastily. They, by their Shouts, expressed some Ardor for fighting, when they first began to throw their Darts; but it abated when they came within reach of the Enemy. The Looks of the *Romans*, the Fire which sparkled in their Eyes, their Intrepidity, and their Skill and Experience in handling the Sword, filled the *Volsci* with Terror. Their first Line was immediately disordered, and the Fright communicated itself to the hindmost Ranks. Then the *Roman* Cavalry began to move. The Enemy's Battalions were broken through, and all the *Volscian* Army gave way. All fled, threw down their Arms, and dispersed. The Slaughter which was made of them in the hindmost, as well as the foremost Ranks, produced a general Rout. Upon which *Quinctius* ordered his Horse not to lose time in killing the Fugitives, but only to wheel round them, inclose them in Circles, and give the victorious Infantry time to come up, and complete their Victory. In this manner the *Volsci* were pursued by some, till Night came on; whilst others forced their Camp, and plundered it. All the Booty taken in it was given to the Soldiers, except the Prisoners, who were sold for the Benefit of the Publick. And now the unfaithful Proceedings of the *Latins* and *Hernici*, and the Perfidiousness of the *Circenses*, and the Inhabitants of *Velitræ* were discovered. There were great Numbers of them among the Captives; and these not only loose young Fellows, and mercenary Soldiers, but Officers and Leaders. They were all sent to *Rome*; and by interrogating them, it appeared, that their whole Nations and entire Cities had revolted.

§.XXI. THE *Dictator* therefore would fain have left his Troops in the Country of the *Volsci*; but the Disturbances the factious *Manlius* raised in the City, called him back thither without delay. It was necessary to examine into the Designs of an ambitious Man, whose Popularity became dangerous. It had lately happened, that a Creditor had seized an old *Centurion* for Debt, who was a Man of Courage, but insolvent: And as the Officer was leading him to Prison, according to his Sentence, *Manlius* and his seditious Company met them. Upon which, he began with inveighing against the Pride of the *Patricians*. Then he exclaimed against the Rich, who lent Money upon Interest. He exaggerated the Misery of the People: but expatiated more upon the Merit of this poor Debtor. *What signifies my having saved the Capitol, says Manlius, if more cruel Enemies than the Gauls are suffered to rob me of a brave and faithful Companion in Battel, and reduce him to Slavery?*

NOR did *Manlius* confine himself to Words. In the Presence of the Officer and five Witnesses, he paid the Debt the *Centurion* owed. And he, as soon as delivered out of his Creditor's Hands, was admitted to be one of that seditious Company which was *Manlius's* Guard; and his Gratitude to his Benefactor made him more turbulent than any of the rest. He was continually shewing the People the Wounds he had received in Battels with the *Veientes*, the *Gauls*, and the *Volsci*. *I was ruined myself, said he, whilst I was defending your Houses and Estates. The Interest I was forced to pay, sunk me; and the Usury which was extorted from me, continually disabled me from paying what I had borrowed. I had been utterly lost, if Manlius had not restored me my Patrimony. To him I owe the free Air I breathe, and the Light I enjoy. To him only therefore I devote the Remainder of my Life and Strength. I transfer over to him all the Right my Country or my Household Gods have in me.* These too warm Protestations of a blind Devotion, gave Umbrage in a Republican State, where People were always upon their Guard against any thing that tended to Monarchy. But besides this, *Manlius* made a still greater Discovery of his Designs, by a yet more extravagant Act of Popularity. He had some Lands in the Territory of *Veii*, which were his Patrimony. These he sold by Auction, and declared to the People, that he would apply the Whole to paying the Debts of all insolvent Persons.

THESE

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C. Military
Tribunes.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXIX.
A. MANLIUS,
Gr. Military
Tribunes.

THESE Bounties made so strong an Impression on the Multitude, that they seemed ready to back him in any Enterprize he should undertake, how unjust soever. Besides which, all his Discourses in his own House tended only to decry the *Patricians* and the Senate. He did not trouble himself about the Truth of the Crimes he laid to their Charge, provided he did but make them odious. *Is it not enough,* said he, *that the Nobility rob the People of their Right to a Share in the conquered Lands? Must they likewise hide from them the Treasures, which were going to be paid the Gauls, and which our Citizens are disappointed of? The Sum the Enemy demanded, was raised by publick Contributions. But this Gold has since disappeared. The Senate conceals it, in order to make it their own Booty. I will, in a proper time, shew you the Place where they avaritiously keep it in Store.* Manlius indeed, by promising to shew the Place where the Money was hid, exposed himself to great Danger from the Senate, if this Declaration should prove false; and was sure of gaining as much Honour among the People, if it proved true. But this seditious Man did not consider Things in this Light. It served his present Purpose, to impose on the People for a Time, and he did not regard displeasing the Senators.

THIS was the Situation of Affairs at Rome, when the *Dictator Cossus* returned thither. He therefore postponed his Triumph, till after he had re-established the publick Tranquillity. He made it his first Business to assemble the Senate; and found *The Fathers* much inclined to suppress Manlius's Insolence. Upon which, the *Dictator* exhorted them to stand by him in the Enterprize he was going upon. Attended by the Senators, he ordered his Tribunal to be placed in that Part of the *Forum* where the *Comitia* were held, and sent a Summons to Manlius to come and appear before him. Accordingly, this Mover of Sedition obeyed; but not without his usual Attendants, whom he desired to prepare for an Engagement. In this manner he appeared before his Judge. The Assembly looked like two Armies drawn up in Battalia against one another. On one hand, the People's Eyes were wholly fixed on Manlius their Head: whilst the *Patricians*, on the other, looked very steadfastly on Cossus. When Silence was made, the *Dictator* thus addressed himself to Manlius. *I heartily wish it was as easy to put an end to the Disputes between the Senate and People, as to that I am now going to enter into with you. One plain direct Answer will compose our Differences. You have been heard to say, that the Senate conceals the Sum formerly collected to redeem the Capitol, and that it would be easy to discharge the Debts of our insolvent Citizens with that Money. And I am far from desiring to hinder so great a Benefaction to the People. On the contrary, I advise you to do this great Piece of Service to the Republick. You say, you have found out an effectual Way to extricate Debtors out of their Difficulties. Put it in Practice then. Declare who are the Persons which have concealed that Money which is hid from us. If not, you must expect to be carried to Prison, either as an Accomplice in a Robbery you are privy to, or for being the Author of a false Report. I will not suffer the People to be abused with vain Hopes any longer.* Manlius heard this Discourse with Composure, and coldly replied: *I find I was not mistaken, in being of opinion, that the Republick nominated a Dictator, not so much to act against the Volsci, as against Manlius. The foreign War was only a Pretence for it; and is soon ended, with a View to falling upon me. The Dictator openly espouses the Usurpers Cause, to the great Detriment of the People. The Affection the People have for me, is charged upon me as a Crime. Why does not Cossus himself, why don't the Senators employ their Wealth also, in relieving the Miseries of the Multitude, and deliver these great Numbers of miserable Debtors from Prison and Slavery, with their Superfluities? But what am I saying? You need do no more than reduce what these Insolvents owe, to their principal Sums. You will then be attended by as numerous a Company as I am. You say, I am the only Man the Multitude follows. True; and was not I the only Man who saved the Capitol? The same Zeal which prompted me to fight then for the Good of the Publick, excites me to consult the Interest of Individuals. You say, you would have me declare exactly where the Treasure is hid, which was collected to deliver us from the Gauls. But does it belong to me, or yourselves, to answer this Question? You enquire of me concerning a Matter, which you best know your selves. You keep it in your own Hands, and would have me produce it. The more you press me to declare the Place where you conceal it, the more Reason I have to fear that you*
have

have eluded my Diligence, and removed it to another Place. You therefore, and not I, ought to be compelled to discover the secret Place where you have laid it up in Store.

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BUT this Discourse appeared to be no better than an Evasion to shift the Question. The Dictator therefore pressed Manlius, either to perform his Promise to the People, or confess that he had unjustly calumniated the Senate: And he replying, *Shall I then be silly enough to say what my Enemies would have me?* the Dictator, upon these indiscreet Words, immediately ordered him to Prison. And then the ready Submission of the Romans, in the Presence of a lawful Magistrate, was surprizing. This People, who were so seditiously devoted to Manlius, took no one Step to hinder the Execution of the Sentence. There was not an angry Expression heard, or a threatening Look seen, in the whole Assembly. The Tribunes of the People themselves, were wanting in no Instance of Respect to the Dictator. Only Manlius addressed his Complaints to the Gods. He turned towards the Capitol, which he had so gloriously saved, and said, *O Jupiter, supreme King of the Gods, O Juno, Queen of Heaven, Thou Minerva, and all Ye Divinities who are worshiped in the Capitol! will you suffer such a Dishonour to be put upon your Defender? Shall these Hands, which were victorious over the Gauls, be locked in Chains?* But even these Lamentations raised no Disturbances among the Multitude. They did not shew their Love for this Mover of Sedition, till he was in Prison; then indeed the People changed their Habits, went into Mourning, and neglected their Hair and Beards, as in Times of publick Calamity. Many crouded round the Prison Doors, and lamented his Misfortunes. And in this Time of Affliction, the Dictator Cossus received the Honours of a Triumph. But the Sight did not recover him the Affection of the Malecontents. They were heard to say publicly, that Cossus did not so much triumph over the Volsci, as over the oppressed Manlius. Nothing, said they, remains to complete the General's Triumph, but to have him led before his Chariot in Chains.

Plut. Life of
Camil.

Liv. B. 6. c. 16.

In order to appease the People therefore, the Senate thought it necessary to shew them some Indulgence. They assembled, and of their own Motion, without any Petition, ordered a Colony of Roman Citizens to be sent to Satricum, and allotted every Man two Acres and an half of arable Land. But this unexpected Bounty was so far from satisfying the Malecontents, that the Remedy only increased the Disease. Besides that the Liberality of the Senate reached to only a small Number of the Citizens, they all believed this to be merely an Artifice of the Patricians, to induce the Citizens to desert Manlius. So that the Sedition gained Ground. The People in the City gave fresh Proofs of their Concern at his Imprisonment: And the Fury of his Partizans increased yet more, when Cossus's Dictatorship expired. The Seditious, being now free from the Dread of a Magistrate from whom there was no Appeal, no longer kept within any Bounds, but openly inveighed against the Patricians; and all publick Places rung with such audacious Discourses as these. *What? will the Plebeians never raise any of their Defenders to the highest Pitch of Hope, but only to make their Fall the greater? Did not we desert both Sp. Cassius, (who so zealously contended for a Distribution of the Lands among us,) and Sp. Maelius (who relieved us under the greatest Extremities) when they were in the utmost Danger? And shall we suffer the generous Manlius also to continue under Oppression, who has employed his Substance to rescue us from the Violence of our Creditors? Shall he have enrich'd the People, only to fall a Sacrifice to his Liberality? What is his Crime, but his not being able to give an immediate Answer to the Dictator's captious Question? Nay, suppose he has imposed upon us, and told us a Lie, as is pretended; is this an Offence great enough for a Patrician, who was formerly Consul, to be imprisoned for it? Is even a Slave put into Irons, only for a Lie? Surely when Manlius was condemned, that terrible Night which had like to have utterly abolished the Roman Name, was entirely forgotten. Could any then have remembered the Gauls climbing up the Capitol, and Manlius covered with Sweat and Blood, preserving Jupiter himself from their Attempts? Or was the half Pound of Meal, which every Man gave him, a sufficient Reward for so great a Benefaction? Shall we suffer an Hero, whom we have in some measure put upon an equal Foot with Jupiter himself, by surnaming him Capitolinus, to linger away his Life in a Dungeon, and be at the Mercy of a Jaylor? Shall he have been able of himself*

Year of *to preserve us, and shall not all the People together be able to deliver him?* Thus
 R O M E spake the People: And surrounded the Prison Day and Night, threatening to break
 CCCLXIX. it open. But a Decree of the Senate prevented this Act of Fury. Their dear
 A. MANLIUS, *Manlius* was restored them; tho' his Deliverance proved to be only giving a mu-
 &c. Military tinous Populace a Leader.
 Tribunes.

§. XXII. But during these Seditions, Ambassadors came to *Rome* from the Ter-
 ritories of the *Latins*, the Country of the *Hernici*, and the Cities of *Circei* and
Velitrae, to demand the Restitution of the Prisoners the *Dictator* had taken from
 Liv. B. 6. c. 17. them, in his last Battel: And the different Reception which was given to them,
 shews the Distinction the *Romans* always made between Nations in Alliance with
 them, and ¹⁰⁸ *Roman Colonies*. *Circei* and *Velitrae* were upon the Foot of *Colo-*
nies; the *Latins* and *Hernici* were only in Alliance with *Rome*. The latter en-
 joyed their own Laws, the former were subject to the Laws of the *Romans*. The
 Allies might send Ambassadors to the Senate, as being independent on its Decrees:
 But the *Colonies* were a Part of the Republick, because originally *Romans*. The
Latins ¹⁰⁷ therefore, and the *Hernici* demanded by their Ambassadors, That all the
 Prisoners of their Nations should be delivered up to them, to be punished by them,
 according to their own Laws. And tho' the *Romans* did not grant their Request,
 yet neither did they dispute their Right of sending an Embassy. But the Deputies
 from the *Circeienses*, and from *Velitrae*, were forbid appearing before the People,
 and ordered to depart the City in all haste. The Citizens of *Rome* had indeed no
 Right to pass for Strangers, and screen themselves under the venerable Name of
 Ambassadors. And it appears, that the *Latins* and *Hernici*, as well as the *Cir-*
ceienses and People of *Velitrae*, which had been taken in the War, were all conti-
 nued in the Slavery they had deserved; the former, by their Breach of their own
 Treaties; the latter, by their Revolt.

¹⁰⁶ It was customary with the *Romans*, even
 from *Romulus's* Time, to place a Part of their Ci-
 tizens in the Cities they conquered. They were ei-
 ther chosen by the chief Magistrate, or by Lot; and
 each Family was assigned a Portion of Land for its
 Subsistence. To this Custom the *Roman Colonies*
 owe their Rise, according to *Gellius's* Observation,
B. 16. Colonias fuisse civitates ex civitate Romana,
quodammodo propagatas. These new Establishments
 were attended with considerable Advantages in Point
 of Policy, and *Rome* may be said to have paved the
 Way for the Conquest of the World, by this very
 Means. 1. The Republick, by thus dispersing its
 Subjects in different Countries, got rid of a turbu-
 lent Multitude, who were always ready to raise Se-
 ditions in the City. 2. It was not easy for the City
 of *Rome* it self to maintain a very great Number of
 Citizens, especially in the first Ages. It had then
 no Commerce with foreign Countries. The Pro-
 duce of the Earth and Fruits were all it had to
 maintain them with. 3. The *Colonies*, by carrying
 with them their Love to *Rome* into other
 Places, thereby both enlarged and strengthened the
 Power of their own Country. They were so many
 advanced Guards, which kept the Frontier Pro-
 vinces in Order. 4. The Lands belonging to the
 Cities subdued by Force, were generally both the
 Reward and Maintenance of the old Soldiers. This
 was a strong Attractive for the common People,
 who were very fond of bearing Arms, because they
 saw it attended with sure Advantages. But before
Colonies were sent out, the Ceremonies of the *Au-*
spices and *Lustrations* were always performed. We
 find some Traces of this Custom in *D. Hal. B. 1.*
 and in *Tully, Phil. 2.* and *De Divin. 1.* And Sa-
 crifices were likewise used to obtain the Protection
 of the Gods for the new Colony. The *Roman Co-*
lonies enjoyed the Privileges of the old *Roman Law*,
 with respect to Contracts, Wills, Tutions, Adop-
 tions, Marriages, the Power of Fathers over their
 Children, and of Masters of Families over their
 Slaves. But whether they retained the honorary
 Right of the Citizens of *Rome*, that is, the Right of
 voting, and of standing for Offices, is uncertain.
 Historians differ so much, and speak so ambiguously

as to this Matter, that it is difficult to come at any
 Certainty about it. It is true indeed, that none
 could give their Suffrages, but what were incorpo-
 rated in one or other of the 35 Tribes. Their be-
 ing *Roman Colonies* did not of it self entitle them
 to this Privilege, unless the Republick made a par-
 ticular Grant of it to any of them. But this we
 shall examine into more particularly hereafter, when
 we come to speak of the *Municipal Cities*, of those
 who had *The Right of Latinity* granted to them,
 and of those who enjoyed only *The Right of Italy*.
 And we will then settle the different Privileges of
 them, as well as of the *Roman Colonies*.

¹⁰⁷ *Livy* says, the Inhabitants of *Circei* and
Velitrae, made the same Demand as the *Latins* and
Hernici did: And his Account occasions some Per-
 plexity. He supposes that the *Circeienses*, and the
 People of *Velitrae*, had their own Laws. And yet,
 in three Lines after, he represents the Senate as re-
 proaching these People with Treachery, in having
 conspired against *Rome*, tho' they were *Roman Ci-*
tizens. So that it seems pretty probable that these
 two Cities had preserved the Enjoyment of their
 own Usages and Customs. And what confirms
 the Conjecture is, that the Colony of *Circei*,
 which was settled by *Tarquin the Proud*, consisted
 not only of *Roman Citizens*, but likewise of several
 Strangers, who came from the neighbouring Coun-
 tries, and enlarged that Colony. Besides, after this
 City was taken by *Coriolanus*, this *Roman General*
 drove out all the old Inhabitants of *Circei*, de-
 prived them of their Lands, which he gave the *Vol-*
sci, who settled there, and formed a new Colony
 upon the Ruins of the old. These therefore, were
 in all Probability maintained in the Rights of *Roman*
Citizens, which their Predecessors had enjoyed, and
 continued at the same time to govern themselves
 in some measure, by the Laws and Customs of
 their own Nation. Or perhaps the Cities of *Cir-*
cei and *Velitrae* were comprehended in the Treat
Cassius had formerly concluded with the People of
Latium: and consequently were considered by the
Romans, as in some measure upon the same Foot
 with the *Latin Cities*, which had their own Law
 and Privileges.

§. XXIII. UPON

§. XXIII. UPON the Close of the Year, *Rome* changed her Magistrates; and it was doubtless owing to the Interest of the *Patrician* Party, that the illustrious *Camillus* was chosen *Military Tribune* a fifth time. The Republick wanted a Governor of his Reputation, to stem the Tide of the present Troubles. His Collegues were ¹⁰⁸ *Serv. Cornelius*, *P. Valerius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *C. Papirius*, and *T. Quinctius*. Four of these had already enjoyed this Post more than once. The Peace which reigned abroad was equally agreeable both to the Mutineers and the Senate, who were intent upon destroying *Manlius's* Faction. The Levies which must have been raised among the People, if there had been a War, must have lessened the Strength of the *Plebeians* in the City; and they now hoped to be able, by the Assistance of their Leader, to stop the Prosecutions of their Creditors effectually, and moderate at least the unjust Gains of the Usurers. Whilst the *Patricians*, on the other hand, thought the Tranquillity of the Publick gave them a favourable Opportunity of calming and appeasing the Minds of the Factious. Nevertheless, the Disturbances of the Debtors became daily more violent. *Manlius's* House stood on the *Capitol*; and there the Conspirators assembled. Conferences were held there Day and Night, in which *Manlius* spoke his Mind freely, and without any Reserve. The Affront he had received, in having been cast into Prison, exasperated him exceedingly; and the Weakness of the Senate, which had been forced to release him, increased his Confidence. Besides, the Plot for invading the Citadel of *Rome*, and declaring *Manlius* King, was already formed. *Manlius's* Creatures were encouraged by the *Dictator Cossus's* Remissness, in not punishing him, as another *Dictator* had formerly done *Sp. Mælius*. His Discourses to them were very extravagant. *Romans*, said he, *you know your own Strength. Count your Adversaries. As many Clients as you see attend one Patron, so many Plebeians you have to one Patrician. Upon the first Signal given for War, the Senate will apply to you for Peace. Either therefore resolve to take up Arms unanimously, or else don't expect to have Justice done you. Why should you suspect me? I will never desert any of you in your Distress: but then, neither do you surrender me up to the Inconstancy of Fortune. When my Enemies thought fit, your Defender was left at the Mercy of those who envied him. I broke off your Chains, and they loaded me with them. What will become of me, if my Enemies should prevail? Have not I reason to expect the Fate of Cassius or Mælius? I am sensible you abhor the Thoughts of it, and I hope the Gods will preserve me from it; but am I to expect that the Gods will come down from Heaven to relieve me? They have committed to you the Care of my Defence, as they inspired me with the Thoughts of protecting you. But what am I saying? Will so numerous a Body only have Courage enough to restrain the Excesses of the Senate, and not enough to destroy that Senate, which is guilty of such excessive Acts of Injustice? This is the Tyranny of Custom. Your Bravery has no Bounds against a foreign Enemy; but is very moderate against Enemies at home. The Reason of this is, that the Romans have been used not to suffer Foreigners to make any Attempts upon their Liberty; and have at the same time been accustomed to defend themselves but feintly against domestick Oppressors. And yet have not you always succeeded, as oft as you have ever thought fit to rise? Let therefore your present Views extend yet farther. As you have experienced how far my Valour and Affection for you will carry me; try now, how far your own Good-Fortunes will go. You will now find it easier to place a Man over the Heads of the proud Patricians, than it formerly was, barely to resist them. Let us destroy the Senate, Dictatorship, and Consulship together. Put an effectual stop to all Prosecutions of you, for Money lent upon Usury. I declare my self the Head and Protector of the People. I have long since deserved these Appellations. And if you think fit to honour me with a more awful Title; the more powerful you make me, the more happy you will make yourselves.*

THE plain Tendency of this Speech of *Manlius* was to make himself King: And the Senators, on the other hand, who suspected the Plots of this seditious

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXX.

M. FURIUS
CAMILLUS,
SERV. COR-
NELIUS, P.
VALERIUS,
SERV. SULPI-
TIUS, C. PA-
PIRIUS, T.
QUINCTIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Liv. B. 6. c. 18.

Zenaras, B. 7.

¹⁰⁸ Diodorus reckons up but four *Military Tribunes* for this Year. He omits *Camillus* and *P. Valerius*. Livy calls this *Servius Cornelius's* second *Tribuneship*; but it is a Mistake. The *Fasti Capitolini* call it, his third. But both *Fasti Consulares*

and Livy, agree that this was *Camillus's* fifth *Tribuneship*; and that *P. Valerius*, *Servius Sulpicius*, and *T. Quinctius*, were now raised to that Honour a second time.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXX.
M. FURIUS
CAMILIUS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.
Liv. B. 6. c. 19.

Man, met to deliberate what was to be done in relation to these Assemblies of People at *Manlius's* House, in the *Capitol*. They were affrighted at the Danger which threatened the Republick. Some thought, that in this Extremity *Rome* ought to employ another *Servius Ahala*, to put an end to this intestine Sedition at one Blow. The Result of their Deliberations had like to have been, the enjoining the Magistrates to provide for the publick Safety, upon any Terms whatsoever: which would have been giving them an absolute Power to act against the Factious in any manner they thought fit; and to take any effectual Measures to frustrate their Designs. But at length the *Tribunes of the People*, who were at the Assembly, and whose own Interest then united them to the Senate, proposed an Expedient, which was embraced. All, except them, were for nothing less than assassinating *Manlius*. But the *Tribunes* proposed more moderate Proceedings; which were, to destroy him by Form of Law. The two Authors of this Advice were *M. Manius* and *Q. Publilius*. They foresaw that an Attempt could not be made upon *Manlius's* Life, without shedding a great deal of *Plebeian* Blood. *Why then*, said they, *should we run the hazard of a cruel Battel, in order to kill one pernicious Citizen? Why don't we make the very Multitude which protects him, the Rebel's Executioners? The Name of King is odious to the People. We will prosecute Manlius for attempting to usurp the Regal Power. As soon as he shall appear before the Comitia, the Scene will be instantly changed. The People will consider their true Interest, when they see their Tribunes become his Accusers. And they then, from being Manlius's Defenders, will become both his Enemies, and his Judges. His very Birth will be a Disadvantage to him. The Plebeians will be shocked to see a Patrician upon the point of usurping a Crown: And their Love for Liberty will prevail at last over any other Passion.* This Advice being approved, the two *Tribunes of the People* cited *Manlius* to appear, and answer a Charge of Treason against the State. They had indeed their own private Views in it. There was an end of their *Tribuneship*, if the Criminal had made himself King. However, there was some slight Disturbance among the People, when *Manlius*, upon his being prosecuted as a Criminal, changed his Habit, and went into Mourning, as usual. But it was observed, that neither any of the Senators, nor any of the Relations of the Accused, not even his two Brothers, *Titus* and *Aulus Manlius*¹⁰⁹, changed their ordinary Dress; which was always done by the Friends or Relations of a Person under great Affliction. As for *Manlius*, he was allowed twenty seven Days, according to Custom, to prepare for his Defence, before he appeared: and on the Day appointed, the People were assembled, not *by Tribes*, but *by Centuries*. So that the *Comitia* were held in the *Campus Martius*. The Heads of his Accusation, which were most insisted on, the Historians have not told us. In all Probability *Manlius's* Charge was, his having assembled the People together at his own House, uttered seditious Words, given Bounties with an ill Design, and invented false Stories, on purpose to bring an Odium upon the Senate. But the chief Part of it was, his having endeavoured to usurp a Kingly Power. And the Proofs of his wicked Attempts must have been very full, since it was the Circumstance only of the Place where he was tried, that made the People, who were strongly inclined to favour him, delay his Condemnation. They could see the *Capitol*, which *Manlius's* Valour had preserved, from the *Campus Martius*, where his Sentence was to be pronounced; and this Sight alone abated the Heat of their Resentments against the Criminal. So that the People, who could neither resolve to condemn, or acquit him, delayed proceeding to a Sentence more than once; and postponed his Affair every time, for three Market-Days. In the mean while, *Manlius* omitted nothing that could move his Judges. He produced above 400 *Plebeians*, whose Debts he had paid, or whom he had delivered out of the Hands of their Creditors. He

¹⁰⁹ We have already observed, that among the *Romans*, the Persons who lay under any Accusation appeared before their Judges in a negligent Dress, with a distressed Countenance, long Beard, and their Hair in Disorder. By these melancholy Appearances, the Offenders shewed both their Fear, and their Grief. The Criminal hoped, by this suppliant Manner of Behaviour, to raise the Compassion of his Judges. And the Clients, Friends, and Relati-

ons of the Accused, all attended him in the same mournful Dress. Which was the Reason why Persons accused of any Crime were called *Sordidati*. They then were thought to be *in reatu*. This Custom made *Martial* say,

*Si dat iniqua tibi tristem Fortuna reatum,
Squalidus habebo, Pallidiorque reo.* Epig. 2. 2.

shewed the ¹¹⁰ People two Suits of Armour, the Spoils of two Enemies. He had been the first *Roman*, who had deserved a *Mural* Crown, by fighting on Horseback. He had been honoured with six *Civic* Crowns, and had had seven and thirty Prizes given him by his Generals, as Rewards of his Valour. *Manlius* likewise shewed on his Body the Marks of three and twenty honourable Wounds. He had saved in Battle the Life of *Servilius*, who was then General of Horse; and had been wounded in the Shoulder, and the Thigh, in the same Action. But his greatest Glory was, his having solely defended the *Capitol* against the Attack of the *Gauls*: And this very great Piece of Service supported the Criminal, notwithstanding the evident Proofs of his Crime. The People cast their Eyes on the Citadel, and could not resolve with themselves to condemn the Man who delivered it, to die. And *Manlius's* affecting Discourses increased the Compassion of the Multitude. He compared his real Services with his unguarded Expressions. He turned towards the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and prayed That God to inspire the *Romans* with the same Concern for his Preservation, as *he* had had for the Deliverance of *Rome*. *Camillus* had been hitherto the main Spring of all the Proceedings against the Criminal: and he fearing lest the People's Dilatoriness in condemning him, should turn to the Prejudice of the Republick, now thought of an Expedient which succeeded. This prudent *Military Tribune* removed the Assemblies from the *Campus Martius*, where there was too open a Prospect of the *Capitol*. He assembled the *Comitia* in a Place, called ¹⁰⁹ *The Peteline Wood*, at the Bottom of the Hill *Viminalis*, without the Gates of *Rome*: and thereby deprived *Manlius* of the only Refuge he had left. As soon as the *Capitol* was out of the People's Sight, they thought of nothing but revenging the Attempts made on their Liberty. They forgot all the Tyrant's Glory, and remembered only his Crime. But nevertheless, they could not determine to pass Sentence of Death on the Accused, without Reluctance. However, the publick Interest at last gained the Ascendant over their Gratitude. The *Romans* by their Suffrages assigned over a factious Man into the Executioner's Hands, who had preserved them only to enslave them. *Manlius* was led up to the Top of the *Capitol*, and though pitied by his very Judges, was thrown down from it. Thus the Scene of his Glory became the Place of his Punishment: Which shewed the *Romans*, that great Qualities and important Services, were not sufficient to screen the ambitious Subverters of the Republican State, from the Censures and Condemnation of the People. As to the Rebel himself, his Memory was odious to all, but especially his own Family. They met together, and resolved that no *Manlius* should ever after bear the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*. And as the Tyrant's House had been on the ¹¹² *Capitol*, and had been somewhat instrumental in promoting the late Troubles, a Law was made, which the People confirmed, *That no Patrician should ever live in the Citadel again*. But how strangely inconstant is the Multitude! They were scarce delivered from their Danger, before they lamented the Loss of the Author of it. A fresh Fit of Gratitude made them wish for their seditious Benefactor: and the Plague which followed, increased the Grief of Multitudes of his Friends. They imputed it to *Manlius's* Death, and thought that *Jupiter* sent it to revenge his Blood on those who had shed it. Such is the Levity of the People, when in Power. They can never be brought to any fixed steady Measures: the Sea itself is not more inconstant, than either their Friendship, or their Hatred.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXX.
M. FURIUS
CAMILLUS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.

Liv. B. 6. c. 20.

Plut. Life of
Camil.

Liv. B. 6. c. 28.

¹¹⁰ Livy says, *Manlius* had carried off thirty of these Spoils, from as many Enemies, whom he had killed with his own Hands. And adds, that his Generals had given him the military Rewards, which were usually given to Men of distinguished Valour, forty times. Among which Marks of Distinction, continues he, were two *Mural* Crowns, and eight *Civic*. But this slight Difference between the two Accounts given by *Pliny* and him, does not affect the Substance of the Story; so that the Reader may adopt which Relation he pleases.

¹¹¹ The *Peteline* Wood, was but at a small Distance from the City, without the Gate *Flumentalis*. So that it is probable, that the Height of the Trees, and Thickness of the Wood, was what hindered the *Capitol* from being seen there.

¹¹² Livy adds, that in his Time, the Temple of *Juno Moneta* stood in the same Place where *Manlius's* House had formerly stood. And *Plutarch* tells us this House was razed. At least, the *Romans* usually demolished the Houses of those who had been guilty of Treason.

Roman History.

BOOK XIV.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXI.

A. MANLIUS,
L. VALERIUS,
SERV. SULPICIUS, L. LUCRETIVS, L. ÆMILIUS, M. TREBONIUS,
Military Tribunes.
Liv. B.6. c.21.

Vel. Pat. B.1.

Liv. B.6. c.21.

THE Punishment of the seditious *Manlius*, neither injured his Relations nor lessened their Interest. On the contrary, his Brother *A. Manlius* was chosen *Military Tribune* the next Election; and the five Collegues which the Republick gave him were *L. Valerius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *L. Lucretius*, *L. Æmilius*, and *M. Trebonius*. The Plague still continued to rage in *Rome*, and its Neighbourhood: And to complete the Misfortune, the *Romans* were threatened with several Wars. The *Volsce* were their indefatigable Enemies, whom Heaven seems to have made use of to keep their Valour in continual Exercise. Nor was this all. The ancient *Colonies* seemed ready on all hands to rise up against the City, from whence they originally came. The *Circeienses* and Inhabitants of *Velitra* continued in their Revolt. *Lanuvium* it self, which was formerly so steady in her Fidelity, declared against *Rome*; and all the Cities of *Latium* seemed ready to rise in their Turns. Then the Senate judged, That the Impunity of *Velitra* had drawn Contempt upon the Republick; and That the other Colonies inferred from thence, that the Capital was not in a Condition to punish the Defection of the inferior Cities. And this made it necessary to prevail on the ² People to consent to a War, and make a Law for it. In order to which, the Commons were promised that the Lands of the *Pomptin* Territory should be divided among them, and five Commissioners were nominated to regulate the Distribution of them. Three other were also appointed to lead a *Colony* to *Nepete*; but the Execution of this Design appears to have been deferred no less than nine Years. However, the *Comitia Tribes* were assembled, and unanimously agreed, that a War should be declared with all these different Enemies to *Rome*, notwithstanding the Opposition of the *Tribunes of the People*. In the mean time, the Slowness of the Proceedings of the *Romans* gave the rebellious *Colonies* time to return to their Duty. The Senates of these Cities were inclined to send Deputations to the Senate of *Rome*, to avert their Anger: But the most criminal Part of the Inhabitants opposed the Advice the more prudent. They were afraid that the Anger of the *Romans* would fall only upon them, and imagined that they alone should be the Citizens which their *Colony* would sacrifice to a Reconciliation. Nor was it enough for these Incendiaries, to frustrate the Counsels of Peace; they likewise stirred up their Countrymen to make Incursions on the *Roman* Lands. By this means, all Hopes of a Re-

¹ *Diodorus the Sicilian* is again defective in the Number of the *Tribunes* for this Year 371. He reckons but four, and their Names are so disfigured, that it is very difficult to know them. *Aulus Manlius*, surnamed *Capitolinus*, *Servius Sulpicius Rufus*, and *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, are said to be now made *Tribunes* the third time, both by *Livy*, and the *Fasti Capitolini*. But *Livy* differs from the *Fasti Consulares*, when he says that *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus* was now nominated the third time to the *Tribuneship*. He had yet born that Office but once. *Lucius Valerius Poplicola* was now elected the fourth time.

² The People assembled by *Centuries* were the proper Judges of Peace or War.

³ The *Colonies* and *Municipia*, had each its own

Senate. The Members of which these Senates consisted were called *Decuriones*; because they had been set down, or enrolled, in the List of the Senators who were appointed to govern the new *Colony*. The Latin Word *Decuriare*, is indeed synonymous to *Describere, in ordinem redigere, i. e. to set down or place in order*. Their Number was fixed by the *Triumviri*, whom the Republick appointed to set the new *Colony*, as appears from *Tully, Agr. 2.* They are not therefore to imagine that they were Councilors, and were therefore called *Decuriones*. The Opinion of some Moderns is contradicted by a *Roman Orator*, who in his second Oration on the *agrarian Law*, reckons up no less than 100 *Decuriones* in the *Colony of Capua*.

conciliation vanished. The Time seems to have been come for exterminating these Rebels; but the Plague suspended the Vengeance of Rome. The Military Tribunes durst not lead their Troops into the Field; so that the Revolters continued yet unpunished. Add to this, that the Inhabitants of *Prænestæ* followed the bad Examples of the other Colonies. The *Gabini*, *Tusculani*, and Inhabitants of *Laticum*, who maintained their Fidelity, brought Complaints to the Senate, of the Hostilities the *Prænestini* had committed in their Districts. But the Senate pretended not to believe them; choosing rather to dissemble with them, than take up Arms in so unhappy a Season. Thus Rome ceased to be formidable to her Neighbours and Allies for several Years, after the Overthrow the Gauls had given her; and her Colonies themselves had a contemptuous Opinion of a Republick, whose Valour had once deserted it.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXI.
A. MANLIUS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.

§.II. But the Romans, who scarce ever let any Attempts against their Republick escape unpunished, only deferred the War till the present Calamity was blown over. As soon as the Plague ceased, they chose six new Military Tribunes; which were *Sp. Papirius*, *L. Papirius*, *Serv. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Serv. Sulpicius*, and *L. Æmilius*. And tho' the two *Papirii* were now promoted to this Office the first time, and two of their Collegues the fourth, yet the former were pitched upon to command the Roman Forces. The rest continued in Rome, with some Troops, to be in a readiness to defend the City, and march against the *Hetrurians*, upon the first News of their being in Motion. Now that Rome was grown weaker than ever, and deserted both by her Allies and Colonies, she grew jealous of every body. The Troops commanded by the *Papirii* advanced towards *Velitræ*. The Inhabitants of *Prænestæ* were come to assist this rebellious City, and were more numerous than those they came to protect. Nevertheless, the Romans gave Battel with Success. The Action being in the Neighbourhood of *Velitræ*, the Nearness of an Asylum made the Enemy immediately turn their Backs. They fled into their City for Refuge, and sheltered themselves under their Ramparts. In order therefore to make the Victory complete, it was necessary to take *Velitræ*; but the Generals thought it not advisable, either to attempt a doubtful Siege, or to carry Hostilities so far, as to exterminate a Roman Colony. The Senate also was of opinion, that it was more necessary to pursue the War with Vigour against the *Prænestini*, than the People of *Velitræ*. What provoked the Romans, was this; that the Inhabitants of *Prænestæ* had joined the *Volsi*, and were making Preparations with them to attack the new Colony of *Satricum*, which they took by Force the next Year, and shewed the Conquered no Mercy.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXII.
SP. PAPIRIUS,
L. PAPIRIUS;
SERV. CORNELIUS,
Q. SERVILIUS, SERV.
SULPICIUS, L.
ÆMILIUS, Military
Tribunes.
Liv. B.6. c.22.

§.III. THESE Expeditions therefore, which were yet to be undertaken, made the assembled Centuries cast their Eyes again upon the invincible *Camillus*, to place him at the Head of the Republick. He was now promoted to the Tribuneship a sixth time. But the Hero, who was content to spend the rest of his Days in Tranquillity, in a very infirm old Age, was afraid of embarking again in publick Affairs. He was apprehensive of the Vicissitudes of Fortune. He dreaded the ill Offices he might do him, after a Life of so much Glory; and therefore excused himself from undertaking the Employment the People were desirous of bestowing upon him. His chief Excuse, was a slight Fit of Sickness, which he then was seized with. Nevertheless, he preserved the Vigour of his Mind entire, and his Strength of Body was not wholly worn away in so great a Number of Years. The People therefore would not hearken to his Representations. *We don't expect*, said they, *that Camillus should personally engage either a-Foot, or on Horseback; or that he should join the Bravery of the private Soldier to the Wisdom of the General. All we now desire of him, is, that he would assist our Armies with his Counsels, and command them: this is enough to make them victorious.* And the Desires of the

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXIII.
M. FURIUS
CAMILLUS,
A. POSTHUMIUS,
L. POSTHUMIUS, L.
FURIUS, L.
LUCRETIVS,
M. FABIVS,
Military Tribunes.
Plut. Life of
Camil.
Liv. B.6. c.22.

4 Diodorus again mentions but four Military Tribunes for this Year. Among whom are, one *Quintus Crassus*, and one *Fabius Albus*, whose Names are not mentioned among these Magistrates in the old Consular Lists. Only the two *Papirii* are there called by the Surname of *Crassus*. Livy gives *Sulpicius* the Prænomen of *Caius*. And the Order of the Tribuneships, as set down in the *Fasti Capitolini*, make us believe, that the Military Tribuneship was not conferred on that *Sulpicius*,

but another. For which Reason we distinguish him by the Prænomen of *Servius*, and the Surname of *Prætextatus*. We shall hereafter see him exercise the Office of Tribune, a second, third, and fourth time. Which has made *Pighius* conclude, that his first Promotion was in this Year. The *Quintus Servilius* here spoken of, has the two Surnames of *Priscus* and *Fidenas*. He was probably the Son of *Q. Servilius*, who was honoured with the Tribuneship six times.

People

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXIII.
M. FURIUS
CAMILLUS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.

Plut. Life of
Camil.

People were a Law, which it was necessary to comply with. Accordingly, *Camillus* ⁵ was chosen *Military Tribune*, with *Aul.* ⁶ *Posthumius*, *L. Posthumius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius*. But *Camillus* was not chosen by Lot to command the Army against the *Volsci*; he was expressly named, for carrying on that Expedition: And it fell to *L. Furius* to be his Collegue in it, by Lot; whose Name would lead us to judge him to have been of the same Family with *Camillus*; but he fell very short of him, as in Age, so in Experience in the Art of War. Nevertheless, *Furius* had according to the Laws of *Rome*, an equal Authority over the Troops with *Camillus*. These Generals commanded an Army of four *Legions*, consisting of 4000 Men each. The Troops were ordered to *rendez-vous* near the Gate *Esquilina*, the next Day; and from thence they set out for *Satricum*. There the *Volsci* and *Prænestini* had already formed a Camp; and as they were more numerous than the *Romans*, they waited for them without Fear. Besides, these Enemies were yet flushed with their late inhuman Expedition against the Inhabitants of *Satricum*. As for *Camillus*, he contented himself with encamping within reach of his Enemies, that he might have his Eye continually upon them; and was not in haste to come to a Battel. He either waited to recover better Health, or to receive some new Reinforcements for his Army. In the mean time, the *Volsci* appeared drawn up in Order of Battel, and provoked the *Romans* to fight. Our Enemies, said they, *depend entirely on their General; but what will his Stratagems signify to us? As we are so much superior in Number, we are not afraid to attack them.* Upon which, the *Romans* were no less desirous of fighting than their Enemies; and their Ardour was increased by *Furius's* Discourses. *Camillus* alone restrained their Zeal by the Force of his Reasonings; and waited for such a favourable Opportunity, as might put his Forces, and those of the Enemy, upon an equal Foot. But the less in haste he seemed to be, the more Pains the *Volsci* took to exasperate him. They not only marched out their Men upon their own Ground, near their Camp, but advanced with them into the open Fields, and carried on their Lines almost to the *Roman* Camp. This therefore was such an Insult, as neither the General *Furius*, nor his Soldiers, could bear. The former had none of *Camillus's* Flegm, and depended too much on the Hopes the Ardour of his *Romans* gave him. Besides, *Furius* was but young. To which we are to ascribe the inconsiderate Expressions which dropped from him, in Derogation of his Collegue's Authority: tho' after all, he could not cast the least Blemish upon his Character, on any account but that of his great Age. *Young Men only*, said he, *are fit for War. As soon as the greatest Men are past the Flower of their Age, their Courage abates. This illustrious Camillus, who in his Youth took Cities as soon as he appeared before them, now amuses himself within his Camp, and his Dilatoriness makes us lose great Opportunities. Why do we postpone fighting any longer? Will his Delays procure us any Reinforcements from the City, or lessen the Enemy's Troops? He waits for a favourable Moment! This is but the vain Pretence of a Man, whose Age has chilled his Blood in his Veins. Camillus has already reaped a plentiful Harvest of Glory, and is satisfied with it. But why do we suffer the Reputation of Rome, which ought to be immortal, to fall into Decay, and decline with a superannuated General?* This Discourse had its Influence on the *Romans*; all the *Legions* desired leave to fight: And the young General addressed himself to *Camillus* in this manner. *It is no longer possible to restrain the Eagerness of our own Soldiers, or bear the Insults of the Enemy. Our Delays have already increased the Confidence of the latter; and we are like to extinguish the Ardour of the former. You only are for yet longer Delays. Comply with the Desires of the Multitude, who wish for an Engagement. Hasten your own Glory, by giving us leave to reap a certain Victory, without more Loss of Time.* But *Camillus*, with a lofty Air, which his past Successes had given him, and with that Prudence which never deserted him, made this Reply. *As long as I commanded Armies alone, I am bold to say, Rome never had any reason to be dissatisfied, either with my Conduct or Success. But now*

⁵ This was the sixth time the Great *Camillus* was promoted to the *Tribuneship*, according to *Plutarch*, and the *Fasti Capitolini*; and not the seventh, as it is said in some Editions of *Livy*.

⁶ *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus* had been Tribune

twice already. His Collegues *A.* and *L. Posthumius*, are both distinguished in the *Fasti Capitolini*, by the Surnames of *Albinus*, and *Regillensis*. *Marcus Fabius* is there surnamed *Ambustus*; as *Lucius Furius* is, *Medullinus*.

indeed I have a Colleague joined with me, of equal Authority, tho' younger than I. Nevertheless I must after all confess, I never yet learned to obey, in Armies. I have had the sole Command of them too long, for such a Submission. However, if I cannot restrain the Impetuosity which hurries you to an Engagement; yet this at least I must insist on, that I will not act the Part of a young Soldier, by exposing myself in the foremost Ranks. I don't refuse to assist the Republick with the best Advice an old Soldier can give: And I pray the Gods to prosper your Undertaking. But instead of this, as *Furius* had not hearkened to *Camillus's* Advice; so neither did Heaven hear this great Man's Prayers. The young General drew up the first Lines of the Army in Order of Battel; and the old General made it his Business to prepare a *Corps-de-reserve* to assist his Colleague, in case of Distress. *Furius* charged with the usual Vigour of Men of his Age; and the *Volsci* gave way; but their Flight was feigned. By giving ground, they drew the *Roman Legions* half way up the Hill, on which their Camp was situated: and then sallying out with fresh Troops who had the Upper-ground, they tumbled the *Romans* down the Hill, and recovered the Advantages they had lost. The Disorder was now transferred from the *Volsci* to the *Romans*, who were overpowered with new Troops. And then those *Volsci*, who had pretended to fly, returned to the Charge. Upon which the *Romans* were defeated. It was no longer a Retreat, but a Rout. These brave *Legions*, which were so desirous of fighting, now thought of nothing but regaining their Camp. As for *Camillus*, it is said, that being yet weak, and not recovered of his Sickness, he was laid on a Bed: But upon the News, that the *Romans* were worsted, he immediately quitted his Tent, and hastened to the Gate of the Camp with his Troop. He could not mount his Horse without Help; but as soon as mounted, he immediately applied himself to stop the flying *Legions* with his *Corps-de-reserve*; and cried out to them, *Is this then, Romans, the fine Battel you were so very desirous of? What God or Man can you blame but yourselves? You have hitherto followed another General; now follow Camillus, and conquer with him. No; you shall not return to your Camp this Day, unless Victors.* At first Shame put a stop to the Flight of the Troops: and when they saw the bravest Men among them face about towards the Enemy, and *Camillus* marching at the Head of his *Corps-de-reserve*, the Cowards could no longer forbear to follow the Example of so renowned an Officer, and so wise an old Man. They all mutually excited one another to renew the Fight, and rally again, under their proper Colours. And by this means, they repulsed the Enemy at least, and stopped their Progress: Which indeed was all they could do that Day. But the next Day, *Camillus* drew up his Troops again in the Plain. *Furius* no longer commanded in chief; he was sensible of his Fault. *Camillus* had put him at the Head of the Cavalry: and as *Furius* was a Man both of Probity and Valour, he behaved himself in the second Battel, like one who sincerely loved his Country, and was resolved to recover his Reputation. He regained the Esteem of the Cavalry, by applying himself with Modesty to them, and rather intreating, than commanding, them. He prayed them to exert themselves to save his Honour. Notwithstanding the direct Prohibitions of my Colleague, said he, *I yesterday chose rather to follow the Rashness of the Multitude, than his prudent Advice. Whatever therefore becomes of this second Battel, Camillus's Reputation is safe. But mine is utterly lost, if the Cavalry don't recover it.* Then *Furius's* Cavalry, who were remarkable both for their Arms and Courage, out of regard to the Intreaties of their Commander, dismounted, and flew to the Support of the Infantry. The Foot were hard pressed; but upon this Reinforcement, both the Officers and Soldiers fought with equal Courage; and the success shewed what Wonders Valour can effect. That numerous Army of *Volsci*, whose feigned Flight had almost gained them the Victory the Day before, was now forced to fly in good earnest. The Slaughter made of them was as great, after they were routed, as in the Battel itself. In short, their Camp was also taken, and the Number of the Prisoners exceeded that of the Dead.

§. IV. WHEN the Prisoners came to be numbered, there were some *Tusculani* found among them, who were in Alliance with the *Romans*. These were therefore separated from the rest, and brought before the Generals: and upon Enquiry into the Cause of their Defection, they told the Generals, that they had not taken up Arms, but with the Consent, and by the Orders, of the Magistrates of their City.

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M. FURIUS
CAMILLUS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.

Plut. Life of
Camil.

Liv. B. 6. c. 24.

Plut. Life of
Cam.

Liv. B. 6. c. 24.

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Then the prudent *Camillus* was alarmed at the ill Disposition of the *Tusculani* towards the Republick; and thought a War with so near Neighbours a Matter of great Importance. He therefore declared to the Army, that he would conduct these Prisoners to *Rome* himself, and represent to the Senate the Danger the State was in, from these new Enemies. In short, he told his *Legions*, that with their Consent he would leave them solely to the Conduct of his Collegue. *Furius* was now grown prudent, by the ill Success of his late Attempt. But nevertheless, it was the Opinion of the Army, that *Camillus* was going to accuse his Collegue, and would never forgive him the Affront he had received from him, and the Injury he had like to have done the Republick. They did not yet know, how far the Magnanimity of the great *Camillus* would carry him. And as it was well known at *Rome*, that *Furius's* Precipitation had like to have ruined his Country, and that *Camillus* alone had saved it from Destruction: every body therefore expected that the Conqueror was come to demand, that the rash General should be punished. Insomuch, that it was a great Surprize to the Senators, to hear him talk of nothing but the Defection of the *Tusculani*. He brought the Prisoners before them; and when by their Relations, the Senators were convinced, that the whole City of *Tusculum* had been wanting in Fidelity to *Rome*, *Camillus* was ordered to go and punish it. And by way of Distinction to so great a Man, the Republick gave him leave to chuse which of his five Collegues he pleased to command with him. Upon which, they all made Interest to go and learn the Art of War, under so great a General: And never were People more surprized than the *Romans* were, to see him choose that very *Furius* with whom he had had some personal Misunderstandings. But *Camillus* took more pains to conceal the Shame of his Enemy, than to pursue the Dictates of Revenge. An Example of Moderation, which did him great Honour: for he gained more Esteem by conquering himself, than by conquering the Enemies of his Country.

Plut. Life of
Cam.
Liv. B.6. c.25.

AFTER this, the two Generals began their March, to punish the *Tusculani*: and either the Artifice of these Rebels, or their true Repentance, gave the wise *Camillus* a fresh Opportunity of signalizing his Moderation. They had taken care to send their Husbandmen into the Fields to work, as usual. When *Camillus* entered the Territory of these faithless Allies, there was not the least Appearance of War. And when he came within reach of *Tusculum*, the Magistrates went out to meet him in Form, and received him as the Head of the Republick. Provisions were also sent him both from the City and the Country. Nevertheless, *Camillus* pitched his Camp in the Neighbourhood of *Tusculum*; and being desirous of knowing whether the same Tranquillity reigned there, as in the Country, he went thither. When he came, he found the Citizens, and their Wives and Children, walking in the Streets, without any manner of Appearance of Fear or Surprize. Then *Camillus* looked about him, to see if he could discover any Signs of Preparations for War, but could perceive none. The Shops were open, the Markets full, and the publick Schools had never been shut up. The General therefore was well pleased to find his Enemies returned to their Duty: and after having assembled the Senate of *Tusculum*, he bespoke them thus. *You have found out the true Secret of disarming the Resentment of the Romans: The Arms you have made use of, are more effectual than Resistance and Obstinacy could have been. Go to Rome, and present yourselves before the Senate. They are the proper Judges, whether your present Conduct is a sufficient Expiation for your past Faults. I won't anticipate their Decrees in your Favour: but will give you time to apply to them in a suppliant manner, in order to obtain a Pardon.* Accordingly, the Deputies of *Tusculum*, with their Dictator at the Head of them, came in Mourning, to desire the Senate to admit them to an Audience; which was granted. And upon the bare Sight of them, all the Senators were moved with Compassion towards them, by the suppliant Condition to which they saw their Allies, who had hitherto continued faithful, reduced. So that the Reception they met with, looked more like Hospitality, than the rigorous Treatment of severe Judges. The Head of the Deputation was their Speaker, and addressed himself to the Senate in these Words. *The Generals you sent against us, Conscript Fathers, found our Republick as little disposed to maintain a Defection, as we here seem to be, at the Door of your August Senate-House. Nor shall you ever find us in Arms, unless when obliged to fight*

Liv. B.6. c.26.

Ibid.

in Obedience to your Commands. We are very thankful to your Generals, because they have had the Wisdom to give more Credit to what their own Eyes saw, than to false Reports: and have committed no Act of Hostility in our Territories. Do you therefore entertain the same pacifick Dispositions which were found in us. Carry the War elsewhere. If you will make War with us, you shall find no Enemies to fight with at Tusculum. We stand resolved to receive your Attacks unarmed, and without Resistance. And may the Gods confirm us in the Resolution we have taken, and make it as fortunate as it is pious. We are indeed accused of Breach of Faith. But open Facts shew the Falshood of this unjust Calumny. Nay, if we had entred into any Measures prejudicial to Rome, so speedy a Repentance ought to have effaced the Remembrance of it. And our Prayer to the immortal Gods is this, That whenever any Injuries shall be done you, they may be followed by as speedy a Satisfaction as ours has been. At which Words the Senate was softned, readily forgave the *Tusculani*; and to make them entirely Roman, soon after granted them the Privileges of Roman Citizens. Thus ended the sixth Military Tribuneship of the incomparable *Camillus*. At the close of every Year's Administration, it was always questioned, whether the last had not brought him more Honour than any of the former. As to that we are now speaking of, he distinguished it by the noblest and most unparalleled Acts of Valour, Moderation, and Clemency.

§. V. THE Military Tribunes the Centuries chose to succeed him, were *L. Valerius*, *L. Menenius*, *C. Sergius*, *Sp. Papirius*, *Serv. Cornelius*, and *P. Valerius*; whose Administration was disturbed by unforeseen Accidents, domestick Seditions, and a foreign War. *Sp. Posthumus*, one of the Censors, who usually continued five Years in their Office, died; and there had been a Law formerly made at Rome, that if either of them died, during the Exercise of his Office, the Survivor should not have any new Colleague chosen, to supply his room. The surviving Censor therefore laid down his Office: So very fatal a Prefage was that thought to

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Liv. B. 6. c. 26.
Val. Max. B.
6. c. 3.

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L. VALERIUS,
L. MENENIUS,
C. SERGIUS,
SP. PAPIRIUS,
SERV. COR-
NELIUS, P.
VALERIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Liv. B. 6. c. 27.

7 He only was a Roman Citizen, in the most extensive Meaning of the Expression, who had a Right of having a House in Rome, of giving his Suffrage in the *Comitia*, and of standing Candidate for any Office; and consequently, who was incorporated in one of the Tribes. The Freed-men did not enjoy all these Privileges. Tho' they were incorporated in the Roman Tribes, yet they were excluded from Dignities. The Municipal Towns, and Roman Colonies likewise enjoyed some of the Privileges and Immunities annexed to the Title of a Roman Citizen, which was called a Right of Citizenship: And the Nations of Italy reaped so great Advantages from it, that they often demanded it sword in hand. This was the Policy of the Romans to draw those Nations into Alliances with them. They put them upon the same Foot as the Inhabitants of Rome; so that they all made but one People. Being therefore united together by their common Interests, they mutually assisted each other, and thereby became formidable to their Enemies Abroad. But this Right of Citizenship had sometimes more, sometimes fewer, Privileges annexed to it. The municipal Cities enjoyed it by a particular Grant from the People and Senate, without impairing their own Laws by it, or being obliged to change their old Form of Government. But there was this Difference between them, that some of them could neither give their Votes, nor stand Candidates for Offices in the *Comitia*; whilst others were incorporated into the Tribes, and consequently had both a Right of voting in the Assemblies of the People, and of standing for Offices. And this last Privilege, say the *Civilians*, *Paul*, and *Ulpian*, was what gave the Citizens of these *Municipia*, the Name of *Municipes*; *quod munera caperent*. This Account of the Difference between the *Municipia*, is confirmed by ancient Writers, especially *Livy*, who acknowledges there were two Sorts, as we have already observed, in our Remarks on the municipal Privileges granted to the Inhabitants of *Cære*. And the same Author speaks in another Place of *Fundi* and *Forum*, two municipal Cities, which did not obtain

the Right of Suffrage, till after much Application was made for it, tho' they already had the Right of Citizenship. As for the People of the Roman Colonies, they enjoyed more or less of the Honours and Exemptions peculiar to Roman Citizens, in Proportion to their Fidelity, and the Services they did the Republick. But a Subject so obscure, and so little treated of as this, will often give Occasion for critical Remarks, which will naturally arise out of the Subject-Matter of this History.

8 Neither *Diodorus* nor *Livy* give *Papirius Cursor* his Prænomen of *Spurius*. *Servius Cornelius*, surnamed *Maluginensis*, and *L. Valerius Poplicola*, were now made Military Tribunes the fifth time. *Publius Valerius Potitus*, who was also surnamed *Poplicola*, and *Caius Sergius Fidenas*, now entered upon this Office, the third time; as *L. Menenius Lanatus* did, the second. *Diodorus* reckons up eight Military Tribunes for this Year. He includes *Marcus Fabius* and *Lucius Æmilius* among them. But this is a manifest Mistake, and demonstrated to be so by the *Fasti Capitolini*.

9 The Death of the Censor was by the Romans thought a fatal Prefage, which foreboded great Misfortunes to their Republick. They had taken up this superstitious Opinion, upon the Death of the Censor, *Caius Julius*, which happened in the Year 361, before his Office expired. *Marcus Cornelius* was chosen to succeed him, and it had been observed, that before this *Lustrum* ended, the City was taken by the Gauls. This was enough to fill the Minds of the People with extravagant Prejudices. They made it Matter of Religion, not to fill up the Place of the deceased. On the contrary, the surviving Censor chose to abdicate his Office, as if the Gods had declared, by the untimely Death of one of them, that they disapproved of the Creation of both. After this, the People proceeded to a new Election. We have this Account from *Livy*. *Caius Julius Censor decessit. In ejus locum Marcus Cornelius substitutus. Quæ res postea religioni fuit; quia eo Lustrum Roma capta. Nec deinde unquam in demerui locum Censor sufficitur.*

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be to the Republick! Nevertheless, nothing was then more necessary for the State, than to have *Censors*, to take an exact Account of the People, and make a just Report of every particular Person's Circumstances. This was the only means of putting a stop to the Complaints the Debtors were always renewing against the excessive Usury of their Creditors. And *Posthumius*, and his Colleague *Sulpitius*, had already begun these Enquiries, which must certainly have ended in the Relief of the poor People, and to the Disadvantage of the rich Usurers. But the Death of one of the *Censors* both suspended the Hopes of the Debtors, and revived the Persecutions of their Creditors. The former exclaimed openly against the Injustice of the latter; the latter as strongly denied the Complaints the *Tribunes of the People* made of their Avarice. Whereas a *Census* would have discovered all the Mysteries of this Iniquity. The *Romans* therefore proceeded to create new *Censors*; but there either really was, or at least it was knavishly pretended that there was, some Defect discovered in their Election. From whence, the *Patricians*, who were afraid of a *Census*, and the Consequences of the Discoveries it would make, took occasion to declare publicly, that it was against the Will of the Gods, that *Rome* should have any *Censors* that Year. Whilst the *Tribunes of the People*, on the other hand, used their utmost Endeavours to bring on a new Election of *Censors*, as soon as possible.

THE postponing it, said they, is nothing but an Artifice of the Usurers. They are afraid, that an Enquiry into all Mens Estates, will discover to the Publick, that one Part of the Roman People swallows up the other. The Senate keep the People always engaged in Wars, and encamped at a great distance from the City, only to make them forget the Injustice of the Rich. All Opportunities are diligently sought for, of breaking the Peace with our Allies and Neighbours. Preparations are making for a War with Antium, with Velitræ, and with Tusculum. The Latins, the Hernici, and the Prænestini, are all treated as Enemies: Whereas in reality, Rome declares War with the Roman People, under their Names. The great Fear is, that if the Citizens should continue at home, and enjoy their Rest, they would then be mindful of their Liberty. For this Reason, they are removed into a Camp, at a distance from their Tribunes, and out of the hearing of their Harangues, And there they are lulled into a Forgetfulness of the excessive Interests which the Rich exact of them at their Return. If then, Romans, you have any of that Love of Liberty, which your Ancestors had, rouse yourselves, and shake off this Oppression. Suffer no body to be enrolled, till you are first ascertained what your Debts are, and till the Exactions of the Usurers are reformed. Know exactly what you have left, and establish Rules for ascertaining your Debts, and don't leave yourselves always at the Mercy of a Creditor. Will you rest satisfied to be continually under just Apprehensions of a Jail, by letting it wholly depend on the Humour of your Creditors, whether you shall be imprisoned, or not?

WHEN the *Tribunes of the People* had shewn the Multitude how much it was their Interest to mutiny, it was no difficult Matter to bring them to it. A favourable Opportunity offered itself. The Debtors were treated with great Rigour, and at the same time the Senate ordered Troops to be raised for the War with the *Prænestini*. But the Commons, by the Advice of the *Tribunes of the People*, opposed both one and the other. They would neither suffer the Persons of the Debtors to be seized, nor Levies to be made. Whilst indeed the *Conscript Fathers* were much more uneasy about raising the Troops, than the Imprisonment of the poor Debtors. The *Prænestini* were already come into the Neighbourhood of *Rome* with an Army hastily raised, upon the first News of the Dissentions in the Republick; and had pitched their Camp very near the Gate *Collina*. Nevertheless the Danger did not terrify the *Tribunes of the People*: They thought it might be made to turn to the Advantage of the Debtors, against the covetous *Patricians*. But at length, the Devastations the Enemy committed in the Country, and their insolent Advances even to the Foot of the Walls of *Rome*, filled the City with Terror.

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T. QUINCTIUS,
Dictator.

It was then visible, that *Rome* was not out of the reach of her Enemies; and that her Dominion did not yet extend very far. The Apprehensions therefore of what might happen from abroad, appeased the Tumults at home. Recourse was had to the usual Expedient in great Extremities. *Titus Quinctius* was in all haste nominated *Dictator*; and he chose *A. Sempronius* to be his General of Horse.

Horse. Upon which, the Remedy had its due Effect immediately. The *Prænestini* no sooner understood that *Rome* had created a *Dictator*, but they removed farther off; and Troops were raised in the City without Opposition.

§. VI. *QUINCTIUS* soon completed his Army, whilst the Enemy were encamped on the Banks of the *Allia*. The *Prænestini* thought it would be lucky to them, to make this Place the Field of Battel. *It is to be hoped*, said they one to another, *that we shall here gain as great a Victory as the Gauls did. If the Romans think the Day on which the Battel was fought in these Plains unlucky; how much more apprehensive will they be of the Place itself, on which they were routed? When they come to engage here, they will fancy they again see those frightful Strangers, and hear their terrible Shouts.* Vain Hopes! Nevertheless, the *Prænestini* fed themselves with them, and all their Expectations of Success were founded in the imaginary Influences of a Place which had formerly proved fatal to *Rome*. Whereas, the *Romans* had much surer Foundations to build their Hopes of Victory upon. *We have none but Latins*, said they, *to fight with; that is, none but Men who have been forced to keep in Alliance with us for these hundred Years; and who were formerly defeated near the Lake Regillus. So far will the Banks of the Allia be from lessening our Courage, that the Shame of our former Defeat there, will raise it. Shall there be that Place in the World, where Rome despairs of Conquest? If the Gauls themselves offered us Battel there, they should find the same Treatment on the Banks of the Allia, as they met with at Gabii; not one of them should return home alive.* These Discourses raised the Courage of the Soldiers in both Armies: And when the *Dictator Quinctius* was come and encamped within reach of the *Prænestini*, he said to *Sempronius*: *You see our Enemies have no Dependence on any thing but the Field of Battel. The Gods give them no other Hopes of Victory. Go draw out your Horse, and charge them briskly. After the first Shock, I will advance with my Infantry. O ye Gods, who are Witnesses to the Treaties, of which you are Guarantees, revenge your own, and our Cause, and punish the faithless Prænestini!* *Sempronius* obeyed: and the Enemy could not support the Attack of the *Roman Legions*. The *Prænestini* were put into Disorder upon the first Onset; and were at length utterly routed, and not able so much as to regain their Camp. They fled with such Precipitation, that they never stopped, till they came in sight of *Præneste*: and then durst not enter the City, for fear of leaving their Fields open to be plundered. So that they encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Præneste*, whilst the *Romans* were plundering their former Camp near the *Allia*. But upon the *Dictator's* Arrival, the second Camp was likewise forced; and then the Vanquished had no Place to retire to, but their City. However, the *Romans* deferred the besieging it for the present; and immediately fell upon nine Castles in the Territory of *Præneste*, which were all taken in a few Days. And then the General appeared before *Præneste* itself, which capitulated. Thus ended *Quinctius's* Campaign, who gained himself much Honour by his uncommon Expedition. He returned to *Rome*, enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph; and the Statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which he brought from *Præneste*, was an eternal Monument of his Glory. It was placed in the *Capitol*, between *Jupiter Capitolinus* and *Minerva*, with an ¹⁰ Inscription, which is yet preserved. But the most surprizing Circumstance is this, that *Quinctius* was *Dictator* but twenty-five Days, and laid down that Office as soon as he had triumphed.

§. VII. AFTER this, the popular Clamours and Complaints of the insolvent Debtors, which still continued, made an Alteration in the Elections. Whether the assembled *Centuries* divided the *Military Tribuneship* between the *Patricians* and

¹⁰ This Inscription, says *Livy*, B. 6. was drawn up almost in these Words. *Jupiter atque Divi omnes hoc dederunt, ut Titus Quinctius Dictator oppida novem caperet: i. e. Titus Quinctius, under the Protection of Jupiter, and all the Gods, took nine Cities.* But *Festus* says, that *Titus's* having dedicated to *Jupiter* a Crown of Gold, weighing two Pounds and one third, out of Gratitude for his having conquered nine Cities in nine Days (exclusive of *Præneste*, which he obliged to surrender) was mentioned in the Inscription. *Trientem Tertium pondo coronam auream dedisse Jovi donum scripsit Quinctius Dicta-*

tor, cum per novem dies, totidem urbes, & decimam Præneste, cepisset. Which led *Pighius* to believe, that *Livy* had not given us the whole Inscription; and he had Recourse to the Passage in *Festus* to complete it. *Gruter* has given it us in the Text of *Livy*, thus. JUPITER ATQUE DI OMNES HOC DEDERE UT T. QUINCTIUS DICT. OPPIDA NOVEN DIEBUS, IX, CAPERET. X, PRÆNESTE IN DEDITIONEM ACCIPERET. EARUM RERUM ERGO, TRIENTEM TERTIUM PONDO CORONAM AUREAM JOVI. D. D.

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T. QUINC-
TIUS, Dictator.
Liv. B. 6. c. 28.

Liv. B. 6. c. 29.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXV.

P. MANLIUS,
C. MANLIUS,
L. JULIUS,
C. SEXTILIUS,
M. ALBINUS,
L. ANTISTIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

Liv. B. 6. c. 30.

Plebeians, voluntarily, or by Constraint, is uncertain: but it is certain ¹¹ they chose three *Military Tribunes* out of the Nobility, and three out of the People. The *Patricians* were *P. Manlius*, *C. Manlius*, and *L. Julius*; the *Plebeians*, *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinus*, and *L. Antistius*. At this time, the Republick was almost reduced to the same Condition she was in at her first Establishment. Her Allies had deserted her, and many of the *Colonies* had declared against her. So much did she still continue to be weakened by the Blow she had received from the *Gauls*! It was therefore become necessary to subdue those *Latins* by Force, who though formerly faithful, and Sharers with the *Romans* in many Victories, had now joined the *Volsce*. The Army, which was raised to act against the Confederates, was, by way of Distinction, committed to the Conduct of the two *Manlii*. Three of their Collegues were but *Plebeians*; and *Julius*, whose Birth put him upon a foot of disputing the Generalship with them, was not so agreeable to the People as the *Manlii* were. He was not so much as suffered to draw ¹² Lots for the Command of the Troops. But *Rome* had soon Cause to repent of the Choice she had made, and the Preference she had given the *Manlii*. Each led his Part of the Army against the Enemy; and they encamped within reach of one another. And it happened, that they sent out their Cavalry to forrage, without having a sufficient Knowledge of the Country. Upon this, the Enemy did not think proper to surround the Forragers; but embraced the Opportunity, which offered itself, of drawing the whole *Roman* Army into an Ambuscade. In order to this, they hired a *Latin* Soldier to put a Cheat upon the *Roman* Generals. He dressed himself like a *Roman*, came in a great Fright to the *Roman* Camps, and said, *Your Forragers are invested by the Enemy, and must inevitably be lost, if not immediately relieved*. This was giving a general Alarm to the *Romans*; who all marched into the Fields with Precipitation, and in Disorder. The Generals did not so much as think of detaining the Messenger who brought this false News. They suffered themselves to be imposed on by the Cheat, and hurried into unpassable Places, where the *Volsce* were laying in Ambush for them. And then the *Romans* were indebted to their Bravery alone, for preserving them from an entire Defeat. They fought without Officers, and without any Order; and Despair made them invincible. But whilst they were defending themselves in narrow Passes, against one Part of the Enemy, the rest of the *Volsce* ran to besiege the *Roman* Camps, which were taken and plundered, without Resistance. Thus was the Republick brought to the very Brink of Ruin, by the ill Conduct and Ignorance of the two *Manlii*. It was deliberated at *Rome*, whether a *Dictator* should be nominated: but it was at last resolved to recall the Army, and its Commanders. The *Romans* thought, by the Appearance of the Enemy, that they would not have the Confidence to make any use of their Victory, or attempt any greater Enterprize. But this single Blow they received made their Allies more insolent. The *Prænestini*, subdued as they were, drew the whole Body of the *Latins* into a Revolt. So that *Rome* was obliged to reinforce the Colony of ¹³ *Setia* which wanted Men; and at the Request of the *Latins*, to send them *Romans* to increase the Number of their Inhabitants. Nevertheless, the City had Reason to think itself happy, in the Peace which reigned there, during these Commotions abroad. The three *Military Tribunes*, which had been chosen out of the People, put a stop to all domestick Broils, and gained the Government all due Respect and Esteem from the *Plebeians*.

¹¹ *Diodorus of Sicily* reckons up eight *Military Tribunes* for this Year, as he did for the preceding one. In this Number he includes one *Publius Trebonius*, and one *Caius Erenucius*. But these are two *Tribunes* too many, and ought to be blotted out of *Diodorus's* List. He gives *Julius* the *Prænomen* of *Tiberius*: But *Livy* and the *Fasti Capitolini* agree in giving him that of *Lucius*. His Surname is *Iulus*. He was now made *Military Tribune* the second time. The ancient *Tables* do also give *Albinus* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*; but *Diodorus* calls him *Lucius*. And he is as much mistaken in changing *Caius Sextilius's* Name into that of *Caius Sextius*.

¹² The Command of the Armies belonged of Right to one of the *Consuls*, or one of those who

exercised the *Consular* Authority. And to avoid Disputes, it was often determined by the People, or by Lot, which of them should have it.

¹³ The ancient City of *Setia*, formerly stood in that Canton of *Latium* where *Sezza* now stands on the Brow of a Hill, at a little Distance from the *Pomptin* Marshes. Its Territory produced excellent Wines, according to old Authors, particularly *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Juvenal*, *Martial*, and *Silius*. *Livy* tells us, B. 7. that this City was called a *Roman Colony*: And *Velleius Paterculus* places the settling of this Colony in the eighth Year after the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. *Post septem annos quam Galæ urbem cepervant, Satricum deducta Colonia est, & per annum Setia.*

§. VIII. But the next Year was not so peaceable. The *Centuries* chose only *Patricians* for *Military Tribunes*; which were, ¹⁴ *Sp. Furius, Q. Servilius, C. Licinius, P. Cloelius, M. Horatius, and L. Geganus*. The People therefore did not pay due Deference to their Authority in all Cases. They were too much concerned in Interest, to free themselves from the Oppressions of the Rich, by the excessive Usury they exacted of the Poor. The Commons got two *Censors* chosen; who were, *Servilius Priscus* and *Cloelius Siculus*: and they applied themselves to the main ¹⁵ Business of their Office. They took an exact Account of the *Romans*, and their Effects, in a *Lustrum*, which the *Fasti Capitolini* call the 19th from their Institution. So that nothing now remained for the *Censors* to do, unless to put an end to the Disputes between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, by relieving the poor Debtors, who were continually oppressed by their avaritious Creditors. But a sudden War frustrated their Designs. News was brought to *Rome* in all haste, that the *Volsci* were entered into the *Roman* Territory, and committing Ravages there. Nevertheless, this Report affrighted no body but the *Censors*. They indeed left the Business of settling the Disputes between the Debtors and Creditors unfinished, under Pretence that it was of more Consequence to the State, to guard against Hostilities abroad, than Dissentions at home. But the *Tribunes of the People* were far from laying aside their Pretensions. They pursued their Point with the more Violence, and opposed the inlisting any of the People. This was a Game they had often played with Success; and the Senate were now forced to satisfy them, and stop the Clamours of the Populace as well as they could. For which Purpose, they made a Decree, that no Person should be disturbed for Debt, or the Payment of the usual Taxes, during the Campaign. And then the People became tractable, and the Levies were made without any Opposition. Two Armies were formed, which marched into the Country of the *Volsci*, different Ways. *Sp. Furius* and *M. Horatius* commanded one Body, which marched to the Right, along the Sea-Coasts, on the Side of *Antium*. *Q. Servilius* and *L. Geganus* were at the Head of the second Army, and they advanced to the Left by *Ecetra*, that is, cross the

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SP. FURIUS,
Q. SERVILIUS,
C. LICINIUS,
P. CLOELIUS,
M. HORATIUS,
L. GEGANIUS, Military
Tribunes.

Fast. Capit.

Liv. B. 6. c. 31.

¹⁴ *Diodorus* mentions but four *Military Tribunes* for this Year; and among the rest, *Caius Licinius Calvus*, instead of *Licinius Menenius* whom we find mentioned in the old Editions of *Livy*. And we think our selves obliged to prefer *Diodorus's* Account, for this Reason. *Livy* himself tells us, that *Caius Licinius*, who was Master or General of the Horse in the Year 395, had been *Military Tribune* before. Whereas it is impossible to find the Year of his *Tribuneship* in the *Fasti Capitolini*, unless we put the Name of *Caius Licinius Calvus*, instead of that of *Licinius Menenius*. Which we think a more probable Conjecture, than that of some Moderns, who think the Table of the *Consular Years* defective. This *Caius Licinius* was probably the Son of *Publius Calvus*, who was *Military Tribune* in the Year of *Rome* 357. *Spurius Furius*, surnamed *Medullinus*, is thought to have been the Brother of *Lucius Furius*, whom we have seen in the *Military Tribuneship* in the Year 373. *C. Servilius Priscus Fidenas* was now made *Military Tribune* the second time. *Publius Cloelius* had the Surname of *Siculus*; *Marcus Horatius*, that of *Pulvillus*; and *Lucius Geganus*, that of *Macerinus*.

¹⁵ The chief Offices of the *Roman Censors* were these. They made the *Census*, or numbered the People. They took an exact List of all the *Roman* Citizens, their Ages, Possessions, Circumstances, Children, and Slaves. It was their Business to set a Value upon every Man's Estate, that the Taxes might be laid equally on all, in Proportion to their Abilities. They had the Right of nominating the Head, or *Prince of the Senate*. The civil Government of the City was partly lodged in their Hands; since it was their Business to take Care of the Education of Children, to regulate the Price of Merchandizes, restrain Luxury, and prevent superfluous Expences. They had the Direction of the Games, and of the Sacrifices, the Expences of which were defrayed by the Publick. It likewise belonged to

them to see the Streets of *Rome*, the publick Roads, the Bridges, and the Aqueducts, repaired. Their Power was so absolute, that they had Authority to expel those Senators who had behaved themselves ill. They could degrade the *Roman Knights*, when they were guilty of Actions unworthy of Men of their Order; who were then put upon a Level with the rest of the People. The *Censors*, by virtue of their Office, could strike out of the Lists of the *Tribes*, deprive of the Right of Voting, or remove from a superior to an inferior *Tribe*, any Citizens who acted dishonestly. Their Sentences were also without Appeal. *Publius Clodius*, the *Tribune of the People*, indeed, got a Law passed, which forbade the *Censors* declaring any Man infamous, till he had been regularly accused, judged, and condemned, in due Form of Law. But this Law was repealed, as will appear hereafter, and the *Censors* recovered their old Authority. Their Office, at first, lasted five Years; but *Mamercus Aemilius* the *Dictator* reduced its Duration to eighteen Months. The Functions of the *Censors* are mentioned in *Cicero's* 3d Book Of *Laws*, where he gives this Account of them. *Censores, populi civitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censunt. Urbis templa, vias, aquas, ararium, vectigalia tuento, populi que partes in Tribus distribuunt. Exim pecunias, civitates, ordines, partiunt. Equitum pedumque prolem describunt. Celibes esse prohibent. Mores populi regunt. Probrum in Senatu non relinquunt. Bini sunt. Magistratum quinquennium habent.* These Magistrates were elected in *Comitia* by *Centuries*: And in the first Ages of *Rome*, only *Patricians* could be raised to this Dignity. But the *Plebeians* afterwards aspired at it, and shared it with the *Patricians*. What we have here observed in general, concerning the Authority, Privileges, Honours, and Duties, of the *Censors*, will be explained more particularly hereafter, as Occasion shall offer.

Country

Year of
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SP. FURIUS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.

Country of the *Hernici*, between ¹⁶ *Ferentinum* and *Signia*. But neither Army met with any Enemy: so that the whole Country of the *Volsci* was plundered. And this Plunder was not like one of those precipitate and thievish Incursions, which the *Volsci* were used to make in great Disorder, because always in Fear of the Enemy. The *Romans* carried on their pillaging regularly, and in the greatest Safety. They gave themselves time to make the Desolation universal; and tarried a great while in the Enemy's Country, on purpose to draw them to a Battel. They spared neither Country-Houses, nor Villages, nor Fruit-Trees, nor Seed-Corn. All was plundered, or burnt up, and the Cattel which the *Volsci* had left in the Country, was carried off. In short, after finishing an Expedition, wherein the *Romans* revenged the Attempt of the *Volsci*, the two Armies returned by the same Ways they came. After which, the Creditors suffered the People to enjoy the Benefit of the Decree, which forbade any to molest them, but a few Days. The *Patricians*, who now found themselves eased of the Burden of a foreign Enemy, cited their Debtors to appear before the Judges, as usual. Nor was this all. The *Censors* had built a Free-Stone Wall, doubtless by way of Fortification to the City; and a ¹⁷ Capitation-Tax being laid on the Citizens, to defray the Expence of it, the Poor were obliged to borrow Money at excessive Interest, to pay their Assessments. Thus the People were forced to sink under the Weight of publick Taxes, and private Debts. What could they do, or what Service were the *Tribunes* able to do them? There were now no new Levies for them to oppose, all being peaceable abroad: So that the *Patricians* became Masters of the Election of chief Magistrates for the Year ensuing.

Year of
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CCCLXXVII.
L. ÆMILIUS,
SERV. SULPICIUS,
P. VALERIUS, L. QUINCTIUS,
C. VETURIUS,
C. QUINCTIUS,
us, Military
Tribunes.

S. IX. THE assembled *Centuries* chose six *Patricians*, *Military Tribunes*: and then the *Plebeians* lost all Hope of having a Share in the Government for a great while. But they soon recovered it. The *Military Tribunes* now chosen, were L. Æmilius, Serv. Sulpicius, P. Valerius, L. Quinctius, C. Veturius, and C. Quinctius. Then the *Latins* and the *Volsci* entered into a new Confederacy against the Republick. The Levy of the *Latins*, who were so long in Alliance with *Rome*, and the Obstinacy of the *Volsci*, who were so often overcome, and yet always so ready to begin a new War, are not to be paralleled. These two Confederate Nations pitched their Camp near *Satricum*. And that the *Tribunes of the People* should not embrace the Opportunity the Discontents of the Debtors gave them, to oppose the raising of Troops, is surprizing. Indeed they might perhaps have been intimidated by the Ascendant the *Patricians* had gained over the Commons; or the Apprehensions of a War with two united Nations, might perhaps induce them to consider the Interests of the Publick. But whatever their Motives were, it is certain the new Levies were so considerable, that they were divided into three Armies. One was to guard the Walls; another to be ready to march wherever there should be Occasion for it, on the first Notice; and the third, which was the most considerable, was to attack the Enemy in the Neighbourhood of *Satricum*. P. Valerius and L. Æmilius commanded the Troops which took the Field, and immediately entered upon Action. The *Roman* Generals found the *Volsci* and the *Latins* advantageously posted: But nevertheless did not delay giving them Battle. The Action lasted till it was interrupted by so violent a Rain that neither Party could keep the Field: And tho' the *Romans* could

Liv. B. 6. c. 32.

¹⁶ The City of *Ferentinum* formerly belonged to the *Volsci*. The *Romans* took it, and gave it to the *Hernici*, after the Conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance the *Romans* entered into, with them, and the *Latins*. The Place where it anciently stood is now called *Ferentino*, and by Corruption *Fiorentino*. The Inhabitants of this City were called *Ferentinates*, to distinguish them from the Inhabitants of another *Ferentinum* which was in *Tuscany*, and who were called *Ferentini*.

¹⁷ It then belonged to the *Censors* to tax all the Citizens according to their Substance, or according to the different *Classes* in which they were incorporated, agreeably to the Laws of the *Census*, established by King *Servius Tullius*. It was also their Business to collect Tributes, Imposts, and all other Assessments, which were made in the Name of the Republick. The Money collected was put into the

Publick Treasury. The *Censors* likewise farmed out the Taxes which were raised in all the *Roman* Dominions: And they settled their Accounts at the End of every *Lustrum*, about the Beginning of *March*, because this was formerly the first Month in the Year.

¹⁸ This was the fifth *Military Tribuneship* of L. Æmilius, surnamed *Mamercinus*; the fourth of Publius Valerius Potitus Poplicola: the second of Servius Sulpicius Prætextatus, and Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus; and the first of Caius Veturius, and Caius Quinctius Cincinnatus. The *Fasti Consulares* give Caius Veturius the Surnames of *Crassus* and *Cicurinus*. *Diodorus* has omitted *Veturius* and *Caius Quinctius*, and put *Virginus* and *Caius Cornelius* in their room. But this is a Mistake of that Author, or his Copyists.

not then flatter themselves with having gained a complete Victory, yet they at least found Reason to promise themselves one the next Day, from the little Trial they had made of the Enemy. The Battel was then renewed, and at first with pretty equal Success on both Sides. The *Latins*, who had been long in Alliance with the *Romans*, had learned the Art of War from them; and their Valour and Experience suspended the Fortune of the Day, for some time: but at length the Enemy was no longer able to withstand the Efforts of the *Roman* Cavalry. The Horse, which had been long accustomed to give the decisive Stroke in Battels, were ordered to advance against the *Latin* Battalions, and broke them. Then the *Roman* Infantry fell on the Confederate Troops; wherever the *Legions* engaged, the *Latins* and *Volsci* lost Ground; and the Valour of the *Romans* increased as fast as the Enemy gave way: Till the latter being at last broken through, and routed, fled for Refuge to *Satricum*, without daring to trust to their Camp. Nevertheless, as *Satricum*¹⁹ was about two Miles from the Field of Battel, the *Roman* Horse, which pursued the Fugitives, made a great Slaughter of them. Nor did those who escaped to the City, think themselves safe there. They left it in Disorder the Night following, and made the best of their Way to *Antium*, to secure themselves in that City. The *Roman* Army indeed pursued them closely; but the Vanquished fled faster than the Conquerors pursued. The former entered *Antium*, before the latter could come up with their Rear-Guard, and attack it. Then Discord effectually weakened the Enemies of the *Roman* Name. The *Antiates* were not in a Condition to maintain a Siege; nor did they know, that the *Romans* had no thoughts of undertaking it. Besides, the *Volsci* were grown weary of a War, which had been begun before their Time, in their Fathers Days, and in maintaining which they were now grown old. The *Antiates* were likewise all inclined to come to a Capitulation with the *Romans*. The *Latins* indeed were yet as warm in their Revolt as at the Beginning; and their Losses had not discouraged them from running the Hazards they did, in contending with *Rome*. They were concerned, that they had already lived too long in a good Understanding with her. But the *Antiates* seemed to persist in their Resolution of coming to an Agreement with the Republick. This was therefore enough for the *Latins* to separate from them. They, enraged at their not having been able to suspend a Peace, which they thought a dishonourable one, continued the War with Fury. They vented their Rage against *Satricum* itself, tho' a Country of the *Volsci*, and the very Place which had served them for their Retreat after their Defeat. They reduced the whole City to Ashes, except one Edifice only, which was a Temple erected to the Honour of the Goddess²⁰ *Matuta*, whom the *Greeks* worshipped under the Name of *Leucothea*. The Worship

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L. ÆMILIUS.
&c. Military
Tribunes.

¹⁹ We have no Remains left of the ancient City of *Satricum*. It belonged to the *Volsci*, and stood in the *Pomptin* Territory, on the Borders of *Lanuvium*, near *Pometia*. *Velleius* and *Diodorus* confound it with *Sutri*, a City of the *Hetrurians*. The *Abridger of Stephens* is likewise as incorrect, when he disfigures the Name of *Satricum*, and calls it *Satria*, and its Inhabitants *Satriani*. *Velleius* tells us the City of *Sutri* became a *Roman* Colony, seven Years after the taking of *Rome*; *Post septem annos quam Galli urbem ceperunt Sutricum deducta Colonia est*. But the best Criticks agree, we ought here to read *Satricum*, and not *Sutricum*. This last City was not a *Roman* Colony so soon. At least *Livy*, B. 6. calls the Inhabitants of *Sutri* only Allies of *Rome*. The *Romans*, says he, took it from the *Hetrurians*, and restored it to their Allies. *Sutrio recepto restituitoque Sociis*. This was done in the Year 368, and the same Author tells us, soon after, that is, in the Year 369, that a Colony of 2000 Citizens of *Rome* was sent to *Satricum*, five Years after the Expedition of the *Gauls*. But according to *Velleius*, it was seven Years, and not five.

²⁰ The Goddess *Matuta* of the *Romans*, was, according to *Plutarch*, the same with the *Leucothea*, (or *Ino*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*) of the *Greeks*. The Ceremonies observed in their Sacrifices, says he, were the same; and, if we may judge by them, the Goddesses differ only in Name. A Woman

Slave, adds he, was brought into the Middle of the Temple, where she was first boxed about by the *Roman* Ladies, and then driven out with Ignominy. The Women, continues he, do likewise bring their young Nephews in their Arms, and present them to *Matuta*, making Vows to her, and praying her to protect these Infants. Then they offer Sacrifices to her; and represent in a natural Manner what happened to *Bacchus's* Nurses; and what *Ino* suffered, from *Juno's* Anger, for having nursed the Son of her Rival. But *Tully* makes *Ino* and *Matuta* to be the same Person. His Words, *Tusculan. B. 1.* are these; *Quid Ino Cadmi filia, nonne Leucothea nominata a Græcis, Matuta habetur a nostris?* The Jealousy *Ino* entertained of one of her Women-Slaves, with whom her Husband *Athamas* fell desperately in Love, is well known. This jealous Woman hated all Women-Slaves from that time: And the *Romans*, who adopted this fabulous Goddess, imitated her Resentments and her Uneasiness, on the Festivals which they kept in Honour to her. For this Reason, all Women-Slaves were forbidden entering into her Temple, except her who represented *Athamas's* Mistress: And the *Roman* Ladies pretended to revenge the Injury which had been done her, by beating this unhappy Woman. The Custom of carrying their own Nephews into the Temple of this Goddess, put them in mind of the Misfortunes of *Ino*, who was an unhappy Mother. She saw *Athamas* kill

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of this Goddess had without doubt been brought to *Satricum* from *Rome*, with the *Roman Colony* which had settled there. And this Temple, which escaped the Fire by mere Accident, gave Rise to the Fable of a Voice's having come from the Temple, and affrighted with terrible Menaces those who were burning the Town. Nor did even the Ruin of *Satricum* satisfy these furious Men. They fell upon the *Tusculani*, to punish them for having deserted the *Latin Confederacy*, and accepted the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. The *Latin Army* surprized their City, found its Gates open, entred it with great Shouts, and made themselves Masters of it. Then the Inhabitants retired into the Citadel, with their Wives and Children, and had no time to do any thing more, than acquaint the *Romans* with their Surprize and Misfortunes. The *Romans* had an Army ready against any unforeseen Events. It was commanded by *L. Quinctius* and *Serv. Sulpicius*, two of the *Military Tribunes* for the Year; and their Diligence shewed how faithful and ready *Rome* was in relieving the Cities in Association with her. The *Roman* Generals found the *Latins* obstinately bent upon forcing the Citadel of *Tusculum*, and defending the Town at the same time. Nevertheless, the Terror the *Tusculani* were in, was a little abated at the Approach of the *Roman Army*. They shouted at the Top of the Citadel, for Joy; and the *Roman* Soldiers answered them with yet louder Shouts. The *Latins* were then enclosed between two Enemies. On one hand, the *Tusculani* attacked them from the Top of the Citadel; on the other, the *Romans* endeavoured to make a Breach in the Wall, and force open the Gates. How then could they withstand this double Attack? In short, the *Legions* scaled the Walls, made themselves Masters of the Ramparts, and broke open the City-Gates. Upon which, the *Latins*, who were now surrounded on all Sides, could neither make any Resistance, nor find any Way to escape. They were all cut to pieces within the Walls of *Tusculum*, not one of them escaping: And after the *Military Tribunes* had recovered this City, they led back their Army to *Rome*.

§. X. THUS the Peace concluded with the *Antiates*, and the Defeat of the *Latins*, gave the Republick an Interval of Tranquillity abroad. But at home, the Avarice of the *Patricians* increased the Misery of the poor People. As all the Debtors were pressed to pay their Debts at the same time, one Friend could not assist another, or lend him any Part of his Substance. So that most of them became insolvent, were deliverd up to their Creditors, reduced to Slavery, and their Credit destroyed for ever. - Instead of paying their Debts, they suffered corporal Punishment for them. So that the People were enslaved to the *Patricians*, and no longer in a Condition to aspire at the highest Posts in the Commonwealth, as they had formerly done; even the chief Citizens were grown contemptible, had lost their Credit, and hardly durst stand Candidates for any *Plebeian* Offices, much less pretend to share with the Nobility the *Military Tribuneship*, which they had so often aspired at. In short, the People despaired ever succeeding in that Attempt, how able soever some of the *Plebeians* might be, and how well qualified soever, for the Discharge of that Office. Insomuch, that the *Patricians* seemed now secure of for ever engrossing all Honours, and the whole Administration of publick Affairs, to themselves. But, which may seem very incredible, a trifling Affair gave the

kill her Son *Learchus*; and then leaped into the Sea, with her Son *Melicertes*. But she had been a more fortunate Aunt, since she had saved her Sister *Semele's* Son *Bacchus*. Therefore the Women took Care not to present their own Children to this Goddess; and only prayed to her for their Nephews. This *Ovid* describes in these Lines, in the 6th Book of his *Fæsti*;

*Non tamen hanc, pro stirpe sua, pia mater adorat,
Ipsa parum felix visa fuisse parens.
Alterius prolem melius mandabit illi,
Utilior Baccho, quam fuit illa suis.*

The Festival of this Goddess was kept on The third of the Ides of June, i. e. on the 11th Day of that Month, and was called *Matralia*. At that time, a Sort of Cakes were offered up to her, which were baked in earthen Pots. *Varro* mentions this Offering, B. 4. de Ling. Lat. Testatum, quod in testa calida coquebatur, ut etiam nunc Matralibus faciunt

Matronæ. And *Ovid* speaks of these Cakes, *Fæst. B. 6.* in these Lines,

*Itæ bonæ Matres, vestrum Matralia festum
Flavaque Thabana reddite liba Deæ.*

The *Romans*, according to *Plutarch*, had learned the Worship they paid the Goddess *Matuta*, from the *Greeks*. He likewise says, in his *Roman Questions*, that the Guardian of the Temple dedicated to *Leucothea*, in the City of *Cheronea*, stood at the Porch Door with a Whip in his Hand, and from time to time pronounced these Words, Let no Woman Slave, or *Ætolian Man*, or Woman, dare to enter this Place; in Allusion to *Athamas's* Mistress, who was a Slave of *Ætolia*, whom the *Greeks* call *Antiphera*. *Boissar* has given us the Figure of their Goddess, from an ancient Monument, just as we here represent her; with this Inscription, MATUTA. [Sir Isaac Newton places *Ino's* Marriage with *Athamas* in the Year before Christ 980. *Chron. p. 20.*]

Plebeians



M A T U T A .

Plebeians an Opportunity of shaking off the Oppression of the Nobility, and carrying their Pretensions higher than ever.

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L. ÆMILIUS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.
*Lives of Illu.
Men.*
Liv. B. 6. c. 34.
Zonaras, B. 7.

FABIUS AMBUSTUS had two Daughters. He was descended from the illustrious Family of the *Fabii*²¹, and retained an hereditary Affection for the *Plebeian* Party. He had indeed married his eldest Daughter into a *Patrician* Family: *Serv. Sulpitius*, who was then *Military Tribune*, was her Husband. But he had given his youngest Daughter to *Licinius*²² *Stolo*, a Man of Weight in *Rome*, and a Man of many personal good Qualities, but of *Plebeian* Extraction. Now it happened at the time that the Arrogance of the Nobility was carried to its highest Pitch, and the People were humbled to a great Degree, that *Fabius's* youngest Daughter went to pay a Visit to her Sister. *Sulpitius* was then gone out, accompanied with the Guard which always attended *Military Tribunes*: And during the Conversation of the two Sisters, the Husband of the eldest came from the *Forum*, where he had been discharging the Duties of his Office. A Crowd of Clients conducted him home, and the *Lictors*²³ knocked with their *Fasces* at the *Tribune's* Gate, to give notice of his Return. The younger Sister, who was not used to this Noise, was surprized at it, and her Surprize seemed mixed with Fear. Upon which the elder Sister could not help laughing at her; and this Laugh, how innocent soever in itself, had a very bad Construction put upon it, by the younger. She considered it as an Insult upon her, on Account of the ignoble Family into which she had been forced to marry; and her Heart was immediately fired with Jealousy and Resentment. This is the natural Temper of Women, when Fortune puts too great an Inequality between them and their Relations, to whom they are equal in Birth. The imaginary Affront provoked her; and the Sight of the Multitude of Courtiers, who attended her Brother-in-law, and the Earnestness they expressed in desiring to receive his Commands, increased her Anguish. She envied her Sister's Happiness, and repined at her own Fate, which had placed her in an inferior Rank. Inasmuch that the *Plebeian* Lady could not conquer her Uneasiness, or conceal it from her Father's Eyes, who loved her. *Fabius* had Address enough to make her discover to him the Cause of her Uneasiness herself. You have made me marry, said she to him, into a Family which is for ever excluded enjoying any Honours in *Rome*! What a vast Difference is there between my Sister's Condition and mine! To which the Father replied, Don't be uneasy, Child; you shall soon see as much State at your own House, as you were surprized to find at your Sister's: And *Fabius* kept his Word. He carried on an Intrigue, which brought about a sort of Revolution in the Government. The *Military Tribuneship* was abolished; the *Consulship* restored; the People shared this supreme Dignity with the Nobility; and in short, the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* were put upon an equal Foot. It seems to have been the Fate of *Rome* to have the great Changes in the Republick always occasioned by Women. The Envy of one Sister to another, gave Rise to the Disturbances we are now going to relate.

FABIUS, in order to compass his Designs, entered into an Association with two of the Commons, who were in nothing inferior to the most illustrious *Patricians*, but their Birth. The first was *Licinius* his Son-in-law; the other, one *L. Sextius*,

²¹ The Family of the *Fabii*, was one of the most considerable Families in *Rome*, both for its Ancientness, and the Great Men it produced. And in order to make the Origin of it the more illustrious, it was derived from *Hercules*. It was said, that when he came to the Banks of the *Tyber*, he fell desperately in Love with a Nymph, or rather Woman of this Country, and by her had the first *Fabius*, from whom all the Family of the *Fabii* descended. This *Plutarch* relates upon the Credit of a very uncertain Tradition. This Family was divided into several Branches, as already has appeared, and will appear more fully in the Course of this History. The fabulous Story of the Birth of the first *Fabius*, makes *Juvenal* say,

Natus in Herculeo Fabius lare. Sat. 8.

²² The Latin Word *Stolo*, is generally understood to signify those Suckers which grow out of the Roots, or lowest Part of the Trunks, of Trees.

They injure Trees, by drawing the Sap from them. And *Varro* says, *B. 4. de re Rustica*, that *Licinius's* great Care to keep his Trees free from them, gave him the Name of *Stolo*. But *Pliny*, *B. 17.* pretends that the *Licinian* Family assumed this Name, because one *Licinius* invented the Art of pruning Vines.

²³ When any of the Great Magistrates came Home, or to any other Person's House, the *Lictors* gave Notice of his coming, by knocking at the Door with their *Fasces*; unless it was the House of a superior Magistrate. In that Case, the inferior Magistrates did as *Pompey* did, after he had finished the War with *Mithridates*. When he came to *Possidonius's* House, who was famous for his Wisdom and Learning, he forbade his *Lictors* to knock at the Door, as usual; and ordered them to hold down their *Fasces*, out of Respect to this Philosopher. *Fasces Lictorios janua submisit is, cui se Oriens Occidensque submiserat*, says *Pliny*, *B. 7. c. 30.*

who

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CCCLXXVII.
L. ÆMILIUS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.

who was yet in the Flower of his Age, and had Merit enough to have raised him to the highest Post, had he not been a *Plebeian*. These he advised to take Advantage even of that low Condition, to which the *Patricians* had reduced the People. *Your Misery*, said he, *is as great as it can be; and the Plebeians will never be able to recover themselves out of it, till they place one of their own Body at the Head of the Republick.* This you have formerly attempted with Success; and you have now as favourable an Opportunity for it as ever. The Pretence of relieving the poor Debtors, will give a Sanction to your Designs. Only attempt boldly, and all Difficulties will vanish. This is the only Means of putting the Nobility and you, upon an Equality. In order to this, the three Confederates agreed, that the first Step to be taken was to exert all their Interest to get *Licinius* and *Sextius* chosen *Tribunes of the People* for the next Year. It is well known, the College of the *Tribunes* then consisted of ten *Plebeians*. The two Candidates were admitted into it; and by this first Step, paved the Way to the greatest Honours. They made it their first Business to draw up some Laws, which all tended to destroy the Grandeur of the *Patricians*, and promote the Interests of the People. The first of these Laws related to the Debtors, and was this: *Let the Interest already paid be reckoned as a Discharge of so much of the Principal; and let the Remainder of it be paid at three different equal Payments.* The second concerned the Possession of Lands ²⁴, and forbade any one Person's possessing more ²⁵ than five hundred Acres. The third was this; *That the Military Tribuneship should be abolished in Rome, and two Consuls chosen, one of which should always be a Plebeian.* It is easy to perceive, that these Laws were of great Importance; and the Authors of them expected to meet with great Opposition to them. They tended to no less than to deprive the *Patricians* of a Part of what Men think most dear, their Revenues, Lands, and Honours. The Nobility were therefore alarmed at the Design. But after many publick and private Deliberations upon it, they could find out only that Expedient to disappoint it, which had formerly been used with Success. This was, to divide the *Tribunes of the People*, and prevail on one Part of the College to oppose the Attempts of the other. Accordingly the *Patricians* gained eight *Tribunes* out of the ten. Nevertheless, *Licinius* and *Sextius* assembled the *Tribes* to pass their Laws in the *Comitia*. Then the *Patricians* left nothing undone to avert the Blow which threatened them. They appeared at the Assembly, and served for a Guard to those *Tribunes of the People*, whom they had brought over to their Interest. As soon therefore as the Authors of the three Bills were ready to begin the reading them, their Collegues cry'd out, *We protest against it.* These Protections of one Part of the *Tribunes* against the other, were often repeated at different *Comitia*: insomuch that *Licinius* and *Sextius* were not able to get their intended Laws heard by the People. Being therefore at length tired with such frequent Disturbances and Interruptions, they resolved that they likewise would protest in their Turns. *Very well*, said *Sextius* to his Collegues; *since you like so well to hear and speak the Words I protest, we shall find Occasion to repeat them too, and that to the Advantage of the People.* Accordingly, when the *Centuries* were assembled to elect *Military Tribunes* for the next Year, *Sextius* and *Licinius* cried out in their Turns, *We protest against it.* Which Words were so much regarded by the People, out of the Deference they paid to the Authority of their *Tribunes*, that the Republick fell into a sort of Anarchy. None but *Plebeian* Officers were elected, that is, *Tribunes*, and *Ædiles*. No *Curule* Magistrates, that is, no *Military Tribunes*, or other Magistrates who sat in Chairs adorned with Ivory, were chosen. Thus the *Patricians* were entirely excluded from the

²⁴ Several Years after, this Law was made use of against *Licinius Stolo* himself, who was the Author of it. He was convicted of holding to the Quantity of 1000 Acres of Land, in his own and his Son's Name, and was fined. So true is it, says *Valerius Maximus*, B. 8. that a Lawgiver ought first to obey the Laws he has made; and prescribe nothing for other People to do, but what he is resolved to practise himself. *Docuit igitur Licinius, nihil præcipi debere, nisi quod prius quisque sibi imperavit.*

²⁵ According to *Pliny*, B. 18. c. 3: an Acre of

Land, or the *Jugerum*, among the Romans, was as much Land as one Yoke of Oxen could plough in one Day. *Quod uno iugo bovum in die exarari posset.* And according to the same Author, an Acre contained *duos actus quadratos*, that is, sixscore square French Feet. *Duplicatus actus in longitudinem jugerum faciebat.* *Columella's* Explanation of the Latin Term *actus Quadratus*, is this. *Clima quoque versus est pedum sexaginta. Actus Quadratus undique definitur pedibus centum viginti, hoc duplicatum facit jugerum, & ab eo quod erat junctum, nomen jugeri usurpavit.* B. 5.

Government; and this Intermiſſion of ſuperior Magiſtrates placed *Licinius* and *Sextius* at the Head of the Republick, becauſe they continued at the Head of the *Tribunes of the People*. So that *Fabius's* Promise to his Daughter may be ſaid to have been performed, from that time.

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CCCLXXVII.

§. XI. ON account therefore of this Intermiſſion of the firſt Offices in *Rome*, we ſhall only diſtinguiſh the ²⁶ four following Years, by the Names of the moſt illuſtrious of the *Tribunes of the People*, who were *Licinius* and *Sextius*. Some Hiſtorians indeed pretend, that there was then an *Interregnum* in *Rome*, during which the *Patricians* took their Turns of ſitting at the Helm of Affairs, for five Days each; but this is uncertain. *Livy* only inſinuates as much, without venturing to affirm it: and *Flavius Vopiscus*, who does affirm it, brings no Authority for it, but *Livy*.

CCCLXXVIII.
LICINIUS, and
SEXTIUS, &c.
Tribunes of
the People.
*Flavius Vopif-
cus apud Ta-
citus*

THE ſame *Licinius* and *Sextius* were alſo continued *Tribunes of the People* the next Year; and they and their Colleagues ſeem to have had the entire Government of the Republick in their own Hands. But however that be, it's certain no *Patrician* Magiſtrates were elected; the two *Tribunes of the People* were conſtant in op- poſing them, and their Oppoſition was ſupported by the *Comitia*.

CCCLXXIX.
LICINIUS, and
SEXTIUS, &c.
Tribunes of
the People.

NOR did the Year after that reinſtate the *Patricians* in the Poſſeſſion of the Of- fices they uſed to enjoy. *Licinius* and *Sextius* were again choſen *Tribunes of the People*; and their Proteſts againſt the *Curule* Magiſtrates ſtill continued effectual: ſo that the *Patricians* were not yet admitted into the Government of the Re- publick.

CCCLXXX.
LICINIUS, and
SEXTIUS, &c.
Tribunes of
the People.

NAY, theſe domeſtick Broils continued to rage a fourth Year likewise. *Rome* was ſo happy, as not to be threatned with any foreign War, all this while; and it is well known, that Peace abroad ſeldom failed of producing Seditions and Inſur- rections at home.

CCCLXXXI.
LICINIUS, and
SEXTIUS, &c.
Tribunes of
the People.

BUT at laſt, the Appearance of foreign Enemies made it neceſſary to elect *Mili- tary Tribunes*, for a time. *Licinius* and *Sextius* were juſt elected *Tribunes of the People* a ſixth time, when the Inhabitants of *Velitrae* declared War againſt *Rome*. Theſe reſtleſs Neighbours, who were ſituated between the *Volſci* and the *Latins*, had forgotten that they were deſcended from one of the oldeſt *Roman Colonies*: and the Inaction of the Republick for ſeveral Years, gave them Hopes, that their Hoſtilities would eſcape unrevenged. They therefore over-run the Lands of the *Romans*, and even ventured to attempt the taking of *Tuſculum*: and when they had formed the Siege of it, Neceſſities of State obliged *Licinius* and *Sextius* to deſiſt from their Oppoſition. They ſuffered the *Comitia* to be aſſembled, for the Election of ſix *Military Tribunes*: and it being then difficult to overlook the *Pa- tricians*, when Generals were wanting, the Suffrages of the People fell upon ſix of the Nobility. Theſe were ²⁷ *L. Furius*, *P. Valerius*, *A. Manlius*, *Serv. Sulpicius*, *C. Valerius*, and *Serv. Cornelius*. Deputies came to *Rome* from all the Allies, and particularly from the *Tuſculani*, to deſire the Senate to protect them from the Ra- vages of the *Veliterni*. But tho' the Republick had choſen Heads to command the Troops, the Troops themſelves were not yet raiſed: and the *Tribunes of the Peo- ple* ſhewed the Power of their Oppoſitions in this Inſtance likewise. They ſuf- pended the Levies for ſome time; till, after many Diſputes, the Neceſſity of Affairs obliged them at laſt to ſuffer them to go on: And as ſoon as the *Romans* took the Field, their weak Enemies diſappeared. Not only the Siege of *Tuſculum* was raiſed, but the *Veliterni* diſperſed, and in great haſte hid themſelves behind their Walls. Upon which the Scene changed. Thoſe very *Veliterni*, who warmly car- ried on the Siege of *Tuſculum*, were themſelves more cloſely beſieged in their own City of *Velitrae*. But the Town was ſo difficult to be taken, that the Generals

CCCLXXXII.
L. FURIUS,
P. VALERIUS,
A. MANLIUS,
SERV. SULPICIUS,
C. VA-
LERIUS, SERV.
CORNELIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

²⁶ This Anarchy laſted five Years, according to *Livy*, B. 6. *Eaque Solitudo magistratuum per quin- nennium urbem tenuit.* But moſt Writers, as par- ticularly *Eutropius*, *Flavius Vopiscus*, and *Cassiodo- rus*, differ from him, in this Particular, and make it to have laſted but four Years: And the *Faſti Capi- lini* are an unanſwerable Proof of it.

²⁷ This was the ſixth *Military Tribuneſhip*, of *Serv- ius Cornelius*, ſurnamed *Maluginenſis*; the fifth, of *Publius Valerius*, who is always diſtinguiſhed by the

two Surnames of *Potitus* and *Poplicola*; the fourth, of *Aulus Manlius Capitolinus*; the third, of *Servius Sulpicius Prætextatus*; the ſecond, of *L. Furius Me- dullinus*; and the firſt, of *Gaius Valerius Potitus*. *Diodorus of Sicily* mentions but four *Military Tri- bunes* for this Year 382; and two of them, viz. *Lu- cius Papirius*, and *Lucius Menenius*, are reckoned among the *Military Tribunes* for this Year by no Body but himſelf.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXXIII.
M. FABIVS,
Q. SERVILIUS,
M. CORNELI-
US, C. VETU-
RIUS, Q.
QUINCTIVS,
A. CORNELI-
US, &c. Mili-
tary Tribunes.
Liv. B. 6. c. 36.

who began the Siege, did not finish it. Their Year expired, and the Siege being still carried on, new *Military Tribunes* succeeded those who had begun it.

§. XII. It happened very unfortunately for the *Patricians*, that the same *M. Fabius*, who was the Soul of all *Sextius* and *Licinius's* Measures, was chosen *Military Tribune*. His five ²⁸ Collegues were *Q. Servilius*, *M. Cornelius*, *C. Veturius*, *Q. Quinctius*, and *A. Cornelius*. Then the *Plebeians*, assisted with the Protection of a *Patrician*, who was attached to them by Inclination, and whose Office gave him Weight and Authority, gained the Ascendant over the Nobility. The Siege of *Velitrae* was carried on slowly; but the Disturbances raised in Rome by the *Tribunes of the People* were fomented, and their Zeal for passing their Bills, was violent. *Licinius* and *Sextius* had found Means to gain over three of their Collegues. So that, of the ten *Tribunes*, of which the College consisted, five were now for the Publication of these Laws, and five against it. *Licinius* and *Sextius* often assembled the People. *Fabius* the *Military Tribune* supported them with his Authority, and encouraged them with his Presence. Several of the *Patricians* were brought into the Assembly, and tired out with invidious Questions. *Fabius*, and the two *Tribunes of the People*, had learnt by a long Experience, how to ingratiate themselves with the Populace. They asked the *Patricians*, for instance, *Whether they did not think it unjust for them to have a Property of above five hundred Acres of Land, whilst a great Number of the Plebeians were allotted but two? Is not this so very small a Portion, as to be scarce enough for a poor Roman Citizen to build him a little House upon, and erect a Sepulchre for his Family?* To which they added; *How can you, Patricians, even in Point of Interest, account for your making your miserable Debtors languish in Chains, and absolutely putting it out of their Power to pay you, by keeping them in Prison? And yet what is more common, than to see these wretched Citizens delivered up into the Hands of their Creditors, by our Courts of Justice? Are not the Patricians Houses become so many Prisons?* And perceiving that the People heard these Enquiries made with more Greediness than the *Tribunes* had pleasure in making them, they went on; *And what Remedy is there to be had for all these Misfortunes? Since our Tribunes are not sufficient to protect us, we must introduce some of the Plebeians into the highest Offices. The Nobility have found out the Secret of dividing the Tribunes, and their Oppositions to one another render the best Designs abortive. What Equality then can there be between us and you, as long as the Commons can have no Recourse but to such Officers of their Body, as prevaricate with them? Nor is it enough for settling Order in a Republick, where an universal Equality ought to be preserved, that Comitia are held, wherein the People are at Liberty to chuse Consuls out of their own Body, or the Patricians, as they think fit. It is necessary that a perpetual Law should be passed, whereby Rome will be laid under a Necessity of chusing one of her Governors out of the People. Was not the Number of the Military Tribunes made the greater, at their first Institution, on purpose that the Plebeians should partake of the Honours of the supreme Dignity? And yet have there been many of the Commons raised to it for four ²⁹ and forty Years together? What then will be the Case, when there are but two Consuls to be elected in all? Will not the Patricians have Address enough to get only the Nobility elected, unless they are prevented by a Law? Let us therefore, by all means, reserve one of the Consulships for a Plebeian. As long as the People shall be at Liberty to chuse whom they please, the Interest of the Nobility will always prevail. Nor let it be said, that it will be difficult to find Men among us, to bear the Weight of so great a Post as a Consulship. Experience has shewn us, that since *Licinius*, a Plebeian by Birth, was raised to the Military Tribuneship, several *Patricians*, who have enjoyed that Post, have been condemned for Male-Administration. The *Quæstors* are at this time chosen out of either of the two Orders indifferently;*

²⁸ Diodorus mentions but five of these six *Military Tribunes*. He omits *Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus*. This was the third *Military Tribuneship*, of *Q. Servilius Priscus Tullianus*; the second, of *C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus*, and *Marcus Fabius Ambustus*; and the first, of *M. Cornelius Maluginensis*, of *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, and of *Q. Quinctius*.

²⁹ It was indeed 44 Years, from the Year 309

when the *Military Tribunes* were first created, to the Year 353, when the *Plebeians*, and particularly *Licinius*, were permitted to enjoy this Dignity with the *Patricians*. But then there were frequent Changes, in this 44 Years, and the *Consuls* and *Military Tribunes* succeeded one another alternately, several times, as the Reader may have observed above!

And has the State ever had Cause to repent of promoting Plebeians to the Quæstorship? Nothing remains therefore, but to divide the Consulate between the Nobility and us. This is the essential Point, which is absolutely necessary for the perfect Establishment of Order in a well-regulated Republick. Can it be said, without this, either that the Liberty of the People is complete, or that Tyranny was banished with the Kings? The Moment Tarquin was expelled, the Commons expected to have shared those Honours with the Nobility, which you monopolize, to this Day. Without this, we can have no Hopes of acquiring Glory and Distinction, and transmitting them to our Posterity.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXXIII.
M. FABIVS,
&c. Military
Tribunes.

NEVERTHELESS, *Licinius* and *Sextius*, the *Tribunes of the People*, did not so far gain their Point by these Discourses, as to get the Laws, they had drawn up, accepted: but they disposed the People to pass them, in due time. Nor was this all. They added a fourth Bill to the three already mentioned, importing, *That Decemviri should be elected, instead of Duumviri, to preserve and interpret the Sybilline Books*: And they insisted, that these Offices, which would be then multiplied to ten, should be divided between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. However, the Execution of all these Alterations was for the present suspended. An Army of Citizens were employ'd in the Siege of *Velitra*; and it was thought necessary to wait for their Return, that the Soldiers might not be deprived of their Votes, when such important Innovations were on Foot. The Siege lasted ten Months, and suspended the Hopes of the *Tribunes of the People*; and in the mean time, when the Year was out, the People proceeded to the Election of new *Military Tribunes*, for the Year ensuing.

§. XIII. THE Persons chosen by the *Centuries*, were ³⁰ *L. Quinctius*, *Sp. Servilius*, *Serv. Cornelius*, *L. Papirius*, *Serv. Sulpicius*, and *L. Veturius*. As for the *Tribunes of the People*, *Licinius* and *Sextius* were still continued in their Employments. It nearly concerned the *Plebeians* to have these two Opposers of the *Patrician* Party carry on their Designs, and complete them. As for those of their Collegues, who opposed the passing of the four Bills, the People changed them, and chose others in their room. Then the publick Disputes became less violent; the *Tribunes of the People* were all of one Opinion; and the two Authors of the four Laws met with no Opposition among their own Body. It is probable the *Roman* Army was then returned from the Siege of *Velitra*: and every thing seemed to promise Success to *Licinius* and *Sextius*'s Designs. It was said the *Comitia* would be immediately assembled: and the Cause of the *Patricians* seemed desperate. These Disturbances continued for a whole Year; and in this universal Commotion, no *Military Tribunes* were chosen for the Year ensuing. Nevertheless, *Rome* did not fall into an Anarchy; a *Dictator* supplied the Place of all other chief Magistrates in the Republick. Indeed, the last Refuge the *Patricians* had left, was to nominate a supreme Magistrate, who should govern *Rome* with an absolute Authority.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXXIV.
L. QUINCTI-
US, SP. SERVI-
LIUS, SERV.
CORNELIUS,
L. PAPIRIUS,
SERV. SULPI-
CIUS, L. VE-
TURIUS, &c.
Military Tri-
bunes.

Liv. B. 6. c. 38.

THE Man that seemed most proper to sit at the Helm of Affairs, in so tempestuous a Season, was *Camillus*: And notwithstanding his great Age, the zealous Patriot could not refuse his Country his Service, at a time when it so much wanted it. It is true, the Design of his Nomination was in all Appearance to put a Stop to the Sedition: But the *Patricians* pretended that it was necessary, on Account of Matters of the greatest Importance to the Republick. However, the *Tribunes of the People*, whose College now acted unanimously, did not at all abate of the Zeal with which they laboured to have a Report made of their Laws to the Commons: And every thing was done irregularly. From the Day that *Camillus* was nominated *Dictator* this fourth time, the Authority of the *Tribunes of the People* ought to have been suspended. But nevertheless, *Sextius* and *Licinius*, and their Collegues, continued still to order the *Comitia by Tribes* to be assembled. Being therefore called together in the *Forum Romanum*, on a Day appointed, the four Laws, after some slight Debates, were read to them. And the *Tribes* had already

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXXV.
M. FURIUS
CAMILLUS,
Dictator.

³⁰ *Diodorus* mentions but three *Military Tribunes* for the Year 384, namely, *T. Quinctius*, *Serv. Cornelius*, and *Serv. Sulpicius*. The *Fasti Capitolini* and *Livy* give *Quinctius* the *Prænomen* of *Lucius*, and not that of *Titus*: And they give *Spurius Servilius*, the Surname of *Structus*; and *L. Papirius*, that

of *Crassus*. *Lucius Veturius* is distinguished by the two Surnames of *Crassus* and *Cicurinus*; and *Lucius Quinctius*, by that of *Capitolinus*. This was their first *Military Tribuneship*; *Servius Cornelius*'s seventh; and *Servius Sulpicius*'s fourth.

begun

Year of *R O M E* begun to give their Suffrages in Order; and the first *Tribes* had already voted in favour of the Laws, when all on a sudden the *Dictator* came to interrupt the Assembly, and prevent the Decision of this Affair. It was much against *Camillus's* own Will, that he was reduced to this Extremity. He had accepted the *Dictatorship*, contrary both to his own Inclinations, and those of the People. He foresaw the Quarrels he must necessarily be engaged in, with those very Citizens whose Valour he had so often employed in Battel. He was afraid these brave Men would reproach him with being better able to manage the Sword in War, than conduct the Affairs of the State, in Time of Peace. He looked upon himself in this Post, as a Victim to the Nobility's Jealousy of the People. And in short, as Affairs then stood, he could expect nothing, but either to disoblige the Commons, if he succeeded; or to contribute to the Ruin of his own Party, if he did not. Nevertheless, the generous *Roman* overlooked all these Difficulties, and considered not his own private Interest; but was wholly governed by his Love for the Publick. When therefore the *Tribes* were actually voting, as *Licinius* and *Sextius* would have them, the *Dictator* erected his Tribunal in the midst of the *Forum*, where the *Tribes* were assembled. He was attended by a Crowd of *Patricians*; upon which there arose a sort of Dispute between the *Tribunes of the People* themselves. Some were for continuing to determine the Affair of the four Laws; whilst others, doubtless out of respect to the *Dictator*, were against it. And at length *Camillus*, with an haughty and threatening Air, spoke these Words. Romans, *you are not governed by the wisest Part of your Tribunes, but pursue the Dictates of the most passionate. Your Ancestors formerly gained by Force a Right of protesting: and now you won't hearken to lawful Protests. I therefore come to join the Protesters, and the Part I act, is no less for the Interests of the People, than the Service of the Publick in general. An Attempt is made on the most valuable Privilege you have, and I am resolved to maintain it. If therefore Licinius and Sextius willingly submit to the Protests of their Collegues, I will immediately retire, and not make use of the Power of a Patrician Office, to interrupt the Deliberations of a Plebeian Assembly. But if, notwithstanding these Oppositions, they persist in giving Laws to Rome, as to a conquered City, I will never suffer the Tribunes of the People to destroy one another, or permit one of them to deprive the others of their Right of protesting.* This was an artful Harangue; but it was ineffectual. The two Heads of the *Tribunes of the People* laughed at it, and pursued their own Measures with Steadiness. They were just going to require the rest of the *Tribes* to give their Suffrages, when the *Dictator*, angry at this Opposition to his Will, took another Method to dissolve the *Comitia*. He sent his *Lictors*, drove the *Tribes* from the Places in which they were, and joined the most terrible Threatnings with his Orders. *Camillus* declared, that if the Assembly did not disperse immediately, he would assemble the People in the *Campus Martius*, force them to enlist themselves, and march the Levies in the Field, without delay. In answer to which, the *Tribunes of the People* gave him to understand, that as soon as his *Dictatorship* was expired, they would have him fined 31 500000 *Asses* of Brass. *Camillus* was now grown too old, and too great and illustrious, to expose himself to new Indignities. He was afraid of a second Banishment, and a new Stain upon his Character. The *Dictator* plainly saw, the People were too much enraged to be brought to any Terms, either by Authority, or by Persuasion. In short, he gave way to the Torrent, and resolved to lay down the 32 *Dictatorship*. He retired to his own House, and feigned himself indisposed. Soon after which, he eased himself of the Burden which had been laid upon him, under Pretence, that the *Auspices*, at his Nomination, had been defective, in Point of Form. Whatever some Historians may say, who endeavour to excuse this Weakness, it is most probable, that he was intimidated by the Threatnings of the *Tribunes of the People*. His Age,

† 1614. 11. 1. 8d. *Arbuthnot*. 31 *Plutarch* says, the *Tribunes of the People* threatened to fine *Camillus* 50000 *Attick Drachma*. He computes by *Drachma*, after the Manner of the *Greeks*; as the *Romans* did, first by *Asses*, and then by *Sesterces*. The *Attick Drachma**, was of the same Value as the *Roman Denarius*; that is, was worth 10 *Asses*. So that 50000 *Drachma* were equal in Value to 500000 *Asses*. Which would have been

a considerable Sum †, reckoning an *As* or Pound of Brass to be worth no more than a *French Sol*; [or 3 1/4 *Farthings English*, according to *Arbuthnot*.]

32 *Camillus*, as we learn from *Livy*, B. 6. had named *Emilius* to be General of Horse, according to Custom. But upon the *Dictator's* Abdication, the General of Horse's Commission immediately expired.

and his Reflections on his past Glory, made him not altogether so intrepid as formerly.

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§. XIV. HOWEVER, there was this Effect at least gained by *Camillus's* Presence, that the *Comitia*, in which *Sextius* and *Licinius's* Bills were going to be passed, were postponed to another time. After the Abdication of the *Dictator*, an *Interregnum* ensued: which seemed to be a favourable Opportunity for the two Authors of the Laws to get them accepted by the Commons. The People were then earnest to pass two of these Laws, which they thought would be most for their Advantage; and these were, 1st, That which eased the Debtors of the great Interest they had been obliged to pay; and 2^{dly}, That which allowed no Man to enjoy more than five hundred Acres of Land. By the last of these, the *Plebeians* hoped to gain great Part, both of the Lands the *Patricians* would hereby lose at present, and of those which the *Romans* should conquer for the future. As to the two other Laws, for re-establishing the *Consulship*, on Condition that one of them should always be a *Plebeian*; and for changing the *Duumviri* into *Decemviri*; the Populace did not give themselves so much Concern about them. The People were sensible, that the Endeavours of their *Tribunes* to open a Way for the *Plebeians* to arrive at the highest Posts, was chiefly intended for their own private Interest. So that the People and the *Tribunes* had different Views: the latter carried their Pretensions farther than the former. But *Licinius* and *Sextius* were too cunning to get the People Satisfaction, without at the same time procuring themselves the Advantages they had proposed, by raising these Disturbances. They declared to the Commons, that they would not separate the Laws; and that if one passed, all should: and it is probable, that these Divisions obliged the Republick to nominate a *Dictator*, in the room of *Camillus*, who had abdicated. The Senator, whose Turn it was to preside at that time, pitched upon *P. Manlius*; who no sooner was promoted to the *Dictatorship*, but his hereditary Affection for the *Plebeians* made him appear openly in Favour of the Commons. The first thing he did, was to chuse one *Licinius* ³³ *Stolo*, a *Plebeian* of the same Name and Family as *Fabius's* Son-in-law, to be his General of Horse. This the Senate disapproved of; but the *Dictator* excused himself, on account of his near Relation, which obliged him to promote *Licinius*. To which he added, that the new General of Horse had formerly been *Military Tribune*; and that therefore the Honour he now bestowed upon him, was not so great as that which had before been given him by the Republick itself.

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Liv. B. 6. c. 39.

SEXTIUS and *Licinius* thought nothing could now be difficult for them, under the Administration of a *Dictator* who favoured them, and the Protection of his General of Horse; if they could only get themselves continued in the *Tribuneship*. And in order to that, they made use of this *Finesse*; they seemed desirous to decline it. When the People were assembled in *Comitia* to elect their *Tribunes*, *Licinius* addressed himself to them thus. *What Advantages have Sextius and I reaped from all the Pains we have taken, in struggling against both the Interest and Hatred of the Patricians, and that with great Danger to ourselves, for these nine Years? The Laws we have drawn up, grow antiquated with us; and the Authority of the Tribunes itself suffers by the Oppositions which are made to the passing our Bills. First the Opposition of our own Collegues, then an unforeseen War, and after that the Violence of a Dictator, have thwarted our Designs. And now, that we have nothing to fear, either from the Protests of our Fellow-Tribunes, or the Pretence of a foreign War, or the Ill-Will of a Dictator, the Roman People themselves obstruct their own Happiness. They may have the Debtors secured from Oppression, and the Lands distributed among them, whenever they please. A General of Horse having been already chosen out of the People, this gives us Hopes of*

Ibid.

³³ *Livy* adds, that this *Licinius Stolo*, a *Plebeian*, had been *Military Tribune* already; and not without Design. He makes a Distinction between him, and that *Tribune of the People* of the same Name, who engaged so warily against the *Patricians*, in favour of the Commons. And it is not probable, that he was *Tribune of the People*, and General of Horse, at the same time. *Plutarch* is not therefore to be credited, when he unites two Offices in

the latter, which seem incompatible. He was, without doubt, deceived by the Likeness of the Names. Besides, *Livy*, B. 10. evidently distinguishes between him, who was *Military Tribune*, and General of Horse, and him, who was first *Tribune of the People*, and then *Consul*. And the Author of the *Lives of Illustrious Men*, agrees with *Livy* in this Particular.

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seeing a Plebeian Consul. Is not this a Debt of Gratitude, which you owe us for the Services we have done you? Shall our Laws wholly tend to your Benefit, and we receive no manner of Advantage from them ourselves? No; it is not honourable for the Roman People to monopolize all the Profits of our Labours; and not so much as to open the Way for their old Tribunes to rise to the most honourable Offices in Rome. Consult therefore with one another, what to resolve on; and declare your Resolutions in the next Comitia. If you resolve to pass our Laws all together, then continue us in the Tribuneship. We will, in that case, make use of the Authority you shall invest us with, to finish the Work we have begun. But if you will only pass those Laws, wherein you are personally concerned, without any regard to our Interests, we will accept of the Tribuneship no longer, and you shall not obtain your Desires.

Liv. B. 6. c. 40.

THIS Discourse both enraged and terrified the Patricians, at the same time. Appius Claudius, Grandson to the famous Decemvir, left his Seat, ran immediately into the midst of the Assembly; and addressed himself to the People, in these Words. Romans, you may reproach me as much as you please, with my Family's having been always an Enemy to the People, and excessively zealous for the Glory of the Nobility, and the Senate. I readily grant, that my Ancestors ever signalized their Affection for the Patricians, from the time of their removing from Sabinia to Rome; but I will not grant, that they have acted contrary to the real Interests of the People. To oppose your Will, is not always to oppose your most solid Interests. Rome is one single Republick; but your Quarrels have often divided it into two States, distinguished by different Pretensions. My Ancestors, by labouring to promote the publick Good, laboured to advance your Happiness, in spite of yourselves. However, forget for one Moment, that I am a Claudius, or a Patrician. Consider me at present as a private Citizen, free indeed, but a Plebeian by Descent. May I not, when considered in this Capacity, address myself to those perpetual Tribunes, whom you have made Kings of Rome, for these nine Years? Answer me, Sextius and Licinius. Have we so long given you so much Authority, only for you to deprive us of our Liberty of voting? We approve of only two of your Laws; and yet you obstinately insist on proposing them all, or none. You say, none of them shall pass, but upon these Terms. Are you then imposing your own Conditions upon us? Is not this as much as to say, we don't concern ourselves about any thing that is for your Interest, any farther than it turns to our own Advantage? What then, do you pretend to govern us, like new Tarquins, just as you think fit? We tell you, we will pass only two of your Laws: You answer, you shall either pass all, or none. Let us only, say we, settle at present the Discharge of our Debts, and regulate how much Land each private Person shall possess. You answer, no; you shall not do that, unless you open us a way to the Consular Dignity. A great Inconvenience indeed, it must doubtless be to the Republick, that Sextius and Licinius have no share in the Consulship! But, say you, no matter for that, ALL OR NOTHING. Is not this, Romans, as if when exceeding thirsty, a Man should offer you both an wholesome and a poisonous Draught, and oblige you not to take one without the other? If there was any Spirit of Liberty among you, would you not have cried out already, Be gone, ye Tribunes, and your Laws together! Since you refuse us what we like, we will have none of your Laws! What Grumbings, and what Clamours should we have heard among you, if a Patrician or a Claudius had made such a Speech as this, in your Assemblies; You shall have none, if you won't have all! What, shall every thing be thought good, that comes out of your Tribunes' Mouths? And will you judge of your Interests, rather by the Persons that pretend to espouse them, than the Nature of things? Indeed, what can be more contrary to your Authority, than the Law which you refuse to pass? You would thereby oblige yourselves always to chuse one of the Consuls out of the Plebeians. Is not this setting Bounds to your Liberty of voting? Suppose an Enemy, as formidable as Persenna or the Gauls, were to appear again before Rome, at a time when one of the Consuls is already chosen out of the Patricians; must a Sextius, for instance, be preferred in that case before the great Camillus? Nor is this all. According to the Words of the Law proposed, Rome may chuse two Plebeians Consuls together, but never two Patricians. Is this then the Equality they would establish between the Nobility and People? Those who have never yet had any Share in the Consulship

fulship, would have it in their Power to fill up both Places, and would not leave those a Certainty of either, whom the Republick has constantly honoured with that Dignity. We are afraid, say the Tribunes, that if the People are at Liberty to chuse two Patricians, they will never chuse any Plebeian. And what is the Meaning of this, but that they would lay you under a Necessity of making a bad Choice, when you are inclined to promote none but worthy Men, to that Dignity? And in that case, what Obligation will they have to you, for the Consulship? The Persons elected will say, they are more indebted to the Law, than to the Electors: These Honours were extorted from them, and not given with a good Grace. The Persons chosen, will scarce be more obliged to you, for the greatest Offices, than for the least. All Men are pleased with personal Distinction and Respect; and like much better to owe their Honours to Merit, than to the Force of Law. I don't ³⁴ speak of our two Tyrants, Sextius and Licinius. But where is the Plebeian of so mean a Birth, as not to have more Right to stand Candidate for the Consulship, according to this Law, than either we, or our Children? You will not always have it in your Power to make us Consuls; but you will always be under a Necessity of chusing one of the Consuls out of the People. But what shall we say of the Auguries, by which a Consul is consecrated? Were they ever made use of, for any ³⁵ but Patricians? Did not Romulus place the Augural Power solely in the Hands ³⁶ of the Nobility? And what is more sacred, or more venerable in our Religion? It is exercised both in Peace and War. No Patrician Office is undertaken without Auguries, no Plebeian one with them. All Persons among us, who enjoy any Office, even the Presidents of the Interregnum, are consecrated by Auspices. To propose therefore to create Plebeians Consuls, is to propose to take away from us the Auspices, in which they were never concerned; and this is to alter our Religion. It may indeed be objected, that these Augural Observations are mere ³⁷ Trifles: and it may be

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³⁴ Here Appian, according to Livy, reproaches the two Tribunes, Caius Licinius Stolo, surnamed Calvus, and L. Sextius, surnamed Sextinus Lateranus, with continuing themselves in an almost despotick Power like the Kings. You reckon up, says he, speaking to the People, you reckon up in the Capitol, the successive Years of the arbitrary Government of your Tribunes, as the Years of the Kings were formerly reckoned. His Words are, *Omitto Licinium, Sextiumque, quorum annos in perpetua potestate tanquam Regum in Capitolio numeratis.* But here the Criticks ask, what Livy means by the Years which were reckoned up in the Capitol. Gronovius pretends that the Words in Capitolio, relate neither to the Kings, nor the Tribunes of the People. The Romans indeed might have been informed of the Number of these Years, by the Annals the Pontifices kept in their Archives, to which the People had free Access; without having any Occasion to have Recourse to the Fasti, publicly exposed in the Capitol. For they were generally produced in the Forum. Besides, the Tribunes of the People were not placed among the Chief Magistrates, in the Fasti. Or perhaps, Appian might intend no more by expressing himself in this Manner to the People, than only to expose the Plots of the two Tribunes, in the frequent Assemblies of the Commons in the Capitol. They had indeed exercised a despotick Power there, while the Anarchy lasted; and the Capitol seems really to have been the Place appointed for the Comitia to meet in, when the Tribunes wanted to get themselves continued in their Offices, or to solicit the Tribes to pass some new Laws. It was in the Capitol that Gracchus assembled the Comitia more than once, when he wanted to continue himself Tribune the next Year; and when he solicited the Nomination of three Persons to take Care of the Distribution of the Lands, with the Title of *Triumviri*. But after all, it is most probable, that Appian here alluded only to that Row of Nails, which was driven into the Wall of Jupiter Capitolinus's Temple, on the Side next to Minerva's Chapel. This Row of Nails shewed the Years of Rome, and of

every Reign, from the Foundation of the Roman Monarchy. So that Appian's Meaning was, that the Years of Caius Licinius, and L. Sextius's Government might be reckoned up by these Nails, as the Years of the Reigns of the Kings, and of other Magistracies, were.

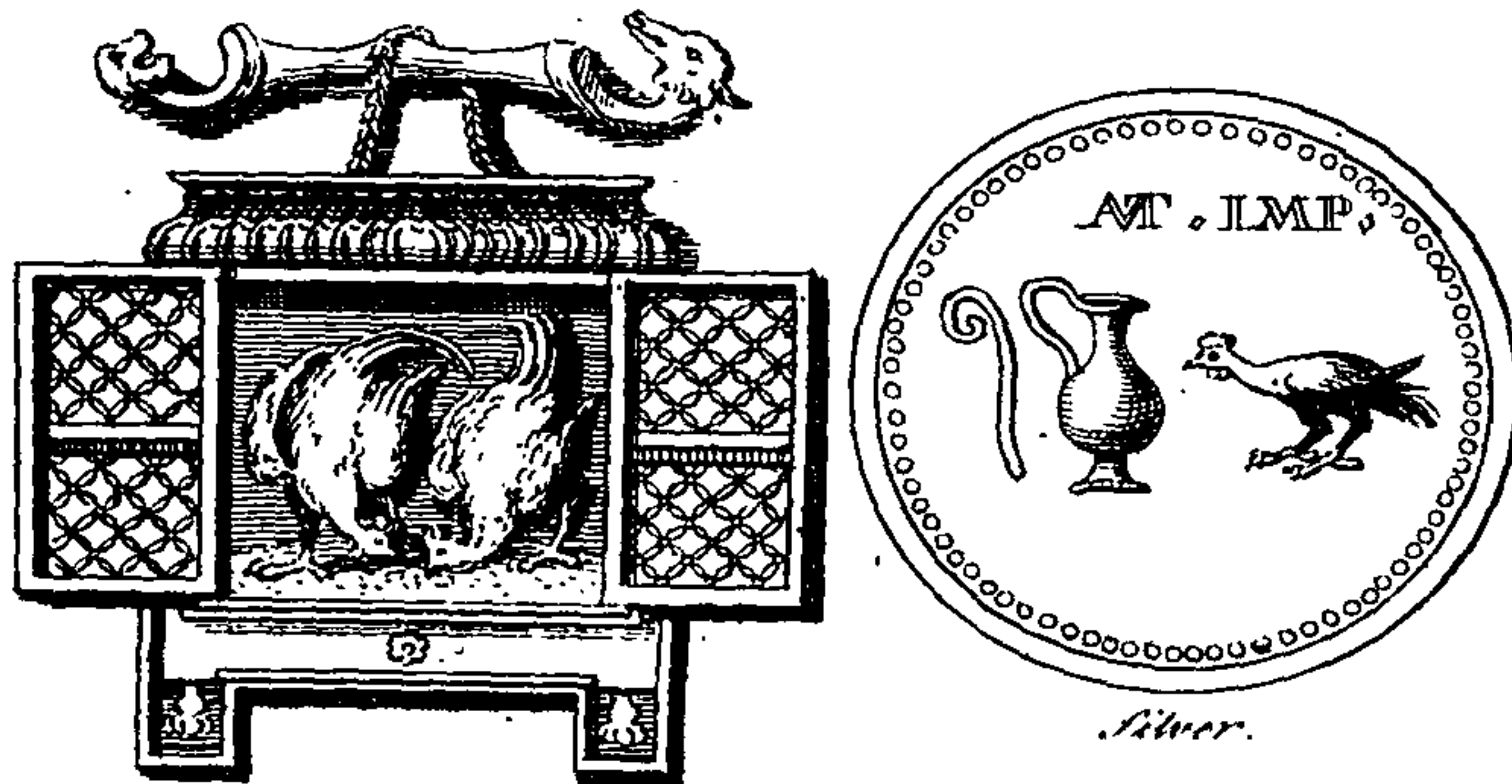
³⁵ The Plebeians had hitherto had no Right to consult Auspices. Romulus had confined this Privilege to the Senate and Nobility of Rome; and made a Law for that Purpose, which had subsisted ever since the Establishment of the Monarchy. So that the Elections of Kings and Consuls were always preceded by the Ceremony of the Auguries; and they only, or their Representatives, had a Right to consult the Auspices, in the Army, or Comitia, whether by Curia, or by Centuries. And indeed, nothing of Importance was ever undertaken by the Romans, till the Chief Magistrates had first consulted the Auguries. Now the Plebeians had always been excluded from the chief Offices, and consequently could have no Right to assume a Power or Privilege, which was inseparably annexed to them. This makes Appian contend so earnestly, in Livy, B. 6. c. 40. *Penes quos igitur auspicia, more Majorum? Nempe penes patres. Nam Plebeius quidem Magistratus nullus auspicio creatur! Nobis ideo sunt Auspicia, ut non solum quos populos creat Patricios magistratus, non aliter quam Auspicio creat; sed nos quoque ipsi, sine suffragio populi, Auspicio Interregem prodamus, & privatim Auspicia habeamus, quæ isti ne sine magistratibus quidem habent. Quid igitur aliud, quam tollit ex civitate Auspicia, qui Plebeios Consules creando, a Patribus, qui soli ea habere possunt, aufert?* When there were no Consuls in being, the Right of Auspices returned to the Senate, to whom it belonged to choose those who were to govern the Republick during the Interregnum.

³⁶ The Augural Office was confined to the Patricians, till the Year of Rome 453; when the People got five Augurs elected out of the Plebeians.

³⁷ These Observations, when considered in themselves, were indeed Puerilities, and Trifles; and so many Impositions on the Weakness of the devout Pagans.

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be asked, what it signifies, whether a Chicken ³⁸ refuses to eat, or walks too slowly out of its Cage, or whether a Bird sings a little more faintly than ordinary, or not? But yet these are such Trifles, as Rome owes her flourishing Condition to. And dare we profane these sacred Ceremonies, as if we esteemed the Protection of Hea-



Pagans. Nevertheless the Romans, at least the silly People among them, thought there was something mysterious in them. The Gravity and Reserve of the *Augurs*, in the Performance of these Ceremonies; the Apparatus of the Sacrifices, which preceded the *Auguries*; the Oaths they took, never to reveal the Secrets of their Art to any Person whatsoever, upon their first Admission into the College; the mysterious Words they pronounced, when they were observing the Flight of Birds, or other Signs from which they drew their Inferences; and the Perplexity, and Gestures they affected, when taking their Observations; all these Things helped to set off their Profession, and cherish the Errors of the People. But these Appearances of Religion were really nothing at Bottom, but an hypocritical Veil to conceal the Deceit, and Imposture, of the *Augurs*. *Cicero* himself, who was an *Augur*, and therefore knew the whole Cheat, could not help ridiculing this Art, especially in his 2d Book Of *Divination*. Which made *St. Cyprian* say, *De Idolor. Vanit. Non de religionibus sanctis, nec de Auspiciis, aut Auguriis, Romana regna creverunt. Pullos edaces Paulus habuit; & apud Cannas tamen casus est.* Nevertheless *Cicero*, though convinced of the Deceit, yet chose to swim with the Stream; and accommodate himself to the vulgar Prejudices, which had been made sacred by Superstition. Upon this Principle, he gives us an Account of the *Augural Laws*, B. 2. *De Legib.* which contains an Abstract of the *Augural Office*. The Substance of it, is this. *Interpres Jovis Optimi Maximi publici Augures signis & prodigiis postea vidento. Disciplinam tenento. Sacerdotes vineta, virgetaque, & salutem populi, Augurant. Quique agent rem duelli, quique populare auspicium praeponento; ollique obtemperanto. Divorumque iras providepto; iisque parento; coelique fulgura regionibus ratis temperanto; urbemque, & agros & templa liberata, & efflata habento; quaque Augur injusta, nefasta, vitiosa, dira, defixerit, irrita, infectaque sunt; quique non paruerit, capitale esto.* The *Augural Science* had its Principles, and particular Rites. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Marcellus*, speaks of some Rituals, which contained all the Mysteries of the *Augurship*. According to *Priscian*, B. 6. c. 8. *Julius Caesar* wrote the *Augurs Books* with his own Hand. *Macrobius*, *Saturnal.* B. 2. quotes, among others, the 16th Book of a Work which treats of *Auguries*. We shall give a particular Account of the different Sorts of *Auspices*, in Use among the Romans, in another Place.

³⁸ The Romans believed that Things to come might be discovered by the Principles of Ornitho-

manthy, that is, by the Flight, and the different Motions, and Chirpings, of Birds. This was a Sort of Language, or mystical Cypher, to which no Body had a Key, but the *Augurs*. And as these Animals were thought the Interpreters of the Gods, silly People had Recourse to these living Oracles, particularly in Times of Danger. The Sacred Pullets especially, were thought able to resolve their Doubts infallibly. These Pullets were under the Care of a Keeper, whose Office it was to look after them, and who was therefore called *Pullarius*. The Generals of the Roman Armies always took Care to have some of these Pullets kept in a Part of the Camp, which was allotted for observing the *Auguries*, and was called *Augurale*. When the General was going to give Battle, or enter upon any important Expedition, he came early in the Morning, to him who kept the Pullers; and then the Cage was opened, and Meat thrown to them. If they ate greedily, this was a favourable Omen, which foreboded an happy Event. If Part of the Corn or Paste fell out of their Mouths upon the Ground, the *Augury* was to his Heart's Content: And this was called *Tripudium Solistimum*. If the Chickens continued in their Cage, and refused to eat, it foreboded a fatal Issue to the Affair in hand. And therefore the Keeper, who supplied the *Augur's* Place, had a Power to suspend, or forbid the Execution of it. But he often acted as the General would have him, and falsely supposed a happy Presage, when there was none; or played Tricks, by keeping the Birds a great while without Meat, which made them fall greedily to what was given them in the General's Presence. Which makes *Cicero* cry out, with a sort of Indignation, *Ergo hoc Auspicium divini quidpiam habere potest, quod tam sit coactum & expressum? . . . nunc vero avis illa inclusa in cavea, & fame enecta, si in offam pulvis invadit, & si aliquid ex ore cecidit, hoc tu Auspicium, aut hoc modo Romulum auspicari solitum, putas?* *De Divin.* B. 2. Nevertheless, *Pliny* confesses that great Enterprizes were undertaken, or laid aside, as the Chickens directed. *Horum sunt Tripudia solistima; hi Magistratus nostros quotidie regunt. . . . Hi Fasces Romanos impellunt, aut retinent, victoriarum omnium toto orbe patratarum Auspices.* *Monsieur de la Chausse* has engraven the Figure of a Cage, in which the Sacred Pullets were kept, from an old Marble, as above. And we also find the Figure of a Chicken, one of the Symbols of the *Augurship*, on a Medal of *Mark Anthony's*, which we likewise have engraven.

ven as nothing? What will remain after this, but to chuse our Pontifices, our Kings of the Sacrifices, and in short all our other Priests, out of the lowest of the People? We shall have nothing to do, but to place our Sacerdotal Bonnets on the Head of the First-comer; and impiously entrust him with the Care of the sacred Bucklers, and the most awful Sanctuaries of the Gods. Nothing, but to leave off consulting the Auguries, either when we establish our Laws, elect our chief Magistrates, or bring any of the Resolutions of the Comitia to be confirmed by the Senate. Sextius and Licinius will then reign in Rome, as Romulus and T. Tatius formerly did; and this for having granted away Lands, which were not their own; and remitted Interest, which did not belong to them. So much Pleasure is there, in being liberal with other Peoples Estates! But you don't consider in the mean time, That by permitting no Man to enjoy more than five hundred Acres of Land, you will turn many of the most fruitful Fields into Deserts; and That by forgiving the Interest of Debts already contracted, you go the ready Way to destroy all Credit, which is the Soul of civil Society. Let these wise Considerations then prevail with you, Romans, to reject the Laws your Tribunes propose. May the immortal Gods inspire all that hear me, with such Sentiments as these, and give a happy Issue to the Deliberations of this Assembly!

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Liv. ibid.

BUT this Harangue, how artful soever, did not make so great an Impression on the People, as Appius hoped it would. The Comitia passed one of the Laws their Tribunes had proposed; which was that which enacted, That no Citizen of Rome should possess more than five hundred Acres of Land. The People gained this Advantage at least, from the Protection, the Dictator Manlius, and Licinius his General of Horse, gave them. Sextius and Licinius were continued Tribunes of the People, the tenth time; and still had Hopes of getting the other Laws passed. Thus a whole Year was spent, partly under the Administration of two Dictators, who immediately succeeded one another; and partly in a short Interregnum, during which there were no Curule Magistrates chosen.

Plut. Life of
Cam.

§. XV. THE next Year the Military Tribuneship was revived; but it was for the last time. The Comitia by Centuries chose six Military Tribunes, as usual, all out of the Patricians; who were, A. Cornelius, L. Veturius, M. Cornelius, P. Valerius, M. Geganius, and 39 P. Manlius. But the time was come for giving the finishing Stroke to the Power of the Patricians. Sextius and Licinius were now in a Condition to reap the Fruits of their nine Years Labour. No foreign War, except that of Velitræ, had obstructed their Designs; and the People had scarce ever been diverted from attending to them, by military Expeditions. And now an Opportunity offered itself, for the two Tribunes, to get the rest of their Laws accepted. If I may be permitted to conjecture, in a Case wherein the Historians are at a Loss, Sextius and Licinius took Advantage of the Reports which were then spread, of the Gauls preparing to come and besiege Rome, a second time. They had had time to recover themselves, and gain new Strength; since the Battel in which Camillus had weakned and dispersed them. And it is probable, that the Senones were not the only Gauls, who then conspired the Ruin of the Republick. Perhaps all the Colonies of the Gauls entred into a Confederacy against her; at least those who possessed the Coasts of the Adriatick Sea, namely, the Veneti, the Lingones, and the Boii, seem to have joined the Senones, for this last Expedition. The News of their March filled Rome with Terror. And this was probably the critical Moment the Tribunes of the People took hold of, to propose their Laws to the assembled Tribes. The three Bills, which were yet to be passed, were, That for discharging the poor Debtors from all Obligations of paying Interest for what they had borrowed; That for dividing the Care 40 of the Sybilline Books between

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CCCLXXXVI.
A. CORNELI-
US, L. VETU-
RIUS, M. COR-
NELIUS, P. VA-
LERIUS, M.
GEGANIUS, P.
MANLIUS,
Military Tri-
bunes.

39 Diodorus Siculus does not mention any Military Tribunes for this Year. This was the second Military Tribuneship, of Aulus Cornelius Cossus, of L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus, of M. Cornelius Mugimensis, and of Publius Manlius Capitolinus; the sixth, of P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola; and the first, of M. Geganius Macerinus. The Military Tribuneship ended with this Year 386. It had begun in the Year of Rome 309, and continued ever since; but not without some Interruptions, since in the Space of

77 Years, the Military Tribunes are reckoned to have governed but 49. There were likewise some Defects in some Elections, which made them null, as we have already observed, in its proper Place.

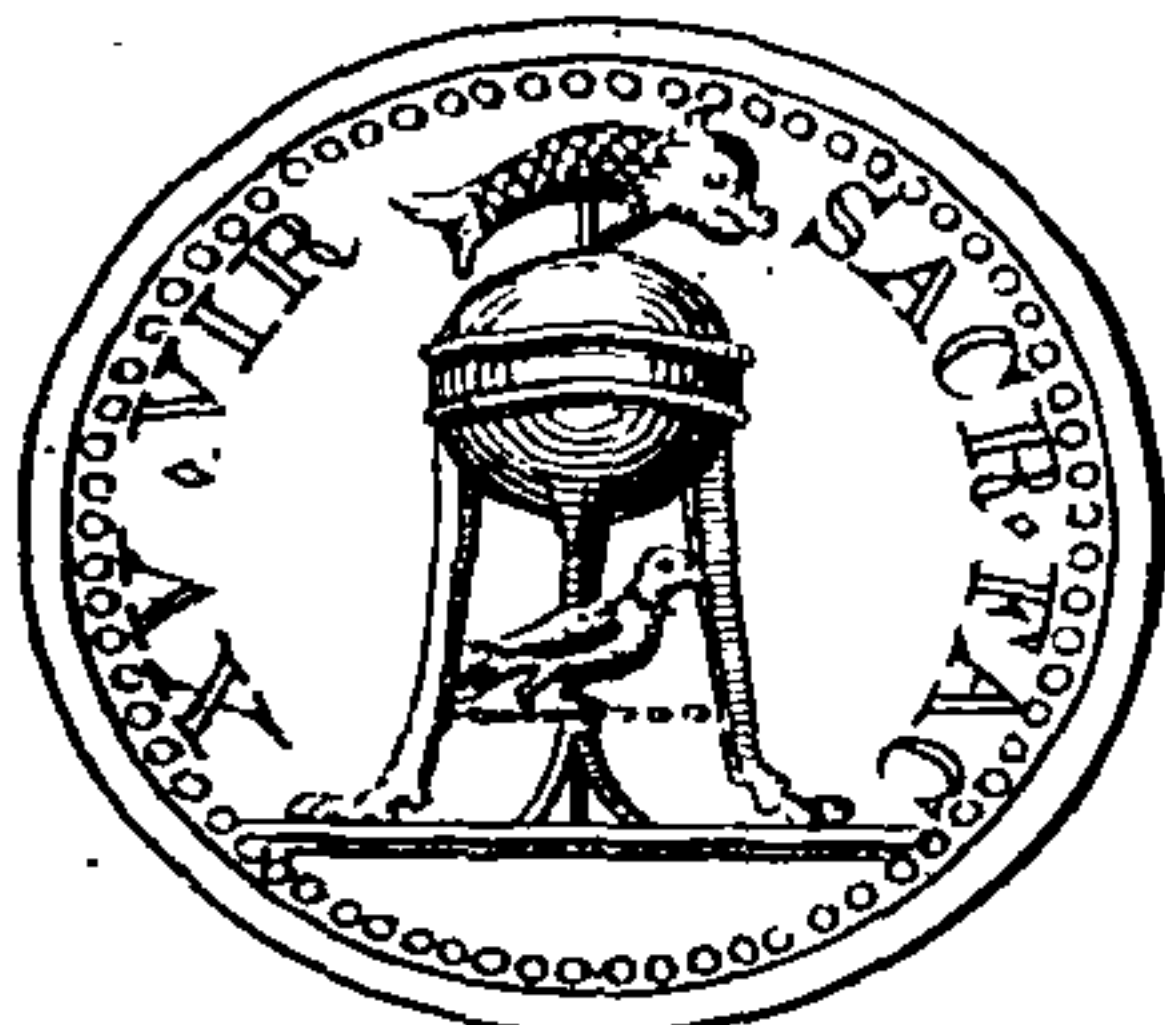
40 It has been already observed, that Tarquin the Proud first appointed two Men called *Quumviri*, to keep and interpret the Sybilline Books. After the Expulsion of the Tarquins, the People committed the Care of these Books to two Noblemen of known Probity. This Employment was a Sort of Priesthood

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CCCLXXXVI.
A. CORNELI-
US, &c. Mil-
itary Tribunes.

M. FURIUS
CAMILLUS,
Dictator.
Liv. B. 6. c. 41.

Plut. Life of
Camil.

ten Persons, half *Plebeians* and half *Patricians*; and That for placing the Govern-
ment in the Hands of two *Consuls*, one of which to be always a *Plebeian*. The
former of these, the *Tribunes of the People* carried, before a General was nomi-
nated to march against the Enemy; and they hoped to be soon able to obtain the
passing of the last. The Dissensions at home, and the Approach of the *Gauls*,
made the Republick determine to nominate a *Dictator*; which once resolved, they
could not long deliberate about the Man. The great Merit of *Camillus*, and the
Victories he had gained over the *Gauls*, turned every body's Eyes upon him. He
was indeed near fourscore Years old, and had very lately laid down his fourth *Dic-
tatorship*, before the usual time. But nevertheless, his Zeal for his Country's Ser-
vice, made him dedicate his last Breath of Life to the Welfare of the Publick. He
accepted the *Dictatorship*, for the fifth time, and nominated *T. Quinctius* to be his
General of Horse. After the Levies were raised, and he had exercised his Army
for some time, he marched out of *Rome*, with all the Vivacity of a young Man.
In the mean time, the *Gauls* had over-run the *Roman* Territory, and were com-
mitting Robberies in it. The Country People, who had not been able to fly to
Rome for Refuge, had saved themselves in the Mountains. *Camillus* marched his
Army therefore against the Pillagers, but first took proper Precautions to guard his
Soldiers against the terrible Strokes the *Gauls* used to give with their Broad Swords.
Their Way was, to cut off an Head or an Arm with one Stroke of their Swords,
and not present the Point at all. In order to guard his Men therefore against these
Blows, the *Dictator* provided his Army with well-polished Helmets of Iron; that
so the Swords of the *Gauls* might either break to-pieces against them, or slide off
upon the rest of their Armour. And to the Bucklers his *Legions* wore, which had



Gold.



Silver.

Priesthood which lasted for Life. That they who enjoyed it might be the more at Liberty to attend on the Duties of their Function, several considerable Immunities were granted them. They were, for this Reason, exempted from the Burden of Civil and Military Affairs. They were not suffered to entrust the *Sybilline* Books in any Person's Hands whatsoever; under Pain of being guilty of Sacrilege, which was capital. But they might suffer them to be read; provided they were present. When their College consisted of ten Persons, five of which were *Patricians*, and five *Plebeians*, they lost the Name of *Duumviri*. And afterwards, *Sylla* is thought to have added five more to the ten. At least, it's certain there were 15 of them in *Cicero's* Time, which gave them the Name of *Quindecim-viri*. Their Priestly Office, wholly consisted in consulting the *Sybilline* Books, in Times of publick Dangers, or Calamities; in making a Report to the Senate, of what these Books told them was proper to be done to avert the present Dangers, or Afflictions, from the Republick; in declaring what Prayers and Sacrifices the *Sybilline* Books directed to be offered up, as the proper Means of appeasing the Anger of the Gods; and in Consequence of this, in providing for the Celebration of the publick Games, and the offering of Victims. Upon their Report, the Senate ordered publick Prayers and *Lectisternia*, or extraordinary Feasts, in honour of the Pagan Deities, whose Protection they were to regain. *Ad eos Sybillinos libros, quasi ad Oraculum, Quindecim-viri advenit, cum Dii immortales publice consulendi sunt*, says *Gellius*, B. 1. These Priests assisted the Chief Magistrate in directing the *Secular Games*, as we learn from *Ta-*

citus, Ann. 11. and which *Horace* confirms, in the following Lines of his *Secular Ode*.

*Quisque Aventinum tenet Algidumque
Quindecim Dianæ preces Virorum curet.*

We have likewise an authentick Proof of this, in the Medal above, which was struck in Honour of *Augustus*, to perpetuate the Memory of the *Secular Games*, which were celebrated by that Prince's Order. There is a Column on the Reverse, with this Inscription, IMPERATORI CAESARI. AUGUSTO LUDI SÆCULARES; on the Sides of the Pillar are the Letters, XV. S. F. that is, QUINDECIMVIR SACRIS FACIUNDIS. Their being Interpreters of the *Sybilline* Oracles, and having the Direction of the *Secular Games*, procured them the Title of *Priests of Apollo*. *Livy* calls them so, B. 10. The Symbol of their Priesthood upon Medals, is a *Tripod*, as appears by the Medal of *Vitellius*, engraven above. The Crow and Dolphin which are put under and over the *Tripod*, were both consecrated to *Apollo*.

41 The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, is mistaken, in saying *Sulpicius* was chosen *Dictator*. And both *Entropius* and *Orosius* say, without any Foundation for it, that the *Dictatorship* was conferred on *Titus Quinctius*, instead of *Camillus*; and that he, with the Assistance of *Titus Manlius*, who fought under him, drove away the *Gauls*. To which *Entropius* adds, that the *Gauls* were defeated by another *Dictator*, whom he calls *Caius Sulpicius*. But the *Titus Quinctius* he speaks of, seems to be the same who was surnamed *Pennus*. And whom *Camillus* made his General of Horse.

hitherto

hitherto been seldom made of any thing but ⁴² Wood, he added a Rim of Brass. As for offensive Arms, *Camillus* furnished his Men with long Javelins, by the help of which, they could reach their Enemies at a distance, and stab them, while they were slowly lifting up their Arms to strike. These new Arms were invented by the old General, whose Experience had improved his Skill in military Affairs. In the mean time, the Army of the *Gauls* advanced towards *Rome*, and was already encamped on the Banks of the *Anio*. *Camillus* appeared within reach of the Enemy, but placed his Camp artfully. The least Part of his Army was posted upon Hills, and there made so bad an Appearance, as would have inclined any one to believe, that their Fear of the Enemy was their only Motive to encamp on so high Ground. The best Part of the *Roman* Troops were hid in the Valleys, or hollow Parts of the Rocks, so as to be out of Sight. This Disposition of the *Romans* increased the Confidence of the *Gauls*. They thought they had only a Handful of Men before them, whose Fear would not suffer them to stir out of their Entrenchments. No *Roman* General had ever yet invented more Stratagems in War, than *Camillus*. He let the *Gauls* long continue in their Opinion, that he was afraid of them. Which made them so little apprehensive of being attacked by the *Romans*, that they did not fortify their Camp. They often marched out of it in Companies, and came and carried on their Ravages quite to the Foot of the Mountain, on which the *Dictator* was posted. One Day therefore, when *Camillus* perceived that a great Number of the Enemy were in the Fields, and that those who continued in the Camp, had been revelling there all Night, he ordered his light-armed legionary Troops to march into the Plains, insult the Enemy, force them to leave their Tents, and harass them so continually, as not to give them time to draw up in Order of Battel. And he succeeded in his Design. The Skirmish increased insensibly to a general Action; and the Bulk of the Army of the *Gauls* sallied out so precipitately, that the Soldiers had not time to draw up, under their proper Colours. In the mean while, *Camillus* fell upon them with the rest of his *Legions*: and then the *Roman* Army was thought numerous, by those who had despised it. It was drawn up in Battalia; but the *Gauls* were disordered, and in Confusion: and the Event of the Battel proved, that the *Dictator* had taken wise Precautions. The light-armed *Romans* began the Attack. The *Legions* who had the heaviest Arms, supported them. They soon came to a close Engagement with their Javelins; and then the Broad-Swords of the *Gauls* were ⁴³ blunted, with the Brass on the *Roman* Bucklers. The *Roman* Darts reached their Enemies at a distance, or else stuck fast in their wooden Bucklers; and it took up the *Gauls* a great deal of time to pull the Javelins out of their Bucklers, which were overloaded with them. In short, they resolved to fight the *Romans* with their own Weapons, and throw away their Bucklers, that they might be the more at liberty for it. This Opportunity therefore the *Roman* Soldiers seized, fell upon them Sword in Hand, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. Many fell in Battel, the rest fled and dispersed themselves in several Parts of *Italy*, especially in *Apulia*. Nay, perhaps the *Gauls* began to attempt making ⁴⁴ Conquests and Settlements, even in *Asia Minor*, at that time. But however that be, the *Romans* perceived that they had nothing more to fear from the *Gauls*, after so memorable ⁴⁵ a Victory: And they now would fain have ascribed their first Defeat by them, rather to the savage Fierceness of these Barbarians, than their Valour, or Experience in War.

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M. FURIUS
CAMILLUS,
Dictator.

Strabo, B. 4.
Flor. B. 2.
Justin. B. 24.

⁴² *Livy* tells us, B. 1. that King *Servius Tullius* gave brass Bucklers to the first Class of the *Roman* Citizens. *Arma his Imperata, Galea, Clipeum, Ocrea, Lorica, omnia ex ære*. But either these Bucklers were not given the first Class, by way of Distinction, or *Livy* is mistaken in calling them brass ones. It's certain, at least, that *Dion. Hal.* speaks of the Bucklers of the first Centuries, without specifying what they were made of. It is probable, that in the first Ages the common Soldiers used only wooden Bucklers, or that brass ones were very seldom used. We will shew the different Forms of those Bucklers in another Place.

⁴³ *Polybius* tells us, the Swords of the *Gauls* were so ill made, that their Edges were blunted with the first Blow; and that one Blow bent them

so much that they were not fit to be used again, till they were set straight, by being thrust against the Ground. And *Plutarch* tells us, in his *Life of Camillus*, that these Swords were made of very ill-temper'd Metal, and were very little hammered.

⁴⁴ The Testimonies of *Polybius*, B. 2, and 4. of *Strabo*, B. 4. and of *Pausanias* and *Justin*, incline us to believe, that the *Gauls* immediately spread themselves into *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, and *Asia Minor*.

⁴⁵ The *Romans* gained this Victory over the *Gauls*, in *The Plains of Alba*, in the 23d Year after they had taken *Rome*. Nevertheless, *Plutarch* places this Expedition in the third, and *Polybius* in the thirtieth Year, after the first Irruption of the *Gauls*.

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CAMILLUS,
Dictator.
Plut. Life of
Camil.
Liv. B.6 c.41.

Plut. Life of
Cam.

Plut. ibid.
Ovid. Fast. B.1.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXXVII.
L. ÆMILIUS
MAMERCINUS, and L.
SEXTIUS LATERANUS,
Consuls,

Liv. B.6. c.41.

§.XVI. NEVERTHELESS, the old *Dictator* was not yet satisfied. The Siege of *Velitræ* had been interrupted; he therefore led his victorious Army thither, and took the City. After this, he returned to *Rome* with great Glory, and had the Honours of a Triumph, which were unanimously decreed him both by Senate and People. But still the Republick continued in too great a Ferment, for the Senate to consent to *Camillus's* abdicating the *Dictatorship*, immediately after his Return. And he obeyed their Orders, thinking it his Duty to do all he could to settle Peace at home. The People, proud of their late Victory, were more earnest to raise a *Plebeian* to the *Consulship*, than ever. This was the Design of the last of *Sextius* and *Licinius's* Laws, which had not yet been accepted. Nevertheless, the two *Tribunes* were more immediately concerned in it, than any body else; and they therefore solicited the passing of it, with all the Ardour of the warmest Ambition. Whilst on the other hand, the Senate and *Patricians* raised Difficulties against it, and the *Comitia*, which were assembled by Intervals, to pass it, were all in a Flame. As for *Camillus*, his Inclinations led him to promote the Interests of the Nobility; but the People, and their *Tribunes*, were strongest. They even went such Lengths, as to be wanting in Respect to the *Dictator* himself. As he was one Day sitting on his Tribunal, in the *Forum*, some of the *Tribunes of the People* sent an Officer to him, to seize him. This they did with Design to force him to lay down the *Dictatorship*: and the Officer was already conducting him to the *Tribunes*, when there arose one of the most violent Outcries which had ever been heard. This was made by the *Dictator's* Guards, and by the *Patricians*, who attended him, and repulsed the *Tribunes* Officer; whilst the Mob, which was at the Foot of the Tribunal, cried out, *Carry him off, Carry him off*. Nevertheless, these seditious Clamours did not stagger the brave old Man. He would not renounce the Dignity, which had been legally conferred upon him; but took Refuge in the Senate-House, whither the *Patricians* followed him; and there the Pretensions of the *Tribunes* and People were taken into Consideration. And in the midst of this universal Confusion, *Camillus* made ⁴⁶ a Vow, to build a Temple to *Concord*, in case he succeeded in quieting these Commotions. As for the Populace, they were too furious to give up any thing: and the Senate, after many Disputes, resolved at last to comply in some measure, with the earnest Desire of the Commons. They consented, that one *Consul* might be chosen out of the People: But this Permission did not imply, that they should be always obliged to fill up one of the *Consul's* Places with a *Plebeian*. So that this was not granting the *Tribunes* all they aimed at: But nevertheless, they were contented with it, and the Government of *Rome* was changed. *Consuls* were revived, and the Republick was no longer governed by *Military Tribunes*.

§.XVII. NEVERTHELESS, the Sedition was not entirely extinguished, even by the passing a Law so very favourable to the People. The *Centuries*, when assembled, pitched upon *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Sextius Lateranus*, to be *Consuls* for the ensuing ⁴⁷ Year. The first was a *Patrician*; the second, the same *Tribune of the People* who had so vigorously pursued the Laws lately passed, and now reaped the First-Fruits of it. But when his Election came to be confirmed by the Senate, the Opposition the *Conscript Fathers* made to it, raised fresh Commotions among the People. The Senators refused to admit *Sextius* to be *Consul*; the Commons obstinately insisted on their confirming his Election. And this Difference was carried to so great a Length, that the People were ready to have left *Rome*, and separated themselves from the *Patricians*, as they had formerly done. All the Wisdom of a *Dictator* universally esteemed, was therefore necessary to bring about a Reconciliation: and *Camillus* found out an Expedient, to which both Parties agreed. The *Consuls*, and the *Military Tribunes* who long supplied their Places, were both Generals of the *Roman* Armies, and Judges of Civil Affairs, at the same

⁴⁶ Ovid gives us an Account of this Vow, in the four following Verses.

*Furius, antiquus populi superator Etrusci,
Voverat, & voti solverat ille fidem.
Causa, quod a Patribus sumptis secesserat armis
Vulgus, & ipsa suas Roma timebat opes.*

Fast. B. 1.

⁴⁷ The *Fasti Capitolini* are our Authority for giv-

ing these two *Consuls* these Names. Some Editions of *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Plutarch*, *Marianns Scotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, all give the first the Name of *Marcus Æmilinus*: And *Plutarch* calls the second, *Lucius Sextus*. But it is a Mistake which ought to be rectified. The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, has also followed bad Memoirs, in displacing *Lucius Sextus*, and putting *Lucius Licinius Stolo* in his Room.

time; and were, for this reason, sometimes called *Consuls*, and sometimes *Prætors*. *Camillus's* Expedient therefore was to separate the Functions of a *Prætor*, from those of a *Consul*, and make them two distinct Offices. He proposed to the Senate, That a *Consul* should be chosen out of the *Plebeians*, on Condition 48 that the *Prætors* should always be *Patricians*: And both *Fathers* and People consented to this Division. It was indeed too much for one Man to undertake the Discharge of two such different Employments, at the same time. Thus all Parties were satisfied; the People, with having it in their Power to be Candidates for the *Consulship*; the Nobility, with having none but *Patricians* admitted to be Judges. By this means, the mutual Hatreds and Dissentions of both Nobles and People were laid asleep; and these two Orders of Men in the Republick, now thought their Privileges equal. The Tranquillity the *Romans* were going to enjoy upon it, was thought the Gift of the Gods; and they were not wanting, in shewing their Gratitude to them for it. The Senate ordered, that the *Great Games* should be 49 celebrated to their Honour. These Shews formerly lasted only three Days; but now a 50 fourth was added to them; and upon this account their Name was changed from *Ludi Magni*, i. e. *Great Games*, into that of *Ludi Maximi*, or *The Greatest Games*. I don't know for what Reason the present *Ædiles* made a Difficulty of undertaking the Care of these new *Games*: but their Refusal gave Occasion to the *Patricians* to create new 51 *Ædiles*, which were to be elected.

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48 The *Prætorship* was then looked upon to be the second Dignity in the Republick. The *Prætor* was elected in *Comitia* by *Centuries*, and under the same *Auspices* as the *Consuls*. So that they might therefore look on one another as Collegues. And indeed, they shared the Burden of the Government between them. The *Prætor* was the chief Officer concerned in the Administration of Justice. The *Consul* had the Management of Political and Military Affairs. *Aulus Gellius*, B. 13. shews us the Difference between these two Offices, when he says, the *Consuls*, *Prætors*, and *Censors*, had the Great *Auspices*, i. e. were the most considerable Magistrates in the Republick; but with this Difference, that the *Censors* could neither stile themselves the *Consuls* Collegues, nor hinder their *Auspices* or Election; whereas the *Prætors* could do both with respect to the *Consuls*; and the *Consuls* with respect to the *Prætors*. For this Reason, neither *Prætor*, nor *Consul*, could hinder the Creation of *Censors*, because they were not upon the Foot of being their Collegues. Nor could a *Prætor*, according to the Laws, ever preside in the *Comitia* which were to create *Consuls*; for this reason, says *Aulus Gellius*; *Quia imperium minus Prætor, majus habet Consul; et a minore imperio majus, aut a minore Collega maior, rogari jure non potest*, B. 13. i. e. Because, says he, a superior Magistrate could not be proposed by an inferior. Nay, a *Prætor* had not this Right, with regard to another *Prætor*. This Practice is confirmed by *Tully*, in a Letter to *Atticus*, B. 9. where speaking of *Cæsar's* Pretensions to the *Consulship*, after he had forced *Pompey* to leave *Italy*, he has these Words: *Permagni ejus interest rem ad interregnum non venire. Id assequitur, si per Prætores, Consules creantur. Nos autem in libris habemus, non modo Consules a Prætoribus, sed ne Prætores quidem creari jus esse, idque factum esse nunquam; Consules, eo non esse jus, quod majus imperium a minore rogari non sit jus: Prætores autem, cum ita regentur ut Collegæ Consulium sint, quorum est majus imperium.* We have already observed, that before the Establishment of the *Prætorship*, the *Consuls* affected to be called *Prætors*. Nay, the *Dictator* himself assumed the Title of *Prætor Maximus*. Indeed the Word *Prætor* originally signified no more than that the Man had a Pre-eminence, *quod populo præiret jure*. The Name of *Prætor* was at first confined to him who administered Justice in *Rome*; and was afterwards called *Prætor Urbanus*, to distinguish him from another *Prætor* who was elected, to decide the Differences which should arise

between Foreigners; and was called *Prætor Peregrinus*. Afterwards, four others were added to these; and in Process of Time they came to be eight in Number, and at last fifteen; exclusive of the *Provincial Prætors*, whose Business it was to administer Justice in the *Roman Provinces*, and command the Troops there in time of War, till their Office, which was annual, expired. They there acted as *Consuls*. We shall often meet with them in our Way, and have Occasion to speak of them. But it is sufficient, at present, to give an Account of the Office and Privileges of the first *Prætor*, who took Care to see Justice duly administered in *Rome*; which we shall soon do, very fully.

49 Authors have not given us distinct Accounts enough of these *Games*, to shew us the Difference between them, and some others used in *Rome*; as those of the *Circus*, and those formerly celebrated in Honour to *Neptune*, under the Name of *Consualia*. All we know is, that they were celebrated with great Magnificence, and at a vast Expence. For this Reason, say some, they were called *The Great Games*; but others say, they were so called, because consecrated to *Neptune*, and the *Dii Lares*, or tutelary Gods of *Rome*, which were called, by way of Distinction, *The Great Gods*. Some infer, from this Expression of *Virgil*, *Magnis Circensibus actis*, that they were the same with *The Games of the Circus*. And I am indeed of Opinion, that this Shew was in the *Circus*. This great Place was very convenient for the Representation of the publick Games and Turnaments, which were celebrated in *Rome*, in Honour of the Pagan Gods; for these Shews were a Part of the *Roman Religion*. *The Great Games*, are the same as *The Roman Games*, which *Tully* mentions in his 7th Oration against *Verres*. They were so called, because they were thought almost as ancient as *Rome* it self. They were celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. The Ceremony lasted three Days, at first; but a fourth was often added: and at last they came to be continued for nine Days together.

50 *Plutarch* says, That this fourth Day was added to the *Ferie Latine*; That after the *Patricians* and the People were reconciled, it was ordered, that Sacrifices should on that Day be offered up to the Gods, in all the Temples; and That all the *Romans*, without Exception, were then to be crowned with Flowers.

51 This new created Office was at first appropriated to the *Patricians*; but we shall soon see the *Plebeians* assuming a Right of standing for it, and actually

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elected only out of the *Patrician* Body. In short, upon the *Plebeian Ædiles* refusing to make Preparation for the *Great Games*, the young *Patricians* cried out, that since the Matter in Hand was, to take care of the Worship of the Gods, they should not think it a Dishonour to them, to be chosen *Ædiles*. The *Dictator* accepted the Offer, and made a Proposal to the People, to establish two *Patrician Ædileships*, which they agreed to. Upon this the Senate promised, in its Turn, to ratify all that had been done in the late *Comitia*, in relation to the Election of new Magistrates: and nothing now remained, but to mark out a Site for the Temple of *Concord*, which *Camillus* had vowed to build; and to lay the Foundations of it. The People ordered it should be built, at the Expence of the Publick; and it was placed at the Foot of the *Capitol*, upon an Eminence, where it stood high enough to be seen, in the *Forum*, and in the Places where the Assemblies were held, and Justice was administred. Thus ended a Year, the whole Glory of which centered in *Camillus*. He had overcome the Enemies of *Rome*, had restored Peace to the Republick, and had calmed the People, without exasperating the Nobility. Full of Glory therefore, and full of Years, he laid down the *Dictatorship*, which he

actually sharing it with the Nobility. The *Curule Ædiles* were allowed, by way of Distinction, the Honours of the *Curule Chair*, the Robe bordered with Purple, and what the *Romans* called *Fus imaginis*. The Privilege of exposing publicly the Images of their Ancestors, was a Mark and Sign of Nobility, among the *Romans*, as that of bearing Coats-of-Arms is in *France*. It was never granted, but to those who had held great Offices. For this Reason, he who was raised to the *Curule* Offices the first of his Family, and could produce no Portrait but his own, was called, *A new Man*. The Ancientness of a Man's Family, was judged of by the Number of the Statues which perpetuated the Memory of his Ancestors, and of the Offices they had born. But to return to the *Curule Ædileship*; even Men who had been *Consuls*, did not think it beneath them to aspire at this Employment. Tho' upon its first Establishment, it was confined to the Care of keeping the Temples of the Gods clean, and preserving Order and Decency in the Worship which was paid them; and of providing all Things necessary for the *Games*, and regulating the Celebration of the *Feria Latina*; yet it afterwards became a Part of the Office of the *Curule Ædiles*, as well as the *Plebeian Ædiles*, to see that the Ordinances of the People, and Decrees of the Senate, were duly observed; to inspect the Repairs of the publick Buildings, Baths, and Aqueducts; to keep the Streets clean; and lastly, to take Care of the *Police*, and Decorations of *Rome*. It belonged to them to assign every one his Place at the publick *Games*, and to prevent all Disorders at them. In a Word, their Office extended to every thing, wherein the Safety or good Order of the Citizens was concerned. But they seem to have acted in Subordination and Obedience to the *Censors*. These were a Sort of Overseers, or Superintendents, to inspect every thing that related to the *Police* of *Rome*. The Functions of the *Ædiles* are mentioned in this Law, which is in *Tully's* 3d Book, *De Legibus*. SUNTOQUE ÆDILES CURATORES URBIS, ANNONÆ, LUDORUMQUE SOLEMNIUM; OLLEISQUE AD HONORIS AMPLIORIS GRADUM IS PRIMUS ASCENSUS ESTO. But *Tully* gives us a more particular Account of the Functions and Privileges of the *Ædiles*, in his 7th Oration against *Verres*. He was then an *Ædile* himself, and knew every thing that related to his Office. *Nunc sum designatus Ædilis. Habeo rationem quid a populo Romano acceperim. Mibi, Ludos sanctissimos, maxima cum cura & Ceremonia, Cereri, Libero, Liberæque faciendos: Mibi, Floram Matrem populo plebique Romano Ludorum celebritate placandam: Mibi, ludos antiquissimos, qui primi Romani sunt nominati, maxima cum dignitate ac religione, Jovi, Junoni, Minervæque, esse faciendos: Mibi, sacrorum Ædium procuratorem,*

Mibi totam urbem tuendam, esse commissam: ob earum rerum laborem & sollicitudinem fructus illos datori, antiquiorem in Senatu sententiæ dicendæ locum, togam Prætextam, Sellam Curulem, Fus imaginis, ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendam. In the latter Ages of the Republick, when Ambition and Luxury were introduced into *Rome*, with the Riches of *Asia*, there was an Emulation among the *Ædiles*, who should celebrate the *Games* and Festivals with most State, and in the most costly Manner. Every one endeavoured to excel his Predecessor in Magnificence: Insomuch, that the Money allowed out of the Publick Treasury for these *Games*, was not sufficient to defray the excessive Expences of them; whence it came to pass, that the *Ædiles* spent their own Estates, out of a foolish Ostentation; borrowed Money at great Rates, and came out of their Offices over-run with Debt. Their chief Aim was to gain the Suffrages of the People, whose Eyes are always dazzled with pompous Appearances. The *Ædileship* was then at least as burdensome as it was honourable. Yet no Body could decline this Office with Honour. It was necessary to take this first Step, if Men intended to rise to the other *Curule* Dignities, especially the *Prætorship*, and *Consulship*; and without it they were suspected of Avarice; which bare Suspicion was enough to exclude Men of the most distinguish'd Merit. We are told by *Cicero*, B. 1. *de Offic.* that *Mamercus*, one of the richest Citizens in *Rome*, could not obtain the *Consulship*, because he had not stood Candidate for the *Ædileship*. And the same Author adds, that *Mærona*, who, contrary to Custom, never had been *Ædile*, entertained the People with *Games*, in the Year he was *Prætor*, to remove all Suspensions of him. It also belonged to the *Ædiles* to examine and revise Books. Dramatick Pieces could not be acted without their Approbation. They bought them of the Poets, and distributed the usual Rewards to those Actors who distinguished themselves. Besides which, they had a distinct Jurisdiction of their own. They administred Justice, as the *Prætor* did; and, like him, drew up an *Edict*, as soon as they came into their Offices, consisting of such Principles and Maxims of Civil Law, as they resolved to make the Rule of their Decrees, during their Magistracy. Which *Edict*, when once published, became an invariable Rule, both for the *Ædile*, and all the Parties which were brought before his Tribunal. The Business of their Tribunals seems to have been the determining all Affairs relating to the *Police* of the City. The *Curule Ædiles* were elected in *Comitia* by Tribes. The legal Age for entering upon this Office, was usually fixed to 35, or 37 Years: So that there always was two Years between any Man's *Prætorship* and *Ædileship*; as there was between the *Prætorship* and the *Consulship*.

had adorned; and was wholly bent on spending the small Remainder of his Days, in the Repose and Tranquillity of a private Life.

§. XVIII. As for *Rome*, the Re-establishment of the *Consuls* produced only a sort of Indolence in the Republick. The Senate seemed afraid of undertaking any Wars, under the Administration of a *Plebeian Consul*, lest by raising his Glory, they should contribute to the Honour of his whole Party. News was brought, That the *Gauls*, who were for the most part dispersed in *Apulia*, had Thoughts of reassembling; and That the *Hernici* were preparing to shake off the Alliance of the *Romans*. But the Senate was entirely regardless of these Reports. Had the *Consuls* been both chosen out of the *Patricians*, the Republick had infallibly sent Armies into the Field: but the Nobles were afraid of promoting the Glory of a *Plebeian*. The *Romans* were therefore wholly employed in settling the Rights of the new Offices, they had just created. The *Prætorship* was a dismembered Part of the *Consulship*: for which Reason, the *Prætors* are sometimes called the *Consuls Collegues*. It was ordered as to them, that they should be chosen in *Comitia by Centuries*, and that their Elections should be preceded by *Auguries*: and as the *Romans* were all skilled in military Affairs, it often happened afterwards, that some of these Judges were put at the Head of Armies, in great Emergencies, and when *Consuls* were wanting. Nevertheless, the chief Business of the *Prætor*, was to administer Justice to the People, and determine all Disputes relating to Inheritances⁵², Wills, Emancipations, and all other civil Affairs. And lest the *Prætors* should proceed arbitrarily in their Judgments, they were obliged to declare, as soon as they entered upon their Office, by what Principles they would govern themselves in their Determinations. They drew up what was called an *Edict*, which was their Rule, by which they passed Judgment. This *Edict* was a Summary of civil Law, founded upon the Laws⁵³ in Being, the Interpretations given of them, and former Precedents. When the *Prætor* for the time being, had published his *Edict*, he could⁵⁴ never after exceed the Limits he had prescribed to himself, and act by other Maxims. The Tribunal on which he sat, was a *Curule Chair*, adorned with Ivory; and he had two *Lictors*⁵⁵ walked before him. So that the *Prætorship* was the highest Office in *Rome*, after the *Consulship*. Only one *Prætor* was created at first; but they were afterwards multiplied. *Camillus* was the Institutor of this Office; and the Republick thinking herself obliged to shew her Gratitude to him for it, chose his Son *Sp. Furius Camillus*, to be the first *Prætor* in *Rome*.

THE second Innovation in the State, was, the *Patrician Ædiles*. The *Ædileship* had been long established in *Rome*, was a *Plebeian Tribunal*, created at the same time with the *Tribunes of the People*, and subordinate to them. The Business of the *Ædiles* was to take care, That the Temples and private Houses were

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXXVII.
L. ÆMILIUS
MAMERCINUS, and L.
SEXTIUS LATERANUS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 7. c. 1.

⁵² The whole Jurisdiction of the *Prætor*, was comprehended in these three *Latin Words*, *Do, Dico, Adipico*. The first imports his Power, to give, or appoint, the contending Parties, Judges, Arbitrators, Commissioners, or perhaps Advocates. The second Word expresses the judicial Act of the *Prætor*, in pronouncing Sentence. The third implies his Power, of adjudging, or appropriating, to either of the Parties, the Thing in dispute.

⁵³ *Tully*, in his 4th *Oration against Verres*, calls the *Prætor's Tribunal*, *aram legum*, i. e. the Sanctuary of the Laws. And indeed, he was in effect both the Guardian and Interpreter of them. Some think the *Prætor*, who had the Care of the Affairs of Foreigners, with the Title of *Prætor peregrinus*, was obliged to model his Judgments, as much as possible, by the *Prætor of Rome's Edict*. And it is certain, the *Provincial Prætors*, who were afterwards established, formed their annual *Edicts* upon the Plan of his. For which Reason, the *Provinces* under their Care were in several things subject to the *Roman Laws*.

⁵⁴ The new *Prætor*, before he began to act, took an Oath in the Presence of the People assembled, that he would never deviate from the Laws and Rules he had prescribed to himself. After which, he chose a certain Number of *Judges*, out of the *Senators*, or *Knights*, or both: And these *Judges*,

when once chosen, took their Turns in hearing criminal and civil Causes, as they fell to them by Lot.

⁵⁵ This Number of *Lictors*, was fixed by a Law of *Marcus Platorius*, a *Tribune of the People*. *Censorinus, de die Natali*, c. 24. has given it us in these Words. *PRÆTOR URBANUS QUI NUNC EST, QUIQUE POSTHAC FUAT, DUO LICTORES APUD SE HABETO*. *Plautus* alludes to it, *Epidic. 1. At unum a prætura tua abest: . . . Lictores duo*. There is therefore no Reason for what some Authors affirm, viz. that the *Prætor* had six *Lictors* walked before him, with their *Fasces*. *Tully* expressly says the contrary. *Agrar. . . . Anteibant Lictores, non cum bacillis, sed ut hic Prætoribus apte erant, cum fasces duobus*. We must therefore understand *Polybius*, *Appian*, and *Plutarch*, of the *Provincial Prætors*, to whom the Republick granted six *Lictors*; as *Cicero* tells us, when speaking of *Verres*, he says, *Verr. 5. Sex Lictores circumstant valentissimi, et ad pulsandos verberandosque homines exercitatiissimi*. Add to this, that the *Prætor's Presence* was so necessary in *Rome*, that he was never suffered to be absent from it ten Days, unless when the Command of an Army was conferred upon him, which was sometimes necessary to be done, in great Emergencies. And *Cicero* is likewise our Authority for this Fact, which he mentions in his *Second Philippic*.

Year of **R O M E** well repaired; That the City was kept clean, and well supplied with Provisions, and to make Preparations for the publick Games. I believe indeed, that the *Patrician Aediles*, who were also called *Curule Aediles*, because they had a Right of sitting in Chairs adorned with Ivory, did not at first extend their Office as far as the *Plebeian Aediles* had done. It is probable, that they contented themselves, at their first Institution, with only taking care of the Temples and Games, both which related to the Worship of the Gods. But as it is natural for one Man to encroach on the Jurisdiction of another, the *Curule Aediles* usurped, by degrees, all the Rights of the *Plebeian*. This Office became afterwards one of the most considerable in *Rome*; it was a Step to the *Prætorship*, and *Consulship*. They who enjoyed it, had the Privilege of setting up their Ancestors Pictures in the Porches of their Houses. The first *Curule Aediles* were chosen by the People, in the *Campus Martius*; where they now elected *Cn. Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*.

CCCLXXXVII.
L. ÆMILIUS
MAMERCINUS, and L.
SEXTIUS LATERANUS,
Consuls.

Cicero Orat. 7.
against Verres.

Fast. Capit.

BUT these new Magistrates were scarce settled in their Office, before the *Tribunes of the People* took umbrage at them. They, who had not been used to see the Honour of the *Curule Chair* conferred on any but *Consuls*, could not behold such an extraordinary Appearance, of so many *Patricians* sitting in them, without Jealousy. And the Complaints of the *Tribunes*, backed with the Murmurs of the Commons, made an Impression on the Senate. They were ashamed of having promoted so many *Patricians*, and resolved not to confine the *Curule Aedileship* wholly to the Nobility. They first agreed, that the *Curule Aediles* should be chosen out of the *Plebeians* and *Patricians* alternately, every two Years: and afterwards, they gave the People their full Liberty, to chuse them out of either.

Year of **R O M E** S. XIX. THESE Establishments being once made, *Rome* enjoyed the most profound Peace both at home and abroad. *L. Genucius* 56, and *Q. Servilius Ahala*, were chosen *Consuls*; the former of whom seems to have been a *Plebeian* by Descent, the latter was of a *Patrician* Family. *Rome* then enjoyed the Sweetness of Peace and Tranquillity; but it seems to have been the Fate of this City, which was destined to be the Mistress of the World, to make her Way to the highest Pitch of human Power, through perpetual intestine Commotions, followed by the most terrible Calamities. A Plague raged in *Rome* all on a sudden, which no body could account for. It could not be ascribed to the Irregularity of the Seasons. The Winter had not been extraordinarily dry, nor had the cold Weather been too suddenly succeeded by an immoderate Heat. The Summer had not been too rainy; nor had the autumnal Fruits, which had been ripe enough, caused Indigestions. Nor lastly, had the *Calabrian Wind* blown any dangerous and unwholesome Air to *Rome*. Nevertheless, the Contagion spread all on a sudden, and spared neither Age, nor Sex. The Infection was universal; none escaped Death, or a languishing Sickness, which dried up those whom it did not kill. The richest were not exempt from it. One of the two *Censors* 57 died of it, and his Collegue was obliged to lay down the *Censorship*; which was, doubtless, the Reason why there was no *Lustrum* in *Rome*, in their Time. The Plague carried off likewise three *Tribunes of the People*, and one *Curule Aedile*; but its most fatal Stroke was the Death of the great *Camillus*. As old as he was, he was exceedingly missed in the Republick. *Rome* looked upon him as a second *Romulus*; the first had founded, the second had restored her. He had signalized himself by his Victories before his Banishment. He had gained himself great Esteem, for his Moderation, in the Place he retired to; and no Motive would have induced him to leave it, but that of saving his ungrateful Country. As a great General, he had conquered and dispersed the most formidable Enemies *Rome* ever had; and taught the *Romans* not to fear them for the future. He had never fought a Battel, without gaining a complete Victory; had never besieged a City, without taking it; had never led an Army into the Field, which he did not bring back laden with more Glory than Booty.

CCCLXXXVIII.
L. GENUCIUS,
Q. SERVILIUS
AHALA, Consuls.

Orosius, B. 3.
c. 4.

56 The *Consular Annals* give *Lucius Genucius* the Surname of *Aventinensis*; perhaps because he had lived on the Hill *Aventinus*.

57 *Sigonius* guesses, from a Fragment of the *Fasti Capitolini*, that *Albinus Regillensis*, and *Caius Sulpicius Peticus*, were the *Censors* for this Year. Which if true, it is plain the former was he who died of the Plague,

since the latter is mentioned again afterwards. What *Posthumus Albinus's Prænomen* was, is uncertain. Two of this Family had been *Military Tribunes*; one of which was called *Aulus*, and the other *Lucius*. Which of the two was carried off by the Plague, it is hard to say. The *Fasti Capitolini* leave us entirely in the dark concerning it.

He was a good Patriot, and had a tender Affection for his Country. Tho' persecuted by it, he would never hearken to his Resentments. When buried for some time in Oblivion, he waited, without Impatience, till the Necessities of the Publick obliged the *Comitia* to have Recourse to him. He readily charged himself with the Conduct of the most difficult and most laborious Undertakings, in a very advanced Age, without waiting to be solicited. His Love for the Publick, and true Honour, were the only Rules of his Conduct. In short, there did not appear any one considerable false Step, in the Discharge of all his different Employments. He was a *Patrician* by Descent, but not actuated by Party-Zeal. He was a *Plebeian*, when the Interests of the Publick made it necessary for him to be so, but without Flattery, or Self-Interest. *Camillus* had nothing in View, but to do Justice, and to put an end to the present Troubles: So that he left his Country in the Enjoyment of a perfect Tranquillity, at his Death, by means of the wise Equality he had introduced, and the just Balance he had settled, between all Orders of Men, in the Republick. In a word, virtuous *Rome* may indeed be said to have furnished the World with many noble Patterns of Probity: but perhaps with none more perfect, than that of the great *Camillus*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXXV II.

L. GENUCIUS,
Q. SERVILIUS
AHLA, Con-
suls.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XV.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXXVIII.
L. GENUCIUS,
and Q. SERVI-
LIUS AHALA,
Consuls.

§.I. **T**HE *Roman* Republick had scarce gained any Increase of Territory, at the Time *Camillus* died, except on the other Side of the *Tyber*, in the Country of the *Hebrurians*. Nor did her Jurisdiction, even there, reach far beyond *Veii* and *Cære*: So that, it was confined within six or seven Leagues of the Capital. And ever since the taking and sacking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, her Allies had been continually wavering in their Fidelity. They had seen that the *Romans* were not invincible. To what then are we to ascribe the little Progress the *Romans* had made, for near four Centuries, during which they had been continually in Arms? To what impute so many fruitless Victories? To what so much Blood shed in vain? To what the taking so many Cities, founding so many *Colonies*, and conquering so many Nations, without thoroughly subduing them? To what? unless the eternal Jealousies between the Nobility and People, which long retarded the Conquests the *Romans* would sooner have made, if their Government had been more peaceable, and themselves more united? The *Tribunes of the People* were always opposing the Enterprizes of the *Consuls*, or *Military Tribunes*. The Neighbours, and even Allies, of *Rome*, took Advantage of these domestick Seditions, which Party-Disputes had raised there. They took up Arms, ravaged the *Roman* Territory, and revenged themselves on the proud Republick. But as soon as the Danger became imminent, it easily put a stop to the Seditions of the *Romans*, and revived their Valour. They often had Recourse to a *Dictator*, that a Six-Months-Monarch might reform the Abuses of the too equal Power of the *Consuls*, *Tribunes of the People*, Senate, and *Comitia*. And then the Experience of the *Roman* Generals, and the Valour of their Troops, made them always victorious; but the Return of the domestick Seditions, which were ever reviving, renewed the Hopes of the conquered Nations. Thus were the *Romans* almost uninterruptedly running in the same Round of Wars, with the same Enemies; whom they found it easy to conquer, but not possible to keep long in Subjection.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXXIX.
C. SULPICIUS,
and C. LICINIUS
STOLO,
Consuls.

SUCH was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when ¹ C. *Sulpicius*, and C. *Licinius Stolo*, took Possession of the *Consulship*. The Name of the first shews him to have been a *Patrician*. The second was the famous *Licinius*, Son-in-law to *Fabius*, who, jointly with his Colleague *Sextius*, had first contrived the four famous Laws, then maintained them, and at length, in the ten Years he had been *Military Tribune*, obtained the Publication of them. And now the Promise *Fabius* had made his younger Daughter, that she should see the same Honours paid her own Husband, which she had with Envy seen paid to the Husband of her eldest Sister, was fulfilled. She had the Pleasure, for a Year, of seeing the *Lictors* march before her *Plebeian* Husband, and to have her House adorned with their *Axes* and *Fasces*.

Liv. B. 7. c. 2.

BUT the Change of the *Consuls* did not put an end to the Plague which raged the last Year. The *Romans* therefore had Recourse to an old Superstition, to stop the Progress of it. Religious Entertainments were made for the Gods, in their own Temples, and they ² invited to them. This sort of Worship was from its first

¹ Some Editions of *Livy* give *Caius Sulpicius* the Surname of *Politius*, contrary to the *Fasti-Capitolini*.

² In Times of publick Danger, or Calamity, or Thanksgiving for any happy Event, the Republick ordered solemn Feasts to be made for the Pa-



The Triclinium of the Ancients.

first Institution called *Lectisternium*. Tables were actually spread, and Beds placed round them, on which the 4 Guests were to lie and eat. The Statues of *Jupiter*, and the other Gods, were laid upon these Beds, as if they had been to partake of the Feast; and the Goddesses, as *Juno* and *Minerva*, were placed in Chairs, at these Entertainments, after the manner of the *Roman Women*: This being thought the more decent Posture for their Sex. But neither did the Ceremony of the *Lec-*

Year of
ROMAN
CONQUEST
C. 1000
and C. 1000
A.D. 1000
C. 1000
A.D. 1000
C. 1000
A.D. 1000

gan Gods. The silly Pagans fancied, That when the Gods were laid on Beds prepared for that Purpose, they ate the Flesh of the Victims; and That an Entertainment made in Honour to them, appeased their Wrath, or secured their Protection. *Arnobius*, B. 7. ironically reproaches the *Gentiles* of his Age with this mad kind of Worship. *Habent Dii Lectos, atque ut stratis possint melioribus incubare, pulvinorum tollitur atque excitatur impressio.*

3 These Beds, which were placed near the Altars, were strewed with Leaves, and odoriferous Herbs, as well as the Temples. Hence this Ceremony had the Name of *Lecti-sternium*, i. e. a strewing of a Bed. *St. Austin* speaks of it in this Sense, *De civ. Dei*, B. 3. *Lecti sternebantur in honorem Deorum. Unde hoc sacrum, vel potius sacrilegium?* Every Bed had a Cushion, to support the Head of the God for whom the Feast was made. *Horace* alludes to this Custom, B. 1. Ode 37.

—Nunc Saliaribus
Ornare pulvinar Deorum
Tempus erat Dapibus, —

This *Pulvinar* is indeed sometimes taken to signify the Bed it self: But *Acron* an old Commentator on *Horace*, is mistaken, when he says it was a Sort of Footstool, which was placed under the Feet of the Statue, to raise it.

4 It is difficult to say, with any Certainty, when the *Romans* began to eat lying on Beds placed round a Table. All that is sure, is, that in the earliest Ages they sat upon Benches. *Varro* testifies this, B. 2. *de vita Populi Romani*; as does *Isidorus*, B. 20. of *Etymologies*; and *Servius* upon these Lines of the 7th *Aeneid*

*Hæ sacris sedes epulis, hic ariete caeso,
Perpetuis soliti Patres considerare mensis.*

Ovid says the same thing in his *Fasti*, B. 5.

*Ante Focos olim scamnis confidere longis
Mos erat, & mensæ credere adesse Deos.*

Homer places his Heroes in no other Posture. *Ulysses* arrives at *Alcinous's* Palace, is invited to a Feast, and there takes the uppermost Place, sitting in a very fine Chair. The first *Egyptians*, according to *Apollodorus*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, sat at Table upon Chairs. *Cicero*, *Orat. pro Murena*, and *Varro*, say, this Custom continued long among the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Cretans*: Nor did the *Romans*, say some, differ from these People in this Case, till the time of *Scipio Africanus*, who is thought to have brought a Sort of little Beds from *Carthage*. These *Cicero*, *Orat. pro Mur.* and *Isidorus*, B. 20. distinguishes by the Name of *Punicani Lecti*; and *Horace* calls them *Lecti archaici*, on Account of their Antiquity:

Si potes archaicus conviva recumbere lectis . . .

Ep. B. 1.

These Beds were of Wood, and of a very plain Make. They were covered with nothing but Goat-Skins. But, whatever some Moderns may say of it, it is probable, that in religious Repasts at least, and in great Feasts, the *Romans* had borrowed the Custom of sitting upon Beds, of the Eastern Nations, long before the *Carthaginian Wars*; since they, in the earliest Ages, practised the Ceremony of the *Lectisternium*, with respect to their Gods, whose Images they laid at length upon Beds, placed round a Table covered with several Dishes. Indeed

the Use of Beds was afterwards more common, when it became customary with the *Romans* to bathe before they ate. After they had bathed, they rested themselves on Beds, near which their Tables were spread. This was thought a more convenient Posture after bathing, than sitting in a Chair. Thus the Practice was by degrees received throughout all the *Roman Empire*. We shall hereafter have Occasion to speak of the Costliness of the Feasts, Tables, and Beds, which Luxury and Effeminacy introduced into *Rome*. But at present, it is sufficient to observe, that, generally speaking, there were three Beds placed round a square or round Table. Hence the Word *Triclinium*, to signify a Room to eat in, in which there were sometimes but two Beds; and in this Sense *Plautus* uses the Word *Biclinium*. The *Triclinium* was the placing three Beds in such a manner that the two Side ones joined to the Ends of the lower one, at right Angles, so as to leave an open Space on one Side, for the Servants to attend. Each Bed had three or four Persons upon it, according to the Number of the Guests.

Sæpe tribus lectis videas cœnare quaternos,

says *Horace*, *Sat. B. 1. 4.* According to *Varro*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, B. 13. it was thought most elegant and civil, to have but nine Guests, that they might lie the more at Ease. *Tullus* reproaches *Piso* with the Disorder and Irregularity of his Entertainments, at which the Guests were heaped one upon another. *Nihil apud hunc lautum, nihil elegans . . . Græci quin stipati in lectulis accumbant . . . Orat. in Pis. Mons.* *Spon* has collected the Figure of one of these Beds, from the ancient Monuments; and we here give it the Reader, together with the Figure of the *Triclinium*.

5 In the latter Ages of the Republick, when the *Roman Women* no longer kept within the Bounds of Modesty, they lay at length upon Beds, as the Men did. But it was not so in ancient Times. *Feminae cum viris cubantibus sedentes cœnitabant*, says *Val. Maximus*, B. 2. *Quæ consuetudo ex hominum convictu ad divina penetravit. Nam Jovis epulo, ipse in Lectulum, Juno & Minerva in sellas ad cœnam invitantur. Quod genus severitatis, ætas nostra diligentius in Capitolio, quam in suis domibus, servat. Videlicet quia magis ad rem pertinet, Deorum quam mulierum, disciplina contineri.* But this was not the Case of young People, before they left off the *Prætexta*. When admitted to their Parent's Tables, they did not lie down, but sat on the Edges of the Beds, out of Respect to their Parents. Thus, according to *Suetonius*, the young *Cæsars*, *Gaius* and *Lucius*, never ate at *Augustus's* Table, but in this Posture.

6 All the time this religious Ceremony lasted, the *Romans* crowded to the Temples, to offer up their Vows and Prayers there. The Senators came to the Place where the Ceremony was performed, with their Wives and Children, and sometimes all the Orders of Men in the Republick, with the *Pontifex Maximus* walking before them, and young Persons of both Sexes attending them. They all had Crowns on their Heads, and Branches of Laurel in their Hands. The Air resounded with the Hymns they sung in Praise of their Gods: And the Pomp of the Procession was increased by the Statues of several Gods, which were carried in Triumph, on Biers, and in Chariots, and accompanied with Musick.

tisternium

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Val. Max. B. 2.

c. 4. §. 4.

Ludi Circenses.

Ludi Scenici.

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tisternium remove the Plague. For which Reason the *Romans* had then Recourse to another sort of Superstition, which they had never practised before. The public *Games* are well known to have been consecrated to the Gods, and to have made a Part of the *Roman* Religion. Which *Games*, or Sports, were then only those of 7 the *Circus*, i. e. Chariot-racing, Boxing, and Wrestling; which were very proper Exercises for so warlike a Republick. But now, the *Romans* thought to have appeased the Gods, by instituting new Sports, which were at first innocent, but afterwards degenerated into indecent Representations, which naturally tended to corrupt Mens Manners. These Shews were called 8 *Scenici*, because they were represented on a *Scene*, that is, a Stage built in the *Shade*. One Side of the *Circus*, was the Place first chosen, for this new Shew. The Entertainments of the Stage, were 9 originally rather Dances than Plays. Dancers were brought to *Rome* from *Hetruria*, who danced to the 10 Flute, and kept Time with their Motions and Gestures; but their *Entries* had no manner of Relation to one another,

nor

7 The *Circus* was appropriated to the Exercises of Horse and Chariot-Racing, the *Gymnic* Games, Combats on Horseback, and on Foot, the *Nau-machie*, &c. But we omit speaking of these different Sorts of Exercises, till we come hereafter to see *Rome* in her Splendor, and distinguish her self by the Pomp and Magnificence of her Shews. Besides, it is very proper to disperse this Crowd and Variety of important Subjects, which here offer themselves all at once, into different Parts of our History: Otherwise we should be in danger of crowding too much Matter together in one Place, of fatiguing the Reader with too many Quotations, and of making him lose the Thread of the Narration.

8 The *Scenic* Shews took their Name from the *Greek* Word *σκιος*, which signifies a shady Place, a Tent, a Pavilion, an Arbour, or Branches of Trees, with which the Ancients covered their Stages, to shade the Actors. Afterwards the Scene of the Theatre of the Ancients signified all those Buildings, which were represented to the Spectators on the Stage; and which were adorned with Decorations, which *Vitruvius* calls *Scenes*. This gave *Seneca* room to give the Ornaments of a Funeral Pomp the Name of *Scenes*. *Collatitiis, & ad dominos redituris Instrumentis Scena hæc adornatur cap. 10. de Consol. ad Mart.* And lastly, the Word is likewise sometimes used to signify, not only that Place where the Actors played their Parts, but the whole spacious Inclosure in which the Spectators were assembled. *Labeo the Civilian*, as quoted by *Ulpian*, uses the Word *Scene*, in this Sense, *B. 1. ff. de his qui notantur infamia.*

9 As the Design of Musick and Dancing, is to give Life and Sprightliness to Entertainments, they always made a Part of the Diversions of the Ancients. Their solemn Games, Marriages, Vintages, and Feasts, were always enlivened with Harmony, and Dances. The Pagans made them a Part of their Religion. They were thought essential to idolatrous Worship. The Priests and *Salii* of *Rome* danced and sung, in Honour to their Gods. The Festivals and Sacrifices were generally accompanied with Harmony. The Theatrical Shews, in particular, among the *Greeks*, were at first nothing but Hymns, sung in Honour of *Bacchus*, and accompanied with irregular and immodest Dances. At *Rome* the *Scenical Shews* were originally nothing but a bad Jumble of licentious Songs, and comical Distortions of Body, accompanied with the Flute. There are reckoned to have been three Sorts of Dances originally, upon the ancient Theatre, the *Tragical*, *Comical*, and *Satyrical*. The first called *tragicæ*, on account of the Decency of its Motions and Gestures, expressed the Seriousness and Loftiness of Tragedy. The second was called *Cordax*, from a Satyr of that Name, who passed for the Inventor of it. This was a loose Dance, which was distinguished from others by its Obscenity. So that it was not fit to be used by any Body, but professed

Buffoons, and Persons who had lost all Modesty. The *Sicinnus*, was a dumb Representation of the Jest and poignant Reflections of satyrical Pieces, in pleasant Gestures. At the same time that the *Sicinnus* was danced, these irregular Pieces, which were the Sketches of the ancient Comedy, were repeated with it. The Invention of that Sort of Dance is, without any Proof, ascribed to one *Sicinnus Accius* the Poet, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, *B. 23.* frankly acknowledges, that the Origin of the Name of the *Sicinnites*, was what he could by no means discover. These three Sorts of Dances were all united by the *Pantomimes*, who were afterwards thought the best Dancers on the Stage. They carried their Art to such Perfection, that they found out the Secret of conveying what Images they pleased to the Spectators, in dumb Shew. Their Motions, and the Variety of their Attitudes, were so expressive and regular, that they were a new Sort of Characters, in which it was not difficult to read the Passions, Actions, and most secret Inclinations, and Designs, of Men.

10 The Flute was the Instrument the *Romans* most frequently used in Theatrical Entertainments. The Ancients boast much of the Agreeableness of its Harmony. They give it the Name of *Tibia*, to distinguish it from two other rural Instruments, which *Virgil* calls *Fistula*, and *Avena*. *Horace*, in his *Art of Poetry*, makes a Difference between the Flutes which were first invented, and those used in his Time. The ancient Flute, says the Poet, was not adorned with Brass. It was small and simple, and had but few Holes. It was not so loud as the Trumpet, but charmed the Ear, with its delightful Sweetness.

*Tibia, non ut nunc, orichaleo vineta, tubaque
Æmula, sed tenuis simplexque, foramine paucos.*

The double Flute, which succeeded this, has hitherto been a Riddle, which learned Men have not been able to explain. This Instrument consisted of two Tubes, which were so joined together, as to have but one Mouth. These double Flutes are called by the Ancients, *Tibia dextra*, & *sinistra*, and *Tibia pares*, & *impares*. That which the Musician played on with his right Hand, was therefore called *Tibia dextra*, i. e. *The right-handed Flute*; and, on the contrary, that which he played on with his left Hand, *Tibia sinistra*, i. e. *The left-handed Flute*. The former had but few Holes, and sounded a deep serious Base; the other had more Holes, and a sharper and more lively Tone. The Flutes of different Sorts were called *Tibiae impares*, i. e. *unequal Flutes*; or *Tibia dextra & sinistra*, i. e. *right and left-handed Flutes*. When two right, or two left-handed Flutes were joined together, they were called *Tibia pares dextra*, or *Tibia pares sinistra*. The *Lydian Flutes* were the same as the right-handed Flutes; and the *Tyrian Flutes*, or *Tibia Sarrana*, the same as the left-handed. In a Word, the Flute

which

nor were they directed to any one uniform End. Neither were their Dances accompanied with any Verses, or Discourses, in these early Times. Afterwards the *Roman* Youth imitated these foreign Dances, and mixed such Jest and Raillery with them, as were suitable to the Gestures and Postures they mimicked. This Mixture of Dances, and merry Verses, was very agreeable to the People; and the Pleasure they took in them, prompted the Wits to set about composing such. The *Hetrurian* Word, which signified a *Dancer*, was ¹¹ *Hister*; and therefore the *Romans* gave the Actors of these first Farces, the Name of *Histriones*; which was afterwards continued to those who acted more regular Pieces. In time the Stage grew up to greater Decency and Perfection. But the first Speakers on the Stage, fell into the corrupt Taste of the ¹² *Fescennini*, a People of *Hetruria*, who threw insipid and unpremeditated Jokes at one another, without any Order, or Regularity. These were soon succeeded by Satyrs written in Verse, and set to the Flute: which ¹³ Satyrs were repeated with suitable Gestures. And some Years after, *Livius Andronicus*, who acted his own Pieces, turned the *Satyrs* into regular Plays. He confined himself to one Subject, which he made a proper Representation for the Stage. But he was desired to repeat his Plays so often, that he at last lost that Clearness of Voice, which is exceeding necessary for a publick Speaker. However, he found means to supply this Defect. *Andronicus* got the People's Consent, that a young Man should repeat his Compositions in his Room; whilst he only accompanied the Speeches, which another made, with proper Gestures. And then his Action soon became more perfect, when his Attention was no longer divided between speaking and acting. After this, succeeded the Art of singing on the Stage, to Time, which a Person beat with his Hand. But these Songs seem to have been at first designed only for the *Chorus's*; since the Dialogues were repeated by the Actors, and accompanied with Flutes, whereby they regulated their Voices. When therefore these Theatrical Pieces were brought into Form, and attended with a complete Action, the Farces which made People laugh, were despised. Nevertheless, the *Roman* Youth revived them, and acted them at the End of their serious Pieces. When the professed Actors had finished their Parts, some young *Romans* came upon the Stage masqued, and began to repeat merry Verses, as formerly, *Juv. Sat. 3.*

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which had the same Shape, Dimensions, Tones, and Holes, were therefore called *equal* Flutes. How the Union of two equal and two unequal Flutes, could make a Consort, by Unisons, Thirds, Octaves, &c. we leave to the Masters of the Art to explain. After all that can be said upon it, the double Flute of the Ancients will still continue a Mystery to us.

¹¹ *Festus* is therefore mistaken, when he says the *Comedians*, and Actors of Farces, were called *Histriones*, because the first who settled in *Rome* came from *Histria*.

¹² The *Fescennini*, were Inhabitants of *Fescennia*, an ancient City of *Hetruria*. *Ortelius* places it where *Cita Castellana* now stands. But, according to *Gluver*, it stood at a little Distance from the *Tyber*, below *Falerii*. He guesses it to be that City, some Ruins of which the Husbandmen, according to *Anthony Massa*, discovered, as they were digging in the Ground, ¹³ Miles from *Galææ*. The People of this District were the Inventors of a Sort of doggrel, loose Verses, which were a bad Jumble of insipid Jest, mixed with all Sorts of Ribaldry. Hence the Name of *Versus Fescennini*, was given to licentious Verses. These Freedoms were used in Nuptial Rejoicings, out of a Persuasion, that these Obscenities had a wonderful Virtue, to guard the Bride and Bridegroom against the ill Effects of Charms. In Conformity to this infamous Custom, *Catullus* says,

*Nec diu taceat proci
Fescennina locutio.*

These rude and unformed Verses, clapped together without Connection or Design, gave Birth to the first Theatrical Performances in *Rome*. In order to form a just Idea of them, we need only imagine a

Company of drunken Clowns, upbraiding one another with their Faults in gross Ribaldry, and dull Invectives. This is the Image *Horace* gives us of them, in the first Epistle of his second Book.

*Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.*

¹³ The *Satyr*, was a pleasant poignant Sort of Poetry, which had all the Agreeableness of the *Fescennine Verses*, without the Obscenity of them. Satyrs were repeated on the *Roman* Stage, with due Cadences, and in true Time; that is, were accompanied with Musick and Dancing. This unpolished Comedy, or rather Farce, was somewhat like the *Satyr* of the *Greeks*; which was a Sort of Pastoral, used to make the Spectators merry, after the Melancholy of a Tragical Performance. This is the Account *Horace* gives us of it, in his *Art of Poetry*.

*Carminc qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, & asper
Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit, eo quod
Illecebris erat, & grata novitate morandus
Spectator.*

Buffoons metamorphosed into *Ægipanes*, *Silenus's* *Bacchus's*, *Fannus's*, *Silvanus's*, &c. acted their Parts in these Pieces, which at first supplied the Place of the *Drama*, among the *Romans*; till the Stage was improved, and its Entertainments became more regular. We omit saying any thing here of the two other Sorts of *Satyr*, which were as it were the wild Branches of this. *Horace* has given us the most excellent Patterns, of any *Roman*, in this kind of satyrical Poetry; the Design of which was, to decry Vice, inspire Men with the Love of Virtue, and teach them how to make a good Use of their Reason.

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but such as were free from Obscenity. These Pieces, which were a sort of Composition between *Satyr*s, and regular Plays, were first brought from ¹⁴ *Atella*, a City in *Campania*, and were called *Exodia*, that is, Verses not belonging to the Play. The *Romans* borrowed them from the ¹⁵ *Osci*. But the *Roman* Youth never suffered the professed Actors to bear any Part in their *Exodia*, for fear of dishonouring them. So that the Persons who acted these Pieces, were not liable to the Penalties inflicted on the *Histriones*. Their Names were not ¹⁶ blotted out of the Roll of the *Tribes* in which they were incorporated; nor were they excluded from

¹⁴ *Atella* lay, according to *Claver*, in *Campania*, between *Naples* and *Capua*, in the Neighbourhood of *Aversa*. This City gave Name to the Pieces called *Atellana*, which the *Romans* afterwards adopted. This Sort of Poetry was originally nothing but a Collection of impure Conceits, and lascivious Tales, without Order or Design. But the *Roman* Stage brought it a little into Shape, and made it more regular, and more chaste. The Obscenities of these Pieces were banished to *Atella*; where they were carried to such Excess, that, according to *Tacitus*, the *Roman* Senate was afterwards obliged to interdict these Shews. Among the Actors who appeared on the Stage when the *Atellana* were played at *Rome*, there was one who acted *Manducus*. This was the Name the *Romans* gave to certain hideous Figures, which were designed to make some laugh, and frighten others. This *Manducus* appeared on the Stage in a Mask of an enormous Size, with a Mouth horribly wide and extended, and with long and sharp Teeth, with which he made a great Noise and chattering. This was the Bugbear with which the *Roman* Women frightened their Children. They threatened them with the *Manducus*, when they were ungovernable, as the *French* do their Children with the *Loup-garou*. This is confirmed by *Juvenal*, in his 3d *Satyr*;

*Tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
Exodium, cum personæ pallentis hiatum
In gremio matris formidat rusticus infans.*

Scaliger speaks of one *Pomponius*, who gave the Name of *Pytho Gorgonius*, to an *Atellana* which he had composed. Now the Name of *Pytho Gorgonius*, signifies just the same thing as *Manducus*; since *Pytho* is taken to signify a Bugbear, and *Gorgonius* points out the *Gorgons*, which were painted with great Teeth. *Plautus* makes one of his Actors say merrily, that he wanted nothing to enable him to act the Part of a *Manducus*.

CH. *Quid si aliquo, ad ludos, me pro Manduco locem?*
LA. *Quæ propter?* CH. *Quia pol clare crepito.*

¹⁵ The *Osci*, originally of *Campania*, were a Part of the ancient *Ausones*, who gave their Name to *Italy*. They were anciently called *Opici*, and, by Contraction, *Obsci*; whence, say the Etymologists, the Word *Obscenus* came, because these People had the Character of being as licentious in their Discourses, as they were lewd in Manners. *Festus* speaks of them thus: *Optum quoque invenimus pro osco. Osci frequentissimus fuit usus libidinum spurcarum, unde et verba impudentia appellantur Obscena. Osci quos dicimus, ait Verrius, obscros antea dictos. Adjicit quod supra inconcessæ libidinis obscena, dicantur, ab ejus gentis consuetudine inducta.* But, according to the ancient Geographers, the Name of *Opici* was common to all the Nations which lay between the Confines of *Latium*, and the most Southern Boundaries of *Italy*. These People were chiefly divided into two Branches, one of which inhabited the Country of the *Aurunci*, the other that of the *Sidicini*. So that the lower *Campania* was their Boundary, to the South; and the Country of the *Volsci*, to the North. Their Language, or, at least, Dialect, was very different from that of the *Romans*. It was pretty much the same as that of the *Sabines* and *Samnites*. Some Remains of this

Language were long preserved in the *Atellana*, and the *Roman* Youth made it their Study. *Gellius* tells us, B. 17. that *Ennius* boasted he could speak *Oscan*, *Greek*, and *Latin*. According to *Tacitus*, some Pieces called *Atellana*, were acted in his Time, which were written in the Spirit and Language of the old *Osci*. Nevertheless, this Sort of Poetry became more decent and refined, when it appeared on the *Roman* Stage. The Obscenities with which the *Osci* polluted it, were generally banished from it; and it only retained that satirical Turn, which it had from the Beginning.

¹⁶ The Profession of an Actor was honourable among the *Greeks*. *Æschines* acted several Parts on the Stage of *Athens*, in his Youth; and yet he became one of the greatest Orators in his Time, and distinguished himself so much, that he almost equalled *Demosthenes*, whose Rival he was, as we learn from *Demosthenes* himself, *Orat. de Corona*; from *Quintilian*, B. 2. c. 17. and from *Plutarch*, in *Vita decem Rhetorum*. *Aristodemus*, tho' an Actor, was sent on an Embassy to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, in the Name of the Republick of *Athens*, to treat with him of Affairs of Peace and War. *St. Aust.* B. 2. de *Civit. Dei*, quotes *Cicero's* 4th Book de *republica*, to this Purpose. *Si quidem*, says he, *quod in quoque. (Ciceronis) de republica libro, commemoratur, Æschines Atheniensis, vir eloquentissimus, cum adolescens tragedias actitavisset, rempublicam capessivit; et Aristodemum tragicum item actorem, maximis de rebus pacis ac belli legatum, ad Philippum, Athenienses sape miserant.* But this was not the Case with the *Romans*. *Cornelius Nepos* shews us the Difference, in his Preface, when he says, that in *Greece* it was no Dishonour to a Man to appear upon the Stage in the Habit of an Actor; whereas among the *Romans*, it was infamous, and unworthy of an honest Man. *In scenam vero prodire, et pulo esse spectaculo, nemini; in iisdem (Græciæ) gentibus fuit turpitudini; quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atque ab honestate remota, ponuntur.* Which *St. Austin* also confirms with the Testimony of *Cicero*. This Father expresses himself, B. 2. de *Civit. Dei*, c. 13. in this manner. *Romani, quamvis jam superstitione noxia premuntur, ut illos Deos colerent, quos videbant sibi voluisse scenicas turpitudines consecrari. Suae tamen dignitatis memores, ac pudoris, actores talium fabularum nequaquam honoraverunt, more Græcorum; sed sicut apud Ciceronem Scipio loquitur, cum artem ludicram, scenamque totam producerent, genus hominum id, non modo honore civium reliquorum cavere, sed etiam tribu amoveri, notatione Censoria, voluerunt.* For this Reason, *Tully*, *Orat. pro Quinctio*, says of *Reicius* the Comedian, that he seemed to be the only Man of his Profession who deserved to be encouraged, and have a numerous Audience: Adding at the same time, That so mean an Employment was unworthy of so honest a Man; and, That he deserved a more honourable Station, and more suitable to his Probity. The professed Actors could not be incorporated in any *Tribe*, and consequently had no Right of Suffrage; and were excluded from both Civil and Military Employments. So that the Name of a *Roman* Citizen was immediately rated out of the *Tribe* Roll, and he could not serve in the *Legions*, when he had once acted upon the Stage. For the same Offence a Senator was degraded, and

from military Services as infamous Persons. They were not upon the Foot of the Actors, hired to entertain the Publick.

THIS we thought a proper Place to give the Reader at one View, a general Account of the Rise and Progress of the *Roman Drama*, which never equalled that of the *Greeks*. It is certain, the Entertainments of the Stage were never presented in *Rome*, till the *Consulship* of *Sulpicius* and *Licinius*. They were introduced, to put a stop to a Plague; but instead of curing it, they infected Mens Minds with a more dangerous Contagion, than that which destroyed their Bodies. And had the *Romans* attended to the Prefages, they were so scrupulous in observing, they would perhaps have stifled Plays in their Birth. They were first acted in a Part of the *Circus*, which stood on the Banks of the *Tyber*. The River at this time overflowed; which made the *Romans* conclude, that these Sort of Sports were not efficacious to appease the Wrath of Heaven. But they had been a diverting Amusement; and were therefore afterwards carried on, with all the State and Costliness of a rich and luxurious People.

§. II. THE Plague still continued to rage in the new *Consulship* of *L. Æmilius* and *Cn. 17 Genucius*. This was the third Year that *Rome* had been visited with it, successively; and it was almost as much infested by Superstition. New Expiations were daily invented, in order to appease the Gods. And at length, it was thought advisable to revive an old religious Ceremony, which was said to have succeeded in the like Calamity. This was, to chuse a *Dictator*, to drive a Nail into that Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which divided it from the Chapel of *Minerva*, which was under the same Roof. This odd Ceremony was first practised by the *18 Volsinienses* in *Hetruria*. These People reckoned their Years by Nails, which they drove into a Temple of the Goddess *Nortia* *19*, that is, *Fortune*: and the *Romans* imitated them in this Custom. By which we may judge of their Ignorance in some things, in the first Ages of their Republick. When *Brutus* and *Horatius Pulvillus* were *Consuls*, immediately after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, the famous Temple of *Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva*, was built on the *Capitol*: And the *Romans* resolved to mark down *20* in this Temple, and thereby transmit to Posterity, the Number of Years which had passed, since the Foundation of *Rome*. But they were perhaps ignorant of the Art of Cyphering: and therefore chose, in Imitation of the *Volsinienses*, to drive as many Nails into this Wall, as there had been Years, since their City was founded. This they chose to do, in that Side which separated the Temple of *Jupiter* from that of *Minerva*; because they stupidly imagined, that this Goddess *21* invented Numbers. Every Year therefore, on *The Ides* of

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lost his Place in the Senate; a *Roman Knight* lost his Privileges. An Actress was infamous, and subject to the same Laws as common Prostitutes. These Punishments were decreed by the *Prætor's* Edict, according to *Ulpian*, B. 2, Par. 5. ff. de iis qui infamia notantur . . . ait Prætor, qui in Scenam prodierit, infamis est. But the Actors of the *Stellæ* were excepted in this Law. The being concerned in acting these Pieces was thought an honest Employment. So that the *Roman Nobility* confined these Performances to themselves. And it happened that any Actor in these Pieces did not perform his Part well, the People did not oblige him to unmask; which they had a Right of compelling the Buffoons and Comedians to do, if they had the Misfortune to displease the Spectators.

17 The old Editions of *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*, give *Genucius* the *Praenomen* of *Caius*. But *Diodorus* and the *Fasti Capitolini* agree in giving him that of *Cneius*. This was *L. Æmilius's* second *Consulship*.

18 It appears by *Antoninus's Itinerary*, that the *Volsinienses* dwelt in the Neighbourhood of *Bolsena*, or *Bolseno*, near a great Lake, which bears the same Name to this Day. *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* mention this City under the Name of *Volturnus*. *Livy*, and most Writers, call it *Volsinii*, in the Plural. It was surrounded with Mountains and Woods, according to *Juvenal*, Sat. 3.

Positis nemorosa inter iuga Volsiniis.

Pliny says, B. 2. that it was burnt by Fire from Heaven; and that Mill-Stones were first invented there.

19 *Martianus Capella* observes, c. 9. de Nuptiis Mercurij. Et Philologia, that the *Hetrurians* gave the Name of *Nortia* to *Fortune*, or, *Chance*. And *Juvenal*, speaking of *Sejanus*, a Native of *Hetruria*, Sat. 10, explains this Term, in the same manner.

Idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secunda Senectus
Principis, hac ipsa Sejanum diceret hora
Augustum.

Nevertheless *Tertullian* speaks of two distinct Divinities, one of which he calls *Nursia*, and the other *Nortia*; and makes the former the God of the *Volsinienses*, the latter that of the *Sutrinis*.

20 *Livy* shews, that *Horatius* performed the Ceremony of driving the Nail in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the same Year he dedicated this Temple: And insinuates, that this Custom had been established ever since the Time of the Monarchy. *M. Horatius Consul*, ex lege templum Jovis optimi maximi dedicavit. The *Romans* had then no other Way of settling down the Years of each Reign.

21 *Plato*, in his *Phædrus*, ascribes the Invention of Numbers to the Egyptian *Mercury*; others to *Palamedes*. But most acknowledge *Pythagoras* to be the Inventor of Arithmetick, according to *Isidorus*, B. 3. Numeri disciplinam primum apud Græcos Pythagoram

Year of of September, the Senior *Consul* drove a Nail²² into this Wall, which shewed the
 R O M E Year of his *Consulship*. The *Romans* knew how to write at that time; tho' they
 CCCXC. had not yet invented numeral Figures. What proves it, is, that the Law, which
 L. ÆMILIUS, enjoined the Ceremony of driving a Nail every Year, was written in this Temple,
 and CN. GENUCIUS, in ancient²³ Characters, and in old *Latin*. It is to be presumed, that when a
 Consuls. Year had been distinguished by any publick Calamities, it was superstitiously be-
 lieved, that the *Auguries*, consulted in the Consecration of the *Consuls* for the Time
 being, had been inauspicious: And therefore a *Dictator* was nominated, to pre-
 vent the ill Effects of the *Auguries* of the *Consuls*, by more happy *Auguries* of his
 own. In full Persuasion of this, the *Romans* now raised one L. *Manlius* to the
Dictatorship, who was surnamed *Imperiosus*, because a Man of an haughty Spirit,
 and an imperious Air. He chose L. *Pinarius Natta* to be his General of Horse;
 and performed the Ceremony of driving the Nail. Notwithstanding which, the
 Art of expressing Numbers by Letters, might perhaps have been invented, from
 the Beginning of the *Consuls*: but when once Superstitions have prevailed in any
 State, it is a great while before they can be rooted out of the Minds of the People.
 As to the Plague, it is more probable it ceased of itself, (since it had already conti-
 nued three Years,) than that it was stopped by any Influence this superstitious Re-
 medy could have upon it.

Fast. Capit.

BUT the proud *Dictator* was uneasy to have the whole Business of his Office
 confined to one religious Ceremony: the *Hernici* being now making Preparations
 to shake off the *Roman* Yoke, he thought to lay hold of that Opportunity to raise
 and command an Army; and ordered Levies to be made, to march against them.
 But the People were worn out with long Sickness. The City was even depopulated
 by it; and besides, the Danger of the War, which threatned the Republick, was not
 great. So that the Citizens refused to enlist themselves unnecessarily, and the *Tribunes*
of the People opposed the Levies. Upon this, *Manlius*, who was proud and impe-
 rious, made use of Violence with the Citizens: and the *Tribunes of the People*, in
 their Turn, repelled the *Dictator's* Force, with Force. They carried the Affair so
 far, as to compel *Manlius* to abdicate. He had been nominated *Dictator* with
 quite another View, than that of signaling himself in War. And this Year,
 M. *Fabius*, and L. *Furius*, the *Censors*, took an Account of the People; and closed
 it with a²⁴ *Lustrum*, which was the twentieth, since their Institution. What the
 Number of the *Roman* Citizens then was, the Historians have not told us.

Year of
 R O M E
 CCCXCI.
 Q. SERVILIUS,
 and L. GENU-
 CIUS, Consuls.
 Liv. B. 7. c. 4.

§. III. As soon as the Year expired, two new *Consuls* entred upon Office, who
 were²⁵ Q. *Servilius*, and L. *Genucius*. The latter, tho' a *Plebeian*, was now
 raised to the *Consulship*, a second time. And *Manlius's* Behaviour in his *Dictator-*
ship, the last Year, being thought odious and intolerable, he was no sooner out of
 his Office, and new *Consuls* chosen, but the *Tribunes of the People* made it their
 first Business to cite him to appear before the *Curia*. M. *Pomponius* undertook to
 carry on his Accusation. It turned chiefly upon three Heads, which the People
 thought high Crimes. The first was, his having assumed the Surname of *Imperio-*
sus. They said, that in a free City for a Man to assume a Title of Sovereignty,
 and act conformably to it; and govern himself in his Office, only by imperious
Maxims, was to strike at the publick Liberty. The second was, his having made
 use of Violence, when he was *Dictator*, to force the People to enlist themselves
 without Cause; his having caused some to be beaten, others to be imprisoned, and

*Pythagoram autumant conscripsisse, ac deinde a Ni-
 comacho diffusius esse compositam.* This is *Bede's* O-
 pinion, in his Treatise, *De Computo*. St. Aust. B. 4.
de Civit. Dei, speaks of a Goddess *Numeria*,
 whom the Pagans worshiped as the Goddess of
 Numbers. Thus the *Romans* increased their Gods,
 as fast as Objects multiplied.

²² For this Reason, this Nail was called *Clavus*
Annalis, or, *The Annual Nail*. The Country-Peo-
 ple had also the same Custom; they reckoned their
 own, and their Childrens Ages, by Nails, which
 they drove into the Walls of their Cottages: As
Petronius informs us, in these Lines, *Satyr. c. 59.*
At paries circa palea satiasus inani
Fortuitoque luto: clavus numerabas et annos.

²³ *Livy* mentions this Law, Book 7. in these
 Words: *Lex vetusta est prisca litteris verbisque*
scripta.

²⁴ None of the Historians of ancient Rome, not
 even *Livy* himself, mention this 20th *Lustrum*.
 The Memory of it is no where preserved, but in
 the *Fasti Capitolini*. The *Census* was taken, by
 Marcus *Fabius*, and Lucius *Furius*, the then *Con-*
sors.

²⁵ This was the second *Consulship*, both of *Quin-*
tus Servilius, who was surnamed *Abala*, and of *Lu-*
cius Genucius, surnamed *Aventinensis*. *Diodorus* is
 mistaken, in giving the latter the *Praenomen* of
Quintus.

others to be cruelly whipped. The third Head of his Accusation related to his domestick Conduct. He had a Son, who was of flow Parts, and hard of Speech: And the wicked Father treated his Son basely for natural Defects. Tho' guilty of no Fault, he confined him to the Country, and made him there live the Life of a Slave. Of what Service then was it to this unfortunate young Man, to be the Son of a *Dictator*, if the Father's imperious Temper made him insupportable, even to his own Family? This was the Head the *Tribune Pomponius* chiefly insisted on; and it gave him room to shew his Eloquence. *What Crime, said the Orator, has this Son been guilty of, to deserve to be treated without Mercy? He cannot speak fluently indeed; but should his natural Fearfulness be therefore increased, and the Imperfection with which he was born, be made worse by severe Usage? The very Beasts themselves don't neglect to take care of such of their young as are naturally defective in any Part. But this poor Child has not only been neglected, his Defects have been multiplied. As he has an Impediment in his Speech, so there has been added to it a mean Education, which has made him wild and clownish. He has been in a manner brutalized by being confined to live among Beasts; and by this means, Vices of Mind have been added to his bodily Defects.* (This plainly shews us, that the absolute Power Fathers had over their Children in Rome, by the Laws, was kept within Bounds by the superior Authority of the Magistrates. They took those Children under their Protection, who were too severely treated by bad Fathers.

THE Accusation against *Manlius* was drawn up; and a Copy of the Heads of it was given him. The usual Time allowed the Accused, from his Citation to his Appearance on his Defence, was, as has often been observed, three Market-Days, or twenty-seven Days. All the People were exasperated against so severe a *Dictator*, and so barbarous a Father. Only the Son himself, when informed in his Retirement, of the Danger his Father was in, was moved with Concern for him. He thought, his having furnished Matter for an Accusation against him to whom he immediately owed his Life, to be one of his greatest Misfortunes. And therefore, this abused Son resolved, even in the Place of his Banishment, that he would be so far from assisting his Father's Accusers, as to support him against them. The Method he took to extricate him out of this Difficulty, seems indeed to have something inexpressibly wild and extravagant in it; but the filial Piety of the Design made it commendable. He left the Country-House to which he was banished, as soon as it was Day, came to the City, and stopped no where till he arrived at *Pomponius's* Door. The *Tribune* was yet in Bed. Nevertheless, young *Manlius* let him know he was come, and was introduced into *Pomponius's* Apartment, who thought the Son came to corroborate, with fresh Proofs, the Accusation he was preparing against his Father. As soon as young *Manlius* was admitted, he desired a private Conference with *Pomponius*. Every body was ordered to leave the Room; and he remained alone with the *Tribune*: then drawing out a Knife, and holding it close to *Pomponius*, he said, *I will stab you this Moment, if you don't swear to me, that you will desist from the Prosecution you are carrying on against my Father.* Young *Manlius* was a stout Man, and armed; the *Tribune* was in Bed, and defenceless. *Pomponius* therefore was forced to swear what was required of him: and he thought these Engagements obligatory. Tho' the People desired him to carry on the Prosecution against old *Manlius*, yet he always excused himself, on account of the involuntary Obligations to the contrary, which he had been forced to lay himself under. Thus the Father was delivered out of his Danger, by the affectionate Regards of the same Son, whom he used in the basest manner. The Action would have been laudable, even if the Father had deserved the Affection of his Son; but it merits the highest Commendations, when considered as the Act of a Son, who was then under Persecution from his Father. And therefore Heaven, which seldom leaves great Virtues unrewarded, was afterwards pleased to raise the generous *T. Manlius* to great Honours, whose Youth had been spent in Reproaches and Afflictions. The very same Year he signalized his Zeal for his Father, he was promoted, by the Suffrages of the People, to one of the most important Posts in the *Roman Army*. It is well known, every *Roman Legion* was commanded by six *Legionary Tribunes*, which were very different from the *Military Tribunes*, who as long as that Office subsisted, were the supreme Magistrates in the Republick. These *Legionary Tribunes* had hitherto been generally left to the Choice of the Generals, whether

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCI.
Q. SERVILIUS,
L. GENUCIUS,
Consuls.

Cic. Offic. B 3.
Liv. B. 7. c. 5.

Val. Max. B. 5.
c. 4. §. 3.

Year of *Consuls*, or *Military Tribunes*. But the People thought fit, this Year, to ²⁶ elect Part of them in the *Comitia*. It is probable, there were then four *Legions* raised in *Rome*, as usual: which consequently were to be commanded by twenty-four *Legionary Tribunes*. Six of these, the People themselves chose in their *Comitia*, leaving the Nomination of the other eighteen to the *Consuls*: and the second of the six, who was chosen, was *T. Manlius*. So that the first Post he had in the Army, was that of *Legionary Tribune*; with the Distinction, of having been promoted to it by the Suffrages of the People: and we shall soon see his Merit raise him above the Misfortunes of his Education.

R O M E
CCXCII.
Q. SERVILIUS,
L. GENUCIUS,
Consuls.

* Liv. B. 7. c. 6.
Val. Max. B. 5.
c. 6. §. 2. Oros.
B. 3. c. 5. and
S. Aust. de Ci-
vit. Dei, B. 5.
c. 18.

§. IV. THE *Hernici* had revolted, and this Breach of their Union with *Rome* deserved Punishment. The Senate therefore declared them Rebels, and the People confirmed their Decree. Then, in order to proceed regularly, some *Feciales* were first sent to them; and upon their refusing to give the Republick Satisfaction for the Injuries done her, an Army was raised, the Command of which fell by Lot to the *Consul Genucius*. But whilst the *Romans* were preparing for the War, an unexpected Accident threw the City into a Consternation. The Earth opened, all on a sudden, in the middle of the *Forum*. This vast Gulph was doubtless occasioned by some Earthquake: but the *Romans* consulted their Diviners, on less Accidents than this. And after the Citizens had in vain endeavoured to fill up the Cavity, the *Augurs* answered, *That they never would be able to compass it, till the best thing in Rome was thrown into it; and that then, the sacrificing the most valuable thing in the City, in this manner, would make the Republick immortal*. This Oracle left Mens Minds in great Uncertainty. They long enquired, what this Present could be, which was so very acceptable to the Gods, as not only to be sufficient to deliver them from the present Danger which threatned them, but likewise to procure their Republick an eternal Duration. And while they were deliberating about it, *M. Curtius* declared his Opinion, which nothing but an Heroic Love for his Country could dictate. *Who can question, says he, whether the brave Men which make her victorious, and the Arms they use in their Conquests, are the most valuable things Rome is Mistress of? I therefore offer myself to avert these publick Misfortunes, and complete the Destiny of Rome. I am happy, if the Gods allow a young Roman, in his Armour, to be the precious Victim they demand*. *Curtius* seemed to have all the Qualities which were necessary to make him an acceptable Oblation. His Descent was noble, his Valour well known, and he was one of the most promising young Men in *Rome*. And when his Offer had been accepted, he put on his finest Armour, got ready a noble Horse most magnificently equipped, and appeared at some distance from the Precipice. All the People ran together to the *Forum*, and upon the Sight of him, there was a profound Silence. Then *Curtius* turned his Eyes sometimes to the *Capitol*, the Habitation of the Tutelary Gods of *Rome*, and ²⁷ sometimes to the open Gulph; and adored the Celestial and

²⁶ There were generally six *Legionary Tribunes* in every *Legion*, which they commanded, by Turns; that is, first two of these *Tribunes* commanded in Chief at a time, and then they were succeeded by two others; and so round. *Varro* pretends that these Officers were called *Tribunes*, from the Beginning of the Monarchy, because the *Legions* then consisted of but 3000 Men; and had but three *Tribunes* in each *Legion*. The Right of electing them belonged at first to the *Consuls*, or *Generals*. Afterwards, the People assumed a Right, as in this Instance, of choosing six, which were called *Tribuni Comitiati*, because elected by Vote in the *Comitia* by Tribes. The eighteen others were chosen by the *Consuls*. Nor did Things stop here. We shall find in the Sequel of this History, that this Election created several Disputes between the Magistrates and the Commons. Indeed, the *Legionary Tribunes* were sometimes elected by the People, and sometimes by the *Consuls*. The *Roman Republick* will often give us Instances of these Changes, and frequent Alternatives. It is the Fate of Governments which are partly Aristocratical, and partly Democratical. *Polybius* tells us, B. 6. that fourteen of these twenty four *Tribunes* were chosen out of such Persons, as had served at least five Years, in the Horse; and the other ten, only out of such Persons as had served

full ten Years, in the Foot. But these Qualifications were not rigorously insisted on, till the latter Ages, when the Discipline of the *Romans* became more regular. At least, it was not so in young *Manlius's* Case, who was raised all at once to this honourable Post in the Army, without having ascended to it gradually; as seems evident, from his having been forced by his Father to spend his Youth in the Labours of a Country Life.

²⁷ We have already spoken of this Gulph, when we mentioned the Lake *Curtius*, on account of another *Curtius*, surnamed *Metius*, who threw himself into it, to escape *Romulus's* Pursuit. See p. 40. of Vol. I. But *Livy* pretends, B. 7. that this Lake, or rather Gulph, took its Name from the latter *Curtius*, who threw himself headlong into it to save his Country; and not from *Curtius Metius*, as some Authors have thought. *Lacumque Curtium non ab antiquo illo T. Tatii milite Curtio Metio*. And *Livy's* Opinion is confirmed by the fine Marble which was found among the old Ruins, in the very Place where *Curtius* is said to have thrown himself in. *Pighius*, who had picked up this old Monument, tells us, that it was an entire Representation of this *Roman's* devoting himself to Death, and being swallowed up in the Gulph, and his Horse with him.

Infernal

Infernal Gods. Which done, he spurred on his Horse, and rode full Speed into the Gulph. An Action, which the false Prejudices of those Times made Men think Heroic, and which some Historians would willingly magnify with a Miracle; and therefore feign, that the Earth immediately closed up of itself. But the most judicious Writers own, that there was a vast Quantity of Corn, and Fruits, thrown into the Hole; and it is probable, it was afterwards filled up with Earth, and other Materials.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCI.
Q. SERVILIUS,
L. GENUCIUS,
Consuls.
Val. Max. B. 5.
c. 6. §. 2.

HOWEVER, after *M. Curtius* had thus devoted himself, the *Romans* hoped they should not fail of being victorious over the *Hernici*. Their Troops were commanded by *Genucius*, who was the first *Plebeian Consul*, *Rome* had ever seen at the Head of an Army: Which filled the Commons with Apprehensions, lest a Commander chosen from among them, should tarnish the Glory of *Rome* by ill Success; and belie the Promises they had made the Republick, of furnishing her with Generals capable of maintaining the Glory of her Arms. Mens Minds would naturally be determined to think well or ill, and have a liking, or dislike, of the *Plebeian* Party, by the Event of the first Essay of a *Plebeian*, to whom was committed the sole Conduct of the War. And it happened that *Genucius* was not successful. He was too much in haste to enter upon Action, and fell inconsiderately into an Ambuscade, which was prepared for him. He was surrounded by a Body of Men, who did not know him, and was killed; after his *Legions*, being surprized with a sudden Fright, had fled. The Historians leave it in Uncertainty, whether the *Plebeian* General did not fall by the Hands of a *Roman*. At least it's certain, the melancholy News of his Defeat did not so much grieve the *Patricians*, as raise their Pride. They were heard exclaiming in all Places, *That the Misfortunes of Rome were occasioned by having consecrated a Consul, who was not a Patrician; That Men might make Laws according to their own Humours, but that Heaven knew how to punish the despised Rites of Religion; That no sooner had an Attempt been made, to use the Auguries in favour of prophane Persons, but the Gods punished Rome for it; That for this reason, a Plebeian General had lost his Life in Battel, and his Troops had been disgraced by a shameful Flight. Let this then, Romans, added they, let this teach you to shew Respect to the religious Traditions of your Forefathers. Hold no more of those Comitia, in which both human and divine Rites are equally violated.* The Senate and the Forum rung with these Discourses. Nor was this all. It was necessary to repair the Loss, and wipe off the Disgrace, which the *Romans* had received, in the War. For this reason, it was resolved to create a *Dictator*; and *Servilius*, the surviving *Consul*, nominated him.

Liv. B. 7. c. 6.

§. V. It may be remembered, that *Appius Claudius* made use of all his Eloquence, to dissuade the *Romans* from passing the Law, which allowed the *Consuls* to be chosen out of the *Plebeians*. *Servilius* therefore shewed a Regard for his Zeal, and rewarded it. He chose ²⁸ him *Dictator*. So that the most formidable Enemy of the *Plebeian* Party, was pitched upon to repair the Losses occasioned by the Mismanagement of a *Plebeian Consul*. The Historians have not told us ²⁹, who was made General of Horse by *Appius*; and Time has effaced Part of his Name, out of the *Capitoline Marbles*. However, whilst the *Dictator* was raising a new Army in *Rome*, and preparing to march against the *Hernici*, the *Consul Servilius* commanded the fugitive Troops of *Genucius* in the Country, with the Title of Lieutenant-General. The Enemy, flushed with their late Success against a *Roman* General, whom they had slain in Battel, came, with an Air of Confidence, to besiege the Camp of the Vanquished: and then it appeared what the *Roman* Valour could do, when conducted by a *Patrician*. *Servilius* made a Sally upon the *Hernici*, without giving them time to begin the Attack. The Enemy's Troops immediately dispersed, and their hasty Return to their own Entrenchments, had the Air of a real Flight. By this means, the *Dictator* found the Glory of *Rome* a little re-

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCI.
APPIUS CLAUDIUS, Dictator.

²⁸ This *Appius Claudius* was the Son of *Publius Claudius*, and the Grandson of *Appius* the *Decemvir*, as appears evidently from the *Fasti Capitolini*, under the Year of *Rome* 404, when they mention this *Dictator's Consulship*.

²⁹ Some Letters which Time has spared in the *Capitoline Marbles*, made *Sigonius* conjecture, that the Name of this General of Horse was *Servilius*

Priscus. *Panvinus* questions whether it was not *Lucius Scipio*, who was *Consul* in the Year 403. *Marlian* makes it to have been *Mucius Scaevola*. *Pighius* thinks, that the Name of *Scapula* agrees better with the Traces remaining in the *Fasti*. But in such Uncertainties as these, it is rather Guess-work than Proof.

trieved,

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCI.
APPIUS CLAU-
DIUS, Dicta-
tor.

trieved, when he arrived at the Camp. He led with him a new Army, which he had just raised in the City. He was a Man of Eloquence, and harangued his Troops, upon his Arrival. He commended *Servilius*, and his Soldiers, for their Bravery, in repulsing the Enemy: and then turning his Discourse to the *Legions* he brought with him, he exhorted them to imitate the Bravery of the former Levies, and filled them with Emulation. The *Hernici*, on the other hand, knew that there was a fresh Reinforcement come to the *Roman* Army, and that a *Dictator* was at the Head of it. With full Resolution therefore to preserve the Advantage they had gained over *Genucius*, they also augmented their Forces. They exhausted their whole Country of Men, for this Purpose; and none, who were of Age to bear Arms, were excused. Among this Multitude of Soldiers, they chose out 3200 Men, whom they divided into eight *Cohorts*, of 400 Men each. This was the Flower of their Army; and the Generals shewed them great Marks of Distinction. They not only promised them double Pay, but exempted them from all the laborious Offices of the Army. This was shewing them, that their main Hopes of Victory were founded in them, and engaging them, to exert themselves to the uttermost, in the Battel. When the Army was drawn up, these three thousand brave Men had the Post of Honour, where they were most exposed.

NEITHER the *Romans*, nor their Enemies, were dilatory in marching their Men out of their Entrenchments. There was a Plain between the two Camps, of about a League over; which was the Field of Battel. Never were Forces more equal, or Victory more doubtful. Those invincible Troops, the *Roman Knights*, engaged the eight *Cohorts*, which consisted of the bravest of the *Hernici*. But tho' the *Roman* Horse had fallen upon the Enemy with their usual Impetuosity; yet the *Cohorts* of the *Hernici* continued unshaken. The ill Success therefore of this first Onset made the *Roman* Cavalry resolve to fight another Way. By order of their General, they first dismounted, and then, upon leave given, posted themselves in the first Line, at the Head of the Infantry. Upon this, the Enemy's Battalions could scarce withstand these brave Horsemen; which made the General of the *Hernici* command his chosen *Cohorts*, to make head against the *Roman* Horse. These two Bodies were both formidable, for their great Strength of Body, and great Courage. And then the Flower of both Nations came to a close Engagement. The rest of the Soldiers in both Armies were idle Spectators of the Battel. One would have thought, that the *Romans*, and the *Hernici*, had laid the whole Charge of maintaining the Interests and Honour of their Nations, the one on their Cavalry, the other on their eight *Cohorts*. Men were mutually lost on both Sides; but the Greatness of the Loss is not to be judged of, so much by the Numbers, as the Merit, of those who fell. At length, the *Roman Knights* thus exhorted one another to make their last Efforts: *If the Enemy escape in this Battel, what Methods else have we to put in practice against them? We have already charged on Horseback, and we now fight on Foot. What other Way of fighting have we to try? Shall we have quitted our own Ranks, and our Horses, to appear at the Head of the Infantry, to no purpose?* And with these Words they raised each other's Courage. They fell on the Enemy's *Cohorts*, with a great Shout, all on a sudden. The *Cohorts* first retreated, and then being hardly pressed, at length gave way, and fled. Doubtless the Good-Fortune of the *Romans*, which was always superior to that of the neighbouring Nations, was what determined the Victory in their Favour. In so great an Equality of Forces and Courage, that alone might incline the Balance to the Side of *Rome*. The Conquerors pursued the Enemy to their Camp, and the Night only hindered them from forcing it. The Battel had been begun somewhat late, because the *Dictator* had spent all the Morning, till Noon, in searching for happy Presages³⁰, in the Entrails of Victims. The next Morning

³⁰ In the Sacrifices which were offered up, before a Battle, or on any important Expedition, the Entrails of the Victims were consulted. In which, most Regard was had to the Tongue, the Heart, the Liver, the Spleen, the Lungs, and the Reins. If these Parts were found, it was presumed, the Enterprize would be successful. If, on the contrary, they were livid, and unsound, it was taken for granted, they foreboded some fatal Event. And it

was another Cause of great Surprize and Fear, if any of the noble Parts were not to be found in the Victim; which sometimes happened, thro' the Avarice of the Priests, and those who slew the Victims, who conveyed them away designedly. These Cheats found their Account in thus sporting with the Superstition of the People. They, by that means, procured themselves a second Victim, which they repaired the Defects of the first. We see

the *Roman* Army took Possession of the Enemy's Camp, which the *Hernici* had deserted. Their Troops had retired in Confusion, towards some of their Towns: but few of their Soldiers had returned to their Colours. So that some of them fell by the Swords of the *Romans*, on the Road; and the rest were dispersed in the Fields. Nevertheless, the Victory cost the Conquerors dear. They lost a fourth Part of their whole Army; and, which they most lamented, a great Number of the *Roman Knights* had been killed. That the *Dictator* should not obtain the Honours of a Triumph, after so memorable a Victory, is surprizing. May not the reason be, that the People would not consent to bestow any Honour, on the most declared Enemy of the *Plebeian* Party?

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CCCXCI.
APPIUS CLAUDIUS, Dictator.

§. VI. At least, it's certain, that notwithstanding *Genucius's* Misfortune, and in spite of the Murmurs of the Nobility, the *Centuries* assembled in the *Campus Martius*, chose another *Plebeian Consul*. The same ³¹ *C. Licinius Stolo*, who had been raised from the *Tribuneship of the People*, to the *Consulship*, was now promoted to this Office, a second time. As the most violent Enemy of the *Commons* had been nominated *Dictator* the last Year, by the *Patrician* Faction; so the most enterprizing Adversary of the Nobility, was now put in the highest Office, by the Suffrages of the People. The Collegue *Rome* gave *Licinius*, was *C. Sulpicius*, surnamed *Peticus*. He was a *Patrician*, by Birth, and was also now elected *Consul*, the second time. Under the Command of these two new Generals, the *Romans* carried on the War with the *Hernici*. The *Consuls* entered the Enemy's Country together; but found no Army to engage with. They therefore contented themselves with laying Siege to *Ferentinum*, formerly a City of the *Volsci*, which had been given up to the *Hernici*, by the *Romans*. As soon as this Place surrendered, the *Consular* Army took its Rout towards *Tibur*; but was surprized to find the Gates shut. The *Tiburtes* had long had Differences with the Republick, which now came to an open Rupture; and War was declared between the *Romans*, and them. The Senate first sent some *Feciales* to them, to demand Satisfaction in the Name of the Republick; and upon their refusing to give it, Hostilities were begun. It is probable, the *Tiburtes* would not have had the Confidence to have contended with *Rome*, had they not kept a secret Correspondence with the *Gauls*. However, the Apprehensions the *Romans* were in, of a War, which they did not think trivial, made them desirous of a *Dictator*: But their Writers give different Reasons for his Nomination. One old Historian says, that the *Dictator* was nominated by the *Consul Licinius*, to put a stop to the Intrigues of his Collegue *Sulpicius*. The latter had formed a Design, says this Author, to get himself continued in the *Consulship*, the next Year. And in order to compass it, he would have had the *Comitia*, for electing *Consuls*, held before the usual time, and have got himself chosen, before he set out for the Army. But *Licinius*, adds he, guessed right at *Sulpicius's* Intention; and in order to break his Measures, nominated a *Dictator*, purely to preside in the *Comitia*. Nevertheless, it seems more probable, that the only Design of nominating *Quinctius Pennus* to the *Dictatorship*, was, that he might act against the Enemy, which threatened *Rome*. *Quinctius* chose *Serv. Cornelius* to be his General of Horse: and whilst the *Romans* were preparing for the War, the ³² *Gauls* advanced as far as the Banks of the *Anio*. The *Roman* Army appeared on the opposite Banks of that River, to make head against the Enemy. The two Camps were divided by a Bridge over the River; which nei-

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CCCXCII.
C. LICINIUS STOLO, C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, Consuls.

Liv. B. 7. c. 9.

Licinius Ma-
cer. apud Liv.

QUINCTIUS
PENNUS, Dic-
tator.
Fast. Capit.

ries out with Vehemence against these pretended signs of the Anger of the Gods.

*Atque iram superum raptis quaesivit in extis,
Terror ipse color vatem; nam pallida tectis
Viscera tincta notis, gelidoque infecta cruore,
Plurimus asperso satiabat sanguine livor.*

The Flesh of these Victims was boiled in a Cauldron, with the Wood of some Tree consecrated to some Divinity. For this Reason, *Virgil* and *Ovid* call the Fire which boiled the Entrails of the Victims, *Sanctos ignes*, and *Pium ignem*. When dressed, it was put into Dishes, and offered to the Gods, being placed on their Altars. *Cumulantque oneris lancibus aras. Virg. Aen. 12.* We shall often

have Occasion to speak of the Ceremonies used before, in, and after, Sacrifices.

³¹ This was the second *Consulship* of *Licinius Calvus*, and *Sulpicius Peticus*. In the old Editions of *Livy*, the second *Consul's* *Prænomens* of *Caius*, is very improperly changed into that of *Lucius*.

³² *Livy* says, the *Gauls* encamped on the further Bank of the *Anio*, or *Teverone*, in the *Salarian Way*, three Miles from *Rome*. The *Salarian Way* communicated its Name to the Gate *Collina*, which was also called *Porta Salaria*. The same Author adds likewise, that in the Disturbance which this new Irruption of the *Gauls* caused, the Courts of Justice were shut up, and all the young Men, who were of Age to bear Arms, enlisted, without Distinction.

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Liv. B. 7. c. 9.

Quadrig. ibid.

ther the *Romans*, nor the *Gauls*, attempted to break down, lest they should seem afraid. So that this Bridge became the Scene of several Combats between the Champions of both Parties. The Question was, which should make themselves Masters of it. And one Day, when the Skirmish was more warm than usual, a *Gaul*, of a gigantick Stature, who had a peculiar Fierceness in his Countenance, made Signs with his Hands, and with a loud Voice, desired to be heard. Upon which, the Combat immediately ceased, both Parties kept Silence; and the *Gaul* cried out, *Let the bravest Man in the Roman Army come and fight with me; and let the Success of our Combat determine, which is the more valiant Nation!* But there was not a Man to be found among the *Romans*, who durst enter the Lists with this Giant. His very Looks terrify'd them. Then the *Gaul* thrust out his Tongue in a frightful manner, by way of Insult to the Enemy: and *L. Manlius* was the only Man, who had a just Sense of the Affronts offered to the *Romans* by the Enemy's Bravadoes. This was the same *Manlius*, who had signalized his Piety, by defending his Father from the Prosecution of *Pomponius the Tribune of the People*: and he quitted his Post, and flew to the *Dictator*: No; says he, *tho' I were sure of Victory, I would not fight this proud Gaul, without my General's Orders. But if you will give me leave, I will make this wild Beast know, that I am of the Blood of that Manlius, whose Valour proved so fatal to the Gauls, on the Capitol.* As for the *Dictator*, he had been very uneasy, that no *Roman* had offered himself to humble the Pride of the Giant before; and he encouraged *Manlius* to undertake it. *Run*, said he to him, *hasten to defeat this Gaul. Your Piety towards your Father is a sure Pledge of your Love for your Country. Revenge the Cause of the City where you first drew your Breath, as successfully as you relieved him, to whom you owe it.* Upon this, the young *Roman* went to prepare himself for a single Combat; and his Companions helped him to put on his Armour. He changed his 33 round Buckler,

33 It is very difficult to say exactly, what was the Shape of the Bucklers the *Romans* used at this time. But it is certain they were not always the same. Every Age made several Alterations, in the offensive and defensive Arms, and in all the Military Affairs, of the ancient *Romans*, in general; according to the present Wants, or Circumstances, or the Progress of the Military Art, which did not all at once gain that Perfection to which a long Experience brought it. Hence the Differences, and seeming Contradictions, of the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, when they speak of the Disposition of the *Roman* Armies, their Camps, their Arms, their Way of besieging Places, and the Order they observed in Battel. This the Reader will observe himself, in the Prosecution of this History, wherein we shall give a particular Account of these Alterations. We are not to judge of Infant-Rome, if I may so speak, by what she was in the Age of the *Scipio's*, *Cæsars*, and *Constantines*. Most Commentators are justly blamed on this Account. But to return to the *Roman* Bucklers; ancient Authors tell us of several Sorts, which were used among the *Romans*, in different Ages. 1. The Buckler called *Scutum*, was one of the defensive Arms King *Servius Tullius* gave the first *Class*. By all the Historians say of it, it is evident it was oblong, and rectangular; (*Scutis protecti corpora longis. Æn. B. 8.*) i. e. in the Shape of a Door. These Bucklers are what the *Greeks* call *Θύρα*. *Plutarch* calls them *Θυράδες* *Παράθυρα*. Which *Greek* Expression alludes to the Bigness of the *Scutum*, which was large enough to cover the whole Body of the Soldier every Way, from his Breast to his Feet. It was indeed, at least in *Polybius's* Time, 30 Inches broad, and 48 long. This was the Size of two Sorts of long Bucklers, one of which was oval at the End, and the other in the Shape of a Pan-tile, or an hollow half Cylinder: with this Difference, that the Breadth of the former is reckoned cross-ways, from Side to Side; that of the latter, from Top to Bottom. 2. *Livy*, B. 2. speaks of a Sort of *Scutum*, or long Buckler, which the *Romans* borrowed of the *Samnites*. His Description of it is this. *Forma erat*

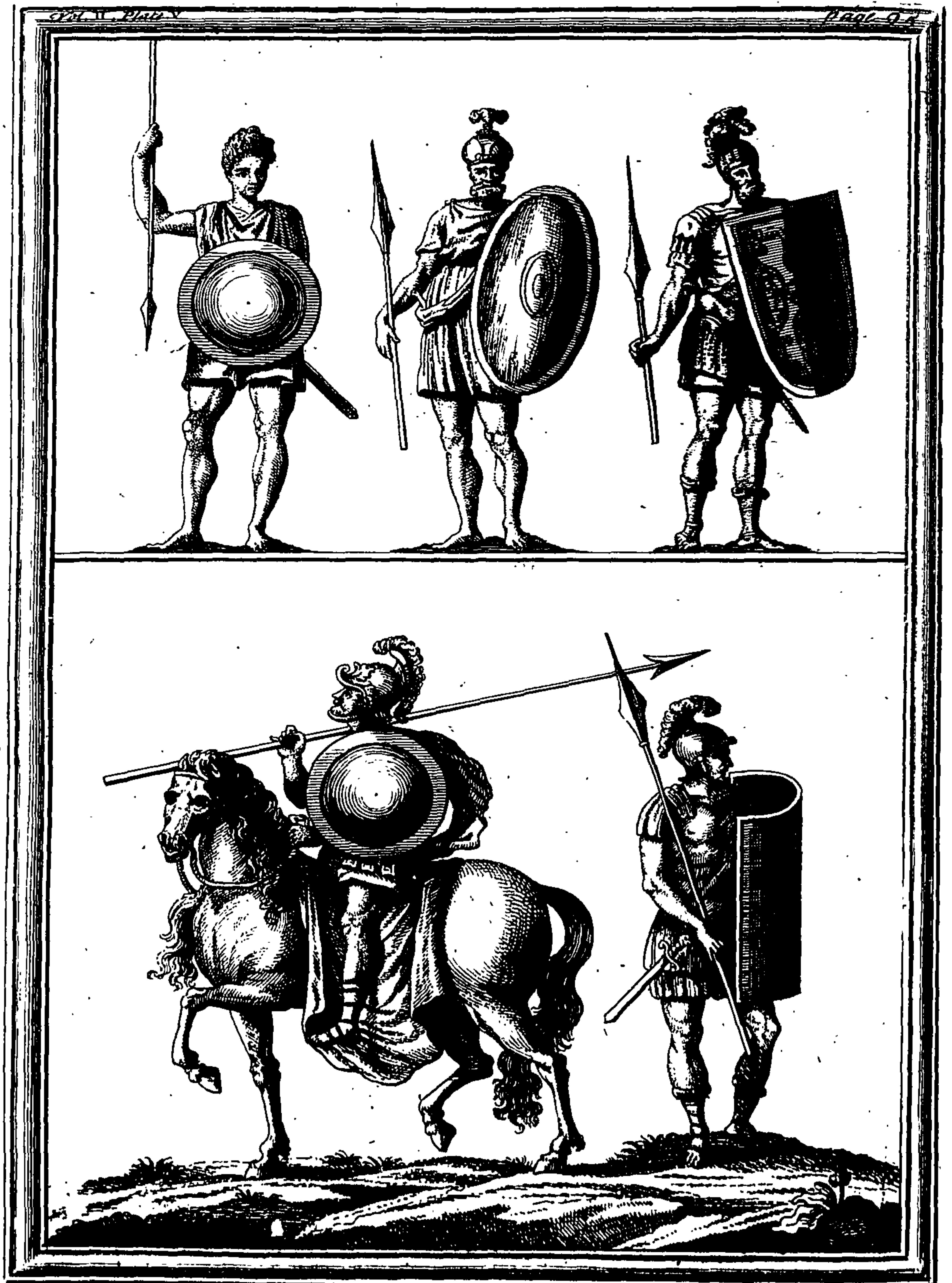
Scuti qua pectus atque humeri teguntur, fastigio equali, ad imum cuneator, mobilitatis causa. So that he represents the upper Part of it to be like an elliptic Section, parallel to the little Diameter of an Ellipsis, as may be seen at first Sight, by the Figure we have given of it. 3. The *Romans* likewise used another Sort of Buckler, which differed in nothing from the *ἀσπίς* of the *Greeks*, and the *Clypeus* of the *Latins*. It is probable, it was anciently in Use among most of the People of *Italy*, who came originally from *Greece*. But it is not so certain, that the *Clypeus* was the Buckler generally used by the *Roman* Soldiers, till *Romulus* (according to *Plutarch*) whose another of a different Make, like those of the *Sabines*. It is Pity he has not given us a Description of it. Nevertheless it is true, that the *Greek* Buckler, or the *Clypeus*, was constantly used by the *Romans*, after *Romulus's* Time. We need no other Authority for it, than that of *Dion. Hal.* who tells us, that *Servius Tullius* armed the first *Class* with a Buckler made after the *Greek* Fashion. But *Livy* tells us likewise, B. 8. that the *Latins* made Use of round Bucklers, after the Manner of the *Romans*; and adds, that when this Nation became tributary to the Republick, they made their Bucklers of the Shape of the *Scutum*. And lastly, the Medals and ancient Monuments agree with the Historians in this Particular. *Varro*, *Festus*, and the Poet *Accius*, all say, that the *Greek* Buckler was round. The latter says the *Clypeus* represented the Surface of the Heavens, in little. *Ovid* compares it to *Polyphemus's* Eye.

*Unum est in media lumen mihi fronte, sed instar
Ingentis Clypei* Meta. 13.

Virgil has likewise the same Comparison, in the 5th Book of the *Æneid*.

*Telo lumen terebramus acuto
Ingens, quod tetra lumen sub fronte latebat,
Argolici Clypei, aut Phœbeæ lampadis instar.*

Nevertheless it must be granted, that the *Clypeus* was sometimes not quite round, but pretty near an Oval, as is evident from Multitudes of Places in ancient



The different sorts of Roman Bucklers.

Buckler, which he wore as a *Roman Knight*, for one of the square ones, which were generally used by the *Roman Foot*. He put on a short, but pointed ³⁴ Sword, which was fit both for stabbing and cutting. It was such a one, as the *Spaniards* have since used. And it may be observed, that the judicious Choice which the *Roman* made of his Weapons, was almost the only thing, that gained him his Victory over the *Gaul*. When thus, more advantageously armed for a single Combat than his proud Enemy, *Manlius* went out to meet him. But the latter, after the manner of his Country, sung, and triumphed, before the Victory. He had no *Cuirasse* on, but was dressed ³⁵ in a light striped Stuff. His Stature was gigantick, and his Arms glittered with Gold. In all appearance, there could not be a more unequal Match. *Manlius* was of a moderate Stature, and his Arms rather convenient for fighting, than magnificent. He did not strut about in his Armour, or make any silly ostentatious Shew of his Strength. He wholly reserved himself for the Battel, and did not spend his Fire, either in Words, or useless Motions. The two Camps continued unactive Spectators of the Combat: and tho' these Duels were scarce ever used among the *Romans*, every one retired to his Post, and left the Bridge free for the two Champions. Which done, *Manlius* came up to the *Gaul*, and ³⁶ striking his own Buckler against his Enemy's with Violence, made him stagger. At which, the *Roman* ran against the *Gaul's* Buckler a second time; and then seized the Opportunity of his recoiling backwards, to close in with him; and he got within his Enemy's Shield. The *Gaul* in vain endeavoured to give *Manlius* a heavy Blow with his Sabre; the *Roman*, who had slipped under

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Quadrig. ibid.

Liv. B. 7. c. 10

Quadrig. ibid.

ancient Authors, who call the Buckler which was peculiar to the *Roman Horse*, sometimes by the Name of *Clypeus*, and sometimes by that of *Scutum*. 4. There was also another sort of little Buckler among the *Romans*, which they distinguished by the Name of *Parma*. It was, according to *Polybius*, round, and like the *Greek Buckler*, or *Clypeus*, but less. And yet *Polybius* makes the *Parma* to have been three Foot Diameter, and consequently at least nine Foot in Circumference, according to the Proportion of 7 to 22, which *Archimedes* settled to be the Proportion of the Radius of a Circle, to its Circumference. How then can the Historians, and *Polybius* himself among the rest, call the *Parma*, a little Buckler? All things considered, I find it to have been, near as long as the *Scutum*, or long Buckler, which the *Legionary Infantry* chose to wear. Besides, how large must then the *Clypeus* of the Horse have been? For, according to *Polybius*, it was broader and larger than the *Parma*, which he ranks among the Arms of those, who, in his time, were called *Velites*, or light-armed. If the *Clypeus* was bigger than the *Parma*, it must have been at least as large as the long Buckler of the Foot. And therefore the ancient Authors are mistaken, in saying the *Clypeus* of the Horse was less than the *Scutum*. As for my self, I am of Opinion, that when the Historians speak of greater and less Bucklers, they are to be understood only of their Length. It is certain the *Scutum* was longer than the other Bucklers, and therefore more troublesome. 5. The Bucklers were made of several Boards joined together, surrounded with a Rim of Iron, and covered with several Skins, to fasten them together the better. The *Umbo* (that is, the Center, or the Place where it was most convex) was armed with Iron, or Brass. It was by that means Proof against the most violent Blows, which were either broken by his Armour, or the Weapons slid off, by reason of the Convexity of the Buckler. In the Inside, was a Handle by which the Soldier held it. The Wood these Bucklers were made of, was yielding and aquatick, such as the Linden, Birch, Elder, Poplar, and especially the Willow, and the Fig-tree: Besides that these Woods are light, they likewise easily close again, after they have been pierced, and are not subject to split. *Frigidissima quæque aquatica, lentissima autem, ideo scutis faciendis aptissima; eorum plaga contrahit se protinus, & claudit suum*

vulnus, & ob id contumacius transmittunt ferrum; in quo genere est Ficus, Salix, Tilia, Betula, Sambucus, Populus utraque. Levissima autem ex his Ficus, & Salix, ideoque utilissima . . . Plin. B. 16. c. 40. We have engraven the different Bucklers of the *Romans*, from Medals, and ancient Monuments, that the Reader may thereby better understand the Differences between them. *Polybius* observes, that in the first Ages of *Rome*, the Bucklers of the *Roman Horse*, were nothing but one Ox-Hide cut in a circular Form. These lost their Hardness, and grew soft, as soon as exposed to the Rain; and were then no longer of Use, by way of Defence.

34 When *Livy* says *Manlius* armed himself with a *Spanish Sword*, we are not to understand him to mean, that the Republick then borrowed this Sort of Sword of the *Spaniards*. These People were then great Strangers to the *Romans*; nay, *Spain* may be said, to have been in a manner utterly unknown to them. The two Nations did not begin to have any great Knowledge of one another, till the Beginning of the *Carthaginian Wars*. It was about this time, according to *Polybius*, that the Generals ordered the Swords the *Legions* used, to be made like those used by the *Spaniards*. He adds likewise, that their Blades were excellently well tempered; but those of the *Roman Swords*, which were of the same Make, were not so. The Art of tempering and hardening Steel, was then unknown. *Livy* therefore means, that *Manlius's* Sword was, as to Length and Shape, like those which the *Romans* afterwards borrowed from the *Spaniards*. Nevertheless, this was but a short Sword. Most Antiquaries make it but 22 Inches long; and some, but 15. It had both Point and Edge. So that the Soldiers, whose chief Use of it was to stab the Enemy, scarce ever came to close with them, without giving them great Wounds. The Swords of the Cavalry were longer, and less convenient for the Foot.

35 It is not very certainly known, what was the Shape of the Habit of the *Gauls*, in these earliest Times, before they were subdued by the *Romans*. *Virgil*, as well as *Livy*, gives them a striped Habit.

Virgatis lucent Sagulis. Æn. 8.

36 *Livy* says, the *Gaul* began the Battel with striking fiercely at *Manlius*; but the Stroke made a great Noise, and did no Execution. *Vanum casum cum ingenti sonitu enses dejecit.*

his

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his Enemy's Shield, was too near him for the *Gaul* to hurt him: But he had his own Sword at Liberty; which being short, he had room enough to stab the *Gaul*, both in the Belly and the Groin. Nor was this all. He gave the *Gaul* several Cuts with the same Sword, in the right Shoulder, and redoubled his Blows, till the *Gaul* fell, and covered 37 a vast Piece of Ground, with his great Body. Then the Conqueror cut off his Adversary's Head, and without troubling himself about the rest of his Spoils, only seized a golden Collar, which he tore from his Neck, and, bloody as it was, put it upon his own. The Joy this gave the *Romans*, is not to be expressed. They ran to the Bridge in all haste, and carried the brave *Manlius*, amidst the Acclamations of the *Roman* Army, to the *Dictator*. And this being too glorious an Action, not to be rewarded; the General assembled his Troops, gave the Victor great Commendations, and made him a Present of a Crown of Gold. This was one of those military Rewards, which were never granted to the bravest Men, but after the most considerable Exploits. Tho' after all, the Surname of *Torquatus*, which was ever continued to him, and all his Branch of the *Manlian* Family, was a greater Mark of Distinction to him, than either the Applauses of the Army, or the Rewards of the General. It was given him, by a common Soldier, who seeing him adorned with the *Gaul's* 37 Collar, which was called in *Latin*, *Torquis*, immediately formed out of it, the Name of *Torquatus*; and he called him by this Appellation, in the Songs which were sung immediately, to the Conqueror's Praise. This glorious 38 Action of *Manlius* was also of no small Service to the Republick. It discouraged the *Gauls*, who deserted their Camp the next Night, and dispersed themselves in *Campania*. Nor could they even have retired, without the Assistance of the *Tiburtes*, who supplied them with Provisions. Had the *Gauls* been more expeditious, and fate down before *Rome*, as soon as they arrived; it is probable, they would have made themselves Masters of it, a second time. Their Army was formidable, both on the account of the Numbers, and even the Looks of their Soldiers. But it was the Fate of *Rome* to have a second *Manlius* to deliver her from them. And the Memory of so great a Benefit to her, was not perpetuated only by the Pen of the Historians: There was to be seen in the *Forum* at *Rome*, near the Banker's Shops, several Ages after the Action, a Monument of it, either engraven, or, which is more probable, painted, on a Buckler. The Combat between *Manlius* and the *Gaul*, was here represented with such Life, that some have thought the Historians drew their Descriptions from this Painting.

Orosius, B. 5.
c. 6,

Quint. Instit.
Orat. B. 6. c.
4. Plin. Hist.
Nat. B. 35. c. 4.

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M. FABIUS
AMBUSTUS,
C. PATELIUS
LIBO, Consuls.

§. VII. As for the *Tiburtes*, they had now appeared too open Enemies to the Republick, to be left unpunished. When therefore the new Consuls, *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and 39 *C. Patellius Libo*, were chosen, Levies were raised in *Rome* to chastize them. *Tibur* was, according to *Pliny*, a more ancient City than *Rome*. Its Origin was carried up to one 40 *Tiburs*, the Son of *Amphiaras*, who lived

37 *Livy's* Expression is, *in spatium ingens ruentem porrexit hostem.*

38 Collars were formerly Marks of Distinction. We find in *Genesis*, xli. 42. that *Pharaoh* gave *Joseph* this Ornament. And we find others mentioned, *Judges* viii. 26. They were given to Soldiers, as Rewards for their Valour. The ancient Inscriptions shew, that the *Romans* were proud of this military Reward. *Strabo*, B. 4. speaks of Ivory Collars, or rather like Ivory, which the Inhabitants of the *British* Islands used to adorn themselves with: And, according to him, the *Spanish* Women wore none but Iron ones. The Pagans likewise put this Ornament on their Gods.

39 We cannot but observe here, the Mistake of *Claudius Quadrigarius*, an ancient Writer, (quoted by *Livy*, and *Aulus Gellius*) who places this single Combat under the last Dictatorship of *Camillus*, in the Year of *Rome* 386. But this is a manifest Anachronism. And *Valerius Maximus* is no less mistaken, in saying, That *Manlius* and *Valerius Corvinus* challenged the Heads of the Army of the *Gauls*, and, That the latter fell by the Swords of these two *Romans*. And lastly, *Aurelius Victor* says, contrary to the Testimony of the best Historians, that *Manlius* was *Military Tribune* when he fought the *Gaul*.

He plainly confounds this *Titus Manlius*, with *Publius Manlius*, who was *Military Tribune* in the Year 386.

40 *Livy* gives *Patellius* the Surname of *Balbus*; and disfigures his Name likewise by calling it *Petilius*. This was the proper Name of the *Petilian* Family, which was different from the *Patellian*. And *Cassiodorus* is as incorrect as *Livy*. The *Fastii Capitolini* give this Consul the Surname of *Volsuri*.

41 *Pliny*, B. 16. says *Tibur*, or *Tivoli*, was founded by a *Greek*, who gave his own Name to it. He was the Son of *Amphiaras*, who was killed before *Thebes*. But other Authors make him to have been the Son of *Catillus*, and Grandson of *Amphiaras*. And some say he was Brother to *Catillus* and *Coras*, and that all three Brothers together founded the City of *Tibur*. These different Accounts gave occasion to this Line in the 18th Ode of the first Book of *Horace*,

Circa mite solum Tiburis & mania Catili.
And to these three Lines in *Virgil*,
Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia mania linquunt;
Fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem,
Catillusque, ac erque Coras, Argiva juventus. And
Tiburs was, according to *Cato* and *Sextius*, one of *Evander's* Companions.

some Years before the Siege of *Troy*. This City, which was about eighteen Miles from *Rome*, had joined with the *Hernici*, in their Revolt: and both Nations had been encouraged to it, by those fierce Enemies of the *Romans*, the *Gauls*. The Republick was then wholly left to herself. The *Latins* indeed, who had formerly been so faithful to her, had not undertaken any thing against her; but then, neither did they give her any Assistance; they had absolutely stood neuter. So little had *Rome* been yet able to recover herself from that weak Condition to which she had been reduced, upon her being taken by the *Gauls*. Nevertheless, she still found a ready Remedy, in her own Bosom; her indefatigable Citizens were always ready to take up Arms, at the Command of her *Consuls*, and especially of her *Dictators*. At present therefore two Armies were raised, one to act against the *Hernici*, and the other against the *Tiburtes*. The Command of the former was given to *Fabius*; that of the latter, to *Pætelius*. Ever since the Establishment of *Prætors* in *Rome*, for the Administration of Justice, the *Consuls* Office was in a manner wholly confined to the Business of War, and the Command of the Troops. The *Consuls* therefore took the Field; but upon the first Rumors of their March, the *Gauls* left *Campania*, and spread themselves in the Territories of *Laticum*, *Alba*, and *Tusculum*. So that, almost all *Latium* was exposed to Pillage. The Army of the *Gauls* ventured to advance even into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*; and the Gate *Collina* was already blocked up. But notwithstanding this Danger, the Republick did not think it proper to recall *Pætelius* from the Territory of *Tibur*, where he kept the Rebels in Awe. *Rome* only nominated a *Dictator*, to make head against these dangerous Enemies, which kept her invested. The *Consuls* pitched upon *Servilius Ahala*, who chose *T. Quinctius* to be his General of Horse. The Danger was imminent; so that the *Dictator* lost no time, in raising fresh Troops. The military Oaths were administered to all the Youth which were left in *Rome*, and none of them were excused from taking up Arms. This done, they had not far to go in quest of the Enemy. The *Gauls* were encamped under the Walls of *Rome*, on the Side of the Gate *Collina*. So that, the *Romans* were to fight, in sight of their Fathers, Wives, and Children, who were on the Ramparts. As then, if they had been in a distant Country, the Remembrance of their Relations would have spurred them on to Victory; they were now invincible, in the Sight of so many Persons, who were so dear to them. The Battel indeed was fought with Fury on both Sides. Blood was shed in great abundance in each Army, and the Field of Battel was covered with dead Bodies. But at length, the *Gauls* gave way, and fled towards *Tibur*. This was to have been an *Asylum* for them; but *Pætelius's* Army endeavoured to prevent their entering it. He came and fell upon the Fugitives. Nevertheless, the *Tiburtes* relieved them, and made a Sally, which facilitated the Retreat of the *Gauls*. They entered *Tibur*, in Confusion with the *Tiburtes*, and by that means escaped the Pursuit of the Conquerors. So that, the Victory was, properly speaking, the Work of the *Dictator Servilius*; the *Consul Pætelius* had but a small Share in it.

ON the other hand, *Fabius* fought the *Hernici*, with Success. His Troops were the same he had formerly led against them; and he first harassed them with slight Skirmishes, and then overcame them in a general Action. Thus was the Republick victorious on all Sides. The Honours of a Triumph were indeed chiefly due to the *Dictator*: but *Servilius* had either Pride enough to despise them, or Modesty enough to decline them. When he returned to *Rome*, he highly commended the two *Consuls*, both to the Senate, and the People; gave them all the Glory, he might have claimed himself, from the Success of the Campaign; and immediately abdicated the *Dictatorship*. As for *Pætelius*, it is probable that he solicited for a Triumph; and he obtained it on two Accounts, both for having conquered the *Gauls*, and defeated the *Tiburtes*. Tho' at the same time, his Victory was a little dubious; and the Inhabitants of *Tibur* made a Jest of it. *Triumphs*, said they, are surely very easy to be had at *Rome*. Have we been conquered by *Pætelius* in any pitched Battel? Or do the *Romans* think the having forced us to retreat within our Walls, a considerable Victory? A small Number of our Citizens went out of *Tibur* to see a Battel, and as soon as it was over, returned; and for this the Consul has obtained a Triumph! If affrighting the *Romans* at their own Gates, be sufficient to make *Rome* think her Deliverance just Matter of Triumph, we will give her Occasion

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AMBUSTUS,
C. PÆTELIUS
LIBO, Consuls.

Liv. B. 7. c. 11.

Year of
R O M E
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SERVILIUS A-
HALA, Dicta-
tor.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCIV.
M. POPILIUS
LÆNAS, CN.
MANLIUS IM-
PERIOSUS,
Consuls.

Cic. in Brut.

Liv. B. 7. c. 12.

Liv. ibid.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCV.
C. FABIVS
AMBUSTUS,
C. PLAUTIVS
PROCULUS,
Consuls.

casions enough for them hereafter. As for the *Consul Fabius*, tho' he had conquered the *Hernici*, he was content with an *Ovation*; and by accepting a less pompous sort of Triumph, he shewed more Modesty, and gained more Honour, than his Collegue.

§. VIII. THE Menaces of the *Tiburtes* made the *Romans* sensible, that they were neither conquered, nor humbled. The new *Consuls* therefore for the next Year, *M. Popilius Lænas*, and ⁴² *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*, expected to have carried the War into the Territory of *Tibur*. But they were diverted from it; doubtless by the sudden Sedition which arose in *Rome*. *Popilius* was both *Consul*, and the *Pontifex* of the Goddess *Carmenta*: and when the Sedition was at the height, he was offering a publick Sacrifice. He therefore left the Altars, upon the first News of the Revolt of the People against the Senate; ran in his Pontifical Habit to the Place where the People were assembled; and there, by his Discourses, and the Authority the *Consulship* gave him, he had so much influence on them, that he put a stop to the Sedition. From hence the Surname of *Lænas* was given him, and transmitted to his Posterity. The People surnamed him *Lænas*, from the ⁴³ *Wool* of which his Robe was made, and which was then called *Læna*, and not *Lana*. Nevertheless, his Office of *Pontifex* did not hinder him from immediately putting on the Soldier. The *Tiburtes* were actually marched out of their City in the Night, to commit Hostilities in the *Roman* Territory. They were indeed but a Handful of Men; nevertheless the Noise of their Arrival filled the City with Terror. The *Romans* were awakened by the Outcries of the Centinels, and surprized at the Approach of an unknown Enemy in the Dead of the Night, when Mens Fears are usually strongest. They ran tumultuously to Arms, not knowing whether the *Gauls* were not come again: but the Return of the Light discovered to the affrighted People, only a small Number of *Tiburtes*. They indeed came to *Rome*, rather out of a Rodomontade, to put in execution their late Threatnings, than with any concerted Design to surprize the City. The *Consuls* marched out at two different Gates, and had all the Citizens in *Rome* under Arms with them. They attacked the Enemy on both Sides, while they were making an Attack upon the Walls. But the *Tiburtes* were scarce able to sustain the very first Onset of the *Romans*. So that this Insult was so far from being prejudicial to the Republick, as to be of great Service to her. It wholly extinguished all the remaining Inclinations to Sedition in the People, and left them in Tranquillity.

To this first War, a second succeeded, under the same *Consuls*; which forced the *Romans* to march an Army the next Year beyond the *Tyber*, into *Hetruria*. The *Roman* State extended beyond *Veii* on that Side; the Republick still preserving the Conquests *Camillus* had made there. It was indeed the finest Part of her Dominions: and here the People of *Tarquinius*, an ancient City, and the Capital of one of the *Hetrurian Lucumonies*, entered the *Roman* Territory in Arms. But as their Hostilities consisted only in plundering the Country, *Rome* postponed her Revenge, till a new Election had given the Republick new *Consuls*.

§. IX. THE *Centuries* chose ⁴⁴ *C. Fabius Ambustus*, and *C. Plautius Proculus*: and *Rome* had never had more formidable Enemies to engage, in so many different

⁴² *Diodorus* is mistaken in *Manlius's* *Prænomen*; he calls him *Gaius*, instead of *Cneius*. He was *Titus Manlius's* elder Brother.

⁴³ Ancient Authors often speak of this Habit, from whence the Surname of *Lænas* was taken. It was a Sort of *Surtout*, or lined Mantle, open before, and capable of being lapped over, almost like the modern Cassocks. It was pretty much like the *Pallium* of the *Greeks*, and the *Macedonian Chlamys*; except that the latter was not open at Bottom, nor so long as the *Læna*: For this is the Name of the Dress *Popilius* was in, when he received the News of the People's Revolt. The *Læna*, or *Clæna*, was, according to the Antiquaries, in Use even in the heroic Ages. *Χλαίνα ἡρώικον φόρημα* King *Juba*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Numa*, says Monarchs used to wear it. *Læna*, (*Festus*) *vestimenti genus habitus duplicis, quidam appellatam existimant Tusce, quidam Græce, quod χλαίνα dicunt.* *Virgil* gives his Hero this Habit.

—————*Tyrioque ardebat murice Læna*
Demissa ex humeris.—————

Servius is mistaken, when he says the *Læna* did not differ from the *Roman Toga*. From all we can collect from the most celebrated Writers of Antiquity, we cannot but believe they were very different Habits. They all agree the *Læna* was worn over the *Toga*, by way of Cloak, in very cold Weather. For this Reason this Garment was sometimes lined with Furr, and the Stuff of it very thick. It was called *Læna*, from the Latin Word *Læna*, says *Varro*, B. 4. *Læna, quod de lana multa, duarum enim togarum instar.* *Servius* tells us, that the *Augurs* and *Firmines* generally used this Sort of *Surtout*, when they officiated: And it's probable, theirs was of Purple, to distinguish it from the common one.

⁴⁴ *Cassiodorus*, and the old Editions of *Livy*, give *Caius Plautius* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*: And *Diodorus* gives *Fabius* the same *Prænomen*. But it is a Mistake, which may be corrected by *Livy* himself, who calls him ever after nothing but *Caius*.

Places, at the same time, than now. She was not only deserted by all her Allies, newly insulted by the *Tiburtes*, and attacked by a Canton of *Hetruria*, but had also those importunate *Gauls* to repulse, who gave her no time to subdue her Neighbours. Their Troops appeared again in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, notwithstanding their Losses, as soon as any Enemy of the *Romans* called for their Assistance. Nor was it only the *Senones* that made War with the Republick, the most ancient *Colonies* of the *Gauls* also declared against her. The *Boii*, who settled in *Italy*, upon the first Transmigration of the *Gauls* under *Bellovesus*, were preparing to fall upon the *Roman* State. The Affairs of *Rome* seemed then to be brought to a Crisis, which must necessarily determine her Fate. However, as the *Boii* had yet made no Motion, the *Romans* raised only two Armies, one to act against the *Hernici*, that is, against their Enemies on this Side the *Tyber*; and the other, against the *Tarquinienses*, who lay on the other Side of it. *Plautius* commanded the former, and *Fabius* the latter. *Plautius* marched against the *Hernici*, and made War, with Success. He not only overcame them in a pitched Battel, but totally subdued them; and put them upon the same Foot, on which they were, before their Revolt. The Victory he gained, was so glorious, and of so much Importance to the *Romans*, that they rewarded it with the Honours of a Triumph. *Plautius* entered *Rome* in Triumph, on *The Ides of May*.

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CCCXCV.
C. FABIVS
AMBUSTVS,
C. PLAUTIVS
PROCVLVS,
Consuls.
*Appian. in
Celticis.*

Liv. B. 7. c. 12.

Fest. Capit.

BUT his Colleague *Fabius* was not so successful against the *Tarquinienses*. He attacked them inconsiderately. His Loss indeed was not great; but there was something excessively insulting in the Affront the *Tarquinienses* offered the *Romans*, in the Persons of the *Roman* Prisoners they had taken. They first treated three hundred and seven of them very ill, and then cut their Troats: Which Inhumanity was understood to be committed, to shew their Contempt of the Republick.

AND this Disadvantage was seconded by the Trouble of a new War. The *Boii* appeared in the Plain of *Præneste*, all on a sudden, and from thence advanced as far as ⁴⁵ *Pedum*. These two Cities were in *Latium*; and the latter not above ten Miles from *Rome*, between *Tibur* and *Tusculum*. And what Motives could induce the *Latins* to reconcile themselves to the Republick, and renew their ancient Treaty of Alliance with her, just at this time, I know not. Indeed, they might perhaps be influenced by the Example of the *Hernici*, whom the *Romans* had forced to submit; or they might be tired with seeing their Lands incessantly exposed to be plundered by the *Gauls*, who were so obstinately bent on passing thro' *Latium*, into the *Roman* Territory, almost every Year. But whatever their Inducement was, they actually became Allies to the *Romans* again, in a very seasonable time; and furnished their Army with the same Quota of Men they had formerly stipulated to grant, in their old Treaties. So that, with this Reinforcement the *Romans* were well secured against the *Boii*, tho' the most formidable Nation of the *Gauls*. However, the two *Consuls* were both employed; and it was therefore necessary for the Republick to appoint a General to command the Troops which were to be raised, to oppose their Hostilities. *Rome* had usually sent a *Dictator* against them, as being more formidable Enemies than those in her Neighbourhood: and according to this Custom, *Sulpicius*, surnamed *Peticus*, was created *Dictator* on this Occasion, by the *Consul* *Plautius*, who left his Army for a time, and returned to *Rome*, on purpose to nominate him. *Sulpicius* chose *M. Valerius* to be his General of Horse; and they both chose out the best *Legions* in the *Consular* Armies; and after being reinforced with the *Latin* Auxiliaries, marched against the *Gauls*. Both Armies were very impatient to come to a Battel: but the Ardour of the *Romans* seemed to be greater than that of their Enemies. Nevertheless, the *Dictator* restrained their Impetuosity, and kept them in their Camp. This wise

Liv. B. 7. c. 12.

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tator.

⁴⁵ No Discoveries have yet been made of the Situation of the ancient City of *Pedum*. We only know, by *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* that it stood almost between *Tusculum*, *Tibur*, and *Laticum*. *Father Kircher*, after having examined the Situation of the Places himself, guesses that *Pedum* formerly stood near the Place which he calls *L'Osteria dell' oia*, upon the Banks of a little River, of the same Name, which rises in the Lake *Regillus*. He judges so, from the old Rubbish and Ruins which are found in this Canton. *Cluver* places it as far as the pre-

sent *Gallicano*, above 15 Miles from *Rome*. But this Situation does not agree with the Distance mentioned by *Livy*. He, *B. 2.* places the ancient City of *Pedum* four Miles beyond the *Fossa Cluilia*, towards *Laticum*. Now the *Fossa Cluilia* was but five Miles from *Rome*; and consequently *Pedum* could be but ten. And this Distance agrees with *Father Kircher's* Conjecture. *Hollstenius* will have it to have stood near the Place which is now called *Zagarolo*.

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tator.

General was fully satisfied, that his proceeding slowly, would do the *Gauls* more Prejudice, than he could draw Advantage from the Animosity of his Soldiers. *Sulpicius* knew the *Gauls*. *It is no easy matter*, said he, *to sustain their first Fury; but it abates in time, and their Courage wastes away of itself.* Besides, he knew the *Boii* had neither brought Provisions with them, nor prepared any Magazines. And the People of *Latium*, where they were encamped, were now little inclined to furnish them with Provisions, since the *Latins* had reconciled themselves to the *Romans*. *To what purpose then*, said the Dictator, *should we run the hazard of a Battel, and expose the Republick to the Danger of being ruined?* But the Soldiers, who did not enter into the General's Views, imputed these wise Delays to his Timorousness. The Murmurs in the *Roman Army* soon became universal. He had already forbidden his Soldiers coming to any manner of Engagement with the Enemy, under grievous Penalties; but it was now become necessary to use Violence with his Troops, if he would keep them in their Entrenchments. Every one in his Post, and even upon Guard, was heard to blame *Sulpicius's* Conduct. They even complained of the Senate, for having ordered *Plautius* to nominate a Dictator. *Were not the Consuls of the Year*, said they among one another, *sufficient to have commanded us? What sort of a General have they given us? Does this sole Commander expect, that Victory should come down from Heaven to him, while he sits still, and does nothing?* Nor were these seditious Discourses only whispered secretly in the Night: they were uttered in the middle of the Day, and openly. *Let us attack the Enemy*, said the Soldiers, *in spight of the General; or else let us leave the Camp, and march back to Rome, in order of Battel.* And it was not only the private Soldiers who talked thus, but the *Centurions* also. The Discontents spread to the commanding Officers, and reached even the General's Quarters. There was an universal Outcry among the Soldiers, who came in Crowds thither, demanded Access to the Dictator, and nominated *Sextus Tullius* to speak to him, in the Name of the whole Army. *Tullius* had been the first Captain of the first Corps in the Army, for seven Years last past. No Officer in the Infantry had made more Campaigns, or distinguished himself more by his Valour. And he undertook the Commission, and came into the Dictator's Presence, attended with a great Multitude, when he was sitting on his Tribunal. *Sulpicius* was surprized to see himself surrounded with a Company of seditious Men, and more so, to see *Tullius* at the Head of them. He had always been thought an unblameable Officer, and very Obedient to his Commanders. But nevertheless, he made this Speech to the Dictator. *Your Army, Sir, think you entertain an ill Opinion of their Courage, and that you, in contempt to them, treat them, as if they had neither Arms nor Valour. This is what they have forced me to come and represent to you. What Occasion have they given for such injurious Suspicions? Have we fled from our Colours, turned our Backs upon the Enemy, or suffered our Battalions to be broken? If it were so, yet ought we to be encouraged to recover our lost Glory, and blot out the Shame of a Defeat. Our Romans, who fled to Veii, after the Battel of the Allia, recovered their Courage, and recovered their Country. But as to us, what Overthrow have we met with? The Gods, and your Good-Fortune, have preserved us from any. Not that I can pretend to say, our Glory is unsullied. Our Enemies despise us, as so many Women, for not daring to venture out of our Entrenchments. But what gives us most Concern, is, that our General should distrust our Strength, and Skill, and Courage. He thinks us unfit to engage in a Battel, tho' he has never tried us. At least, how can we judge otherwise, when an experienced General, and a Man of known Bravery, suffers us to languish in Idleness. We had rather you should suspect our Courage, than we yours. But if it be out of any Refinement in point of Policy, or by Order of the Senate, that you keep us thus with our Arms a-cross; what I dare venture to offer to you, Sir, not indeed as a General of an Army, but as a Dictator, and Representative of the Senate, is this. The Patricians have their Views, and their Authority: but the People have also their Suffrages, and their Liberty. Shall it be said, that we shall be Slaves to the Senate here? We are Soldiers, and not Outlaws. Let them order us to fight, and we will behave ourselves as becomes Romans. But if they will force us to continue idle and unactive, while we have Arms in our Hands; we can be so at Rome, as well as in a Camp. This is what we are not afraid the*

Patricians

Patricians should know. But as for you, most illustrious Dictator, we intreat you to lead us to a Battel. Our great Desire is, to follow you, to conquer under your Command, to do you all the Honour of the Victory, to attend your Triumph, and to accompany you to the Capitol, to return Thanks to Jupiter for your Success.

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SULPICIUS
PETICUS, Dic-
tator.

THIS Discourse of *Tullius* was followed with the Acclamations of the Multitude that accompanied him. They all asked leave to arm, and march to the Battel. But tho' the Dictator thought this Ardor commendable in Soldiers; the Step they had taken, was a bad Precedent. However, *Sulpicius* could not forbear promising his Troops, that he would satisfy them: and then taking *Tullius* aside, he said to him, *What can have put you at the Head of a Faction? or what can be the meaning of this unexpected Proceeding?* To which the wise Centurion replied, *I did not undertake the Commission the Soldiers gave me, either out of want of Respect for you, or Ignorance of the Martial Laws. If I complied with the Desires of the Mutineers, it was only to divert them from chusing themselves a factious and insolent Leader, who might have done something injurious to the Dignity of the Dictator. As for me, you will always find me, ready to obey your Orders, and observant of the Discipline of the Army. And do you, Sir, on your part, endeavour to recover the Affections of your Soldiers. Comply with the Desires of these impetuous Men: and the rather, because they are very strongly inclined to seize the first Opportunity they have of fighting, without asking leave, if the General makes any difficulty of granting their Requests.*

AND indeed, while they were speaking, an Accident had like to have brought on a Battel. A Gaul was carrying away some Cattel, which were grazing without the Entrenchments; but two Roman Soldiers took them from him. Upon this, the Gauls threw Stones at them; and then the Romans upon the Ramparts, cried out, *To Arms*; and the Action had been begun, if the Centurions had not checked the Ardor of the Soldiers. However, this Accident satisfied the General, that *Tullius's* Information was true: and he therefore did not think proper to delay any longer, but gave notice in the Camp, that he would offer Battel the next Day. The Roman Army was indeed inferior in Number to that of the Gauls; and therefore *Sulpicius* thought it necessary to supply this Defect, by Stratagems, and his Skill in the Art of War. Before the Battel began, he took Measures to deceive and intimidate the Enemy, by making them think his Cavalry numerous. The Horse were always that Part of the Roman Army, which the Enemy most dreaded. He therefore ordered the Muleteers of his Camp to put upon their Mules the Furniture of War-Horses; for Saddles were not in use among the Romans. Then he mounted these Servants to the Army, upon their Beasts of Burden; and gave them the Arms of the sick Soldiers, and of the Prisoners, which had been taken from the Gauls. This Troop amounted to near a thousand Men: and the Dictator joined an hundred Horsemen with them, to be their Guides and Commanders. And in the Night, *Sulpicius* ordered this Black-Guard Squadron to go out of the Camp, march silently up to the Mountains, and there hide themselves in the Woods, and not stir, till they received Orders from him. This was then a new Artifice; tho' it was afterwards often practised both by the Roman Officers, and foreign Generals. As soon as it was Day, the Dictator led his Troops out of their Entrenchments, contrary to the Expectations of the Gauls, who did not imagine the Romans would appear so soon in the Plain: and then *Sulpicius* made use of a new Stratagem in his way of fighting. He drew up his Army so, that all those Legionaries who used, at the Head of their Legions, to attack the Enemy with a sort of Darts called *Pila*, succeeded one another in Files. So that, as soon as one Company of them was within reach of the Gauls, they discharged their Darts, and instantly retired, leaving a Space of Ground between them and the Enemy. By this means, the Darts of the Gauls did no Execution. Then a second Company of the Romans took the Place of the former, and did the same thing. In short, no less than four Companies of them succeeded one another, at the Head of the Army; where they first made an Attack with their Darts, and then immediately fell back. And this Discharge of Darts, which continued a great while, was no sooner over, but the Romans marched up to the Gauls, Sword in Hand, and attacked them on all Sides. This unusual way of fighting had a little terrified the Enemy. But nevertheless, they attacked the Dictator's Right Wing so vigorously, that they would have routed it,

Liv. B.7. c.14.

Frontin. Strat.

Appian. in
Celticis.

Year of it, if he had not been there himself. In order to encourage his Men, he thus addressed himself to *Tullius*, who was so earnest in demanding a Battel: *Is this the Effect of your Promises? What is become of the Ardor of the Soldiers for fighting? Will all your Boldness in the Camp, end in playing the Coward in the Battel? Follow your General. He calls you himself, and shews you the way to Victory.* These Reproaches of *Sulpicius* were very just; and so confounded the *Romans* with Shame, that they ran into the Enemy's Battalions like Madmen. There was indeed more of a savage Fierceness, than true Courage, in this Attack; but it succeeded. The *Gauls* were put into Disorder, and the *Romans* pursued them; but they rallied, near their Right Wing, which kept its Ground. The *Dictator* therefore flew thither, and led the victorious Troops of his own Right Wing against it. And then he sent Orders to the Black-Guard Cavalry, to leave their Ambuscade. They appeared in the Plain, and marched an indirect Way towards the Camp of the *Gauls*, round the Mountain they had been posted upon. But the *Gauls*, as soon as they perceived them, and heard their Shouts, quitted their Ranks, were afraid of being surrounded, and ran in Confusion, and with all speed, to defend their Camp. Then *M. Valerius*, the General of Horse, came and intercepted the Fugitives. He had posted himself near the Enemy's Camp, (after the Defeat of their Left Wing) and kept hovering round it, with his Squadrons. So that the *Gauls* had no Retreat left, unless to the Woods, and Mountains. And accordingly, they fled thither for Refuge, but were attacked by the Muleteers, and most of them put to the Sword. By this means, the Slaughter was greater after the Battel, than in it.

Fast. Capit.

Liv. B. 7. c. 15.

Year of the State returned into the Hands of the two *Consuls* for the Year: And then the *Romans* applied themselves wholly to Works of Peace. Indeed, the Inhabitants of two of the Cities of the *Volsci*, *Velitrae*, and *47 Privernum*, made some fresh Incursions into the *Roman* Territory; but these Hostilities were then neglected, as being thought of little Importance. Nevertheless, some of the Citizens of *Rome* seem to have been sent into the *Pomptin* District to put a Stop to them: And these New-Comers made a new *48 Tribe*. To which, if we add the *Tribe Publicia*, or rather *Popilia*, which was also newly established; these two added to the twenty five old *Tribes*, made them in all twenty seven. The City then enjoyed Tranquillity enough to make the People think of publick Games. *Camillus* had made a Vow, in the Year of *Rome* 386, to celebrate some, by way of Thanksgiving, for

M. FABIVS
AMBUSTVS,
C. PLAVTIVS
PROCVLVS,
Consuls.

46 Bracelets were in Fashion in several Nations, and in particular, among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Sabines*, according to *Livy*, wore them on their left Arms. But it was more common to wear them on the right: often, indeed, on both. They were worn both by Men and Women. They were one of the Military Rewards the Generals gave to brave Soldiers, as appears by the Historians, and ancient Inscriptions, particularly the following one of *Gruzer*. L. ANTONIVS. L. F. FABIVS QVADRATVS DONATVS TORQVIBVS, ARMILLIS AB TIBERIO CÆSARE BIS. Authors mention Gold and Silver Bracelets, which were used by Great Men. Those of less Value were for the meaner Sort of People.

47 *Gluver* thinks *Privernum* formerly stood beyond *Setia*, in the Road to *Terracina*, and in a little District, in which the little City of *Piperno* now stands. He declares, that there are yet to be seen

several old Buildings, about two Miles beyond it, near the River *Anagnine*, on the Side of *Anagnia*.

48 These two *Tribes* added to the twenty five beforementioned, make in all twenty seven. The *TRIBE POMPTINA*, took its Name, according to *Festus*, from the *Pomptin* Territory, which was so called from the City of *Pometia*, the most considerable City in the whole Canton, which belonged to the *Volsci*. As to the *TRIBE PUBLICIA*, it lay likewise as the former did, in a Part of the Territory of the *Volsci*. But ancient Authors have not said enough of it, to let us know its exact Situation. This *Tribe* is sometimes called *Popilia*, and sometimes *Pubilia*, in the ancient Monuments. *Panvini* thinks it was so called, from one of the principal Places in the Country where it lay; but *Sigonius* guesses that *Popilius Lænas* gave this *Tribe* the Name of *Popilia*.

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the Peace established between the People and the *Patricians*. But it was necessary that *Rome* should enjoy an Interval of Peace for it; which did not happen till nine Years after *Camillus* had made the Vow. And then the *Tribunes of the People* at the same time corrected an Abuse, which began to creep into the Republick. The *New Men* being more ambitious of Offices than the most noble *Patricians*, canvassed for them openly. Nor were they satisfied with soliciting the Suffrages of the People in the *Forum Romanum*; they even went to the Country-Fairs, and other publick Meetings, to buy Votes. The *Tribune Pætelius* therefore drew up a Law, against a Corruption which was so fatal to the publick Welfare; and his Bill both passed the Senate, and was accepted in the *Comitia*. This was the first Law which was made in *Rome*, against open Canvassings for Votes; for that which had been made in the Year 332, forbidding all Candidates for Offices to wear Robes whiter than ordinary, was only a cautionary Law, to prevent even all Appearances of intriguing.

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AMBUSTUS,
C. PLAUTIVS
PROCULUS,
Consuls.

§. X. UNDER the succeeding *Consuls*, the Avarice of the *Patricians* was, to their Shame, restrained. No sooner were 49 *C. Marcius*, surnamed *Rutilus*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*, elected by the *Centuries*; but *Duilius* and *Manius*, two of the *Tribunes of the People*, undertook to regulate the Interest which should be taken for Loans, for the future. It had long been arbitrary; and from thence came the Ruin and Murmurs of the People. It was therefore determined, at the Request of the *Tribunes*, how much the Creditors should annually receive for their Debts. Money was settled at one *per Cent.* and it is scarce credible, with what Greediness the People pressed the passing, and confirming this Law, which they so thought favoured them.

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R O M E
CCCXCVI.
C. MARCIUS
RUTILUS, CN.
MANLIUS IM-
PERIOSUS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 7. c. 16.

BUT it is probable, the *Patricians*, being displeased with a Law, which was a Clog to their Covetousness, and set Bounds to their Profits, thought to revenge themselves on the *Plebeians*. *Licinius Stolo* had long been a formidable Adversary to the Nobility. They could not forget that he had given them their greatest Wounds, in his *Tribuneships*; which lasted no less than ten Years together, contrary to Law. This *Licinius Stolo*, had been the Author, or Promoter at least, of the four Laws, which were so fatal to the *Patrician* Party. And the time was now come, for the Nobility to make him feel the Weight of their Resentments. Tho' this *Plebeian* had been twice *Consul*, yet he was brought before the Tribunal of *M. Popilius Lænas*, the present *Prætor*. His Accusation turned so much the more to his Confusion, because he had himself been the Author of the Law, he was accused of breaking. We have already observed, that the People had formerly made a Law, at the Instigation of *L. Sextius*, and *Licinius Stolo*, which forbade any Citizen to possess more than five hundred Acres of Land. But now this Law-giver was himself in Possession of a thousand, contrary to his own Law. He had indeed emancipated his Son, and put him in the nominal Possession of half his Lands, the better to cover his Breach of this Law. But it was easy to prove before the *Prætor*, that this Emancipation was made purely to evade the Law. Otherwise the Father, and the emancipated Son, had been, in the Eye of the Law, two different Persons, and the thousand Acres when divided between two, had not exceeded the Limits the Law prescribed. In short, *Licinius* was convicted of fraud, and 52 fined 10000 *Asses* of Brass. Which Condemnation of a Man, who was attainted for having broken his own Law, was thought by the *Romans* so extraordinary, that all their Historians have mentioned it, as a very unusual Case, and a pernicious Precedent.

Liv. B. 7. c. 16.
Val. Max. B.
8. c. 6. §. 3.
and Plin. B.
18. c. 2.

32 l. 5 s. 10 d.
Arbutnot.

49 Neither *Diodorus*, *Livy*, nor *Cassiodorus*, mention the Surname of either of these *Consuls*; and the *Greek Tables* omit both their *Prænomina*. But the *Fastii Capitolini* give *Manlius* both the Surnames *Imperiosus* and *Capitolinus*. This was his second *Consulship*.
50 *Tacitus* has Reason to say, *Annal.* 6. that the Laws of the *Twelve Tables* had already fixed the Interest of Money at 1 *per Cent.* It is probable the Citizens soon broke thro' a Law, which restrained their Avarice; and this obliged the *Tribunes* to renew it.
51 The Form of emancipating a Son, and free-

ing him from his Father's Authority, has been mentioned before. To which we shall here add, that the Emperor *Justinian* abolished those tedious and silly Ceremonies, which a learned *Civilian* calls the Sport of the *Roman Laws*, in their Infancy.

52 The 10000 *Asses* of Brass, at the Rate of a *French Sol*, per *As*, don't amount to more than 500 *Livres* of *French Money*. But according to the Weight, and in Proportion to the present Value, of a Pound of Brass, the Fine will amount to 6700 *French Livres*; as has been already observed in several Parts of this History.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCVI.
C. MARCIUS
RUTILUS, CN.
MANLIUS
IMPERIOSUS,
Consuls.

AFTER these intestine Commotions, the *Romans* resolved to enter upon a foreign War. The Inhabitants of *Velitrae* and *Privernum* had openly declared against the Republick, the last Year: and she had deferred punishing them. The *Consul Marcius* was therefore commissioned to revenge the Cause of *Rome*. He marched thence with an Army, and entered the Territory of *Privernum*. This was the Capital of the *Volsci*; the Lands belonging to it, were fruitful; and a long Peace had given the Inhabitants time to breathe, and increase their Wealth. So that the Soldiers enriched themselves with the Booty they got there. For the *Consul* reserved none of it for the publick Treasury. By this means the General got the Affection of his Troops. They were ready to undertake any thing, under his Command. *Marcius* therefore had thoughts of forcing the Enemy's Camp, which was posted near *Privernum*, and of laying Siege to the City; and in order to take advantage of the good Disposition of his *Romans*, he bespoke them thus. *If you promise me, not to be more intent upon Plunder than upon fighting, I will immediately make you Masters of the Enemy's Entrenchments. After the Victory is gained, I know how to reward your Moderation. I give up the Booty of both Camp and City, wholly to you.* Thus we see, that the *Romans*, at this time, were not led to Victory by the sole Love of Glory, or their Country. The Hopes of Plunder was their chief Incentive to behave themselves valiantly. They demanded a Battel, with great Shouts; and full of Hopes, and Courage, fell on the Enemy with Fury. Their first Attack was so vigorous, that *Tullius*, the *Centurion* before-mentioned, who loved Discipline, and was beloved by the Soldiers, took notice of it to the General. *You see*, said he to him, *how your Troops keep their Word!* After which, he threw down his Javelin, drew his Sword, joined the Commanders of the Troops, and fell upon the Enemy. The *Privernates* retired upon the first Onset; and then being put into Disorder, and routed, fled for Refuge to *Privernum*. The *Roman Army* pursued them with such Ardor, that they followed them close, to the Foot of the Walls; and prepared to take the City, by Assault, without delay. But the *Privernates* prevented the sacking of their City, by their Submission. They surrendered up *Privernum* to the *Consul*. So that *Marcius* having merited the Honours of a Triumph, by this glorious Campaign; he entered triumphantly into *Rome*, on the first Day of *July*.

Fast. Capit.

BUT the Glory of *Cn. Manlius*, the second *Consul*, did not equal that of his Colleague. *Rome* had entrusted him with the Conduct of an Army in *Hetruria*, against the *Falisci*, who had again declared themselves Enemies to the Republick.

The

53 In this the *Consul* seems to have deviated from the common Custom, which obliged the General to deliver, at least the greatest Part of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, into the publick Treasury. This Liberality of Generals to their Soldiers, often gave Umbrage to the *Tribunes of the People*. They frequently took Occasion from thence to prosecute the Conqueror; out of a Persuasion that these Bounties were not given without Design.

54 The Country of the *Falisci*, was a considerable Territory among the twelve *Lætiomies* of *Hetruria*. These People were originally *Greeks*. A Colony of *Pelasgi* came into this Country, under the Conduct of *Halesus*, who is said to have been the Son of *Agamemnon*. It settled and continued here several Ages. *Dion. Hal.* speaking of *Falerii*, the capital City of this Canton, says, that there were there some Footsteps of its Antiquity remaining in his Time. Some old Monuments which were preserved there, shewed the Origin of the Nation, according to this Historian. He says, several Customs of the ancient *Greeks* were long observed here; as the Form and Ornaments of their Arms, the *Argian* Bucklers, their Pikes, their Way of building Temples, their Sanctuaries of the Gods, their Expiations, or Purifications, Sacrifices, and several other Practices, after the *Greek* Taste, as particularly the Custom of declaring War by *Feciales*, who marched at the Head of their Armies, when they passed their Frontiers, either to attack others, or by Way of Self-Defence. But the most evident Proof that these People, who drove the *Siculi* out

of their old Habitation, were originally *Greeks*, was the Temple of *Juno*, which was built at *Falerii*. It was built upon the same Plan as that of *Argos*: And the same Ceremonies were observed in the Sacrifices, in both. Priestesses had the Care of this Temple. A young Virgin, called in *Greek*, *Kathopos*, because she carried a Basket on her Head, began the Solemnity. Choirs of Girls sung Hymns to the Goddess, in their own Languages. *Strabo* and *Solinus*, B. 8. suppose, without Reason, that the *Falisci* were so called from a City of that Name, which was different from *Falerii*. The Words of the latter are these: *Quis ignorat conditam esse Agyllam a Pelasgis, ab Haleso Argivo Phaliscam, a Phalerio Argivo Phalerios, Fescenniumque ab Argivo.* The Abridger of *Stephens* is of the same Opinion. *Φαλίσκος πόλις Ἰταλίας ἀπαικὸς Ἀργείων, καὶ Φαλίσκοι οἱ οὐκ ἔτι.* But it is evident from many Passages in *Livy*, that there was no City which bore the Name of *Falisci*, and that this Name was given only to the Country, and its Inhabitants. This Historian knew no other City which belonged to the *Falisci*, but *Falerii*. The only remaining Question is, where it formerly stood. *Zonaras* mentions two Cities of the same Name; one of which was ancient, and built in the *Flaminian Way*, upon an high Mountain, which overlooked the *Tyber*. This was probably that which *Manlius Torquatus* destroyed. *Cluver* thinks it stood in the Place called *Civita Castellana*. And as for the other City mentioned by *Zonaras*, he says, the Inhabitants of it came down into the Plain, and built a new City, the Ruins of which, *Holstenius* and *Cluver* say, were

The Romans had not forgotten the Injuries they had formerly done them. The *Falisci* had joined with the *Tarquinienses* the last Year, and assisted them, with their Infantry. Nor was this all. After *Fabius's* Defeat by the *Tarquinienses*, some of his Soldiers had fled to *Falerii* for Refuge, as to a City in Amity with the Romans: but the *Falisci* had detained them, and refused to surrender them up to the Republick, tho' demanded by the *Feciales*. These were the two Affronts given by the *Falisci*, whom *Manlius* went to punish. But there was nothing memorable in the Advantages he gained over them. Nothing was talked of in *Rome*, but this Consul's Attempt against the Constitution. He had ventured to assemble the *Comitia by Tribes*, near *Sutri*, and had there made a Law, in his Camp, and at the Head of his Army; which was a Novelty, that might prove dangerous to the Commons. The Senate had indeed consented to this Law, and perhaps had even drawn it up. It was thereby enacted, That the 20th part of the Price of every Slave that was sold, should be paid into the publick Treasury. This was a pretty good way to fill it, tho' then very much exhausted. So that, the Law had passed, by the Favour of the *Conscript Fathers*, notwithstanding its Irregularity. But in order to have assembled the *Comitia by Tribes*, in a legal manner, several Formalities ought to have been observed, which were then omitted. Every *Tribe* ought to have been summoned by Name: They could not be legally assembled any where, but within the Compass of *Rome*: and the Law ought to have been proposed three Market-Days. The *Tribunes of the People* therefore thought this Step of the Consul *Manlius* might be of dangerous Consequence to the publick Liberty. Is it not to be suspected, said they, that the Tribes were forced to give their Suffrages out of Fear, when assembled in a Camp, by a Consul in Arms? Besides, were not the Soldiers, who were sworn to obey their General, obliged of course to give their Suffrages as he thought fit? In order therefore to prevent the Inconveniencies that might arise from these military *Comitia*, the *Tribunes of the People* got a Law past, which forbade any Man to assemble the People in *Comitia*, any where but in *Rome*, under Pain of Death. But it is not any where said, that the Law for paying the 20th Part of the Price of every Slave ⁵⁵, was repealed. However, the *Tribunes of the People* wisely provided against future Inconveniencies, by restraining this growing Tyranny of the *Consuls*; who would have possessed themselves of the Power of passing any Laws, how disadvantageous soever to the Commons.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCVI.
C. MARCIUS
RUTILUS, CN.
MANLIUS IM-
PERIOSUS,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 7. c. 16.

§. XI. THE *Plebeians* were also made more powerful than ever, by this Humiliation of the Consul, and Senate. The next Year, (in which *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *M. Popilius Lænas*, were both *Consuls*, the second time) shewed the Ascendant the People had gained over the *Patricians*. We shall soon see the highest Dignity in *Rome*, in the Hands of a *Plebeian*; and many Victories gained, by Generals chosen out of the People. As soon as the *Consuls* were entered upon their Office, they chose their military Employments by Lot. *Popilius Lænas*, a *Plebeian*, commanded the Army which was appointed to act against the *Tiburtes*. What Reason the Romans had for declaring War against the Inhabitants of *Tibur*, History has not told us. But it may be supposed to have been only on account of some fresh Robberies they had committed in the *Roman Territory*. *Popilius* therefore made Reprisals, ravaged their Lands in return; and as no Enemy appeared in the Field, but they continued shut up within their Walls, he found it an easy Matter to revenge himself upon them.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCVII.
M. FABIVS
AMBUSTUS,
M. POPILIUS
LÆNAS, CON-
suls.

Liv. B. 7. c. 17.

As for the Consul *Fabius*, his Colleague, he undertook a more difficult Affair. He marched out of *Rome*, to make War with the *Falisci*, and *Tarquinienses*, united. The first thing the latter did, was to make use of a Stratagem, which has been se-

to be seen, near *Falari*. *Antonius Massa*, in his Work, of the Origin and Antiquity of the *Falisci*, is led, by his Affection for *Galese*, his native City, to believe that it was built upon the Ruins of old *Falerii*. *Virgil* calls the Inhabitants of this City Lovers of Equity, according to *Servius's* Interpretation, *Æquosque Faliscos*, *Æneid* 7. because, according to him, the *Decemviri* had from them the Law of the *Feciales*, which was inserted in the 12 *Tables*, and which they had brought from *Greece*. But *Dion. Hal.* B. 1. *Aurelius Victor*, and *Cælius* himself, upon the 10th *Æneid*, say this Ce-

emony was borrowed from the *Ægæi*, in the Reign of *Ancus Marcius*, long before the Time of the *Decemviri*. Nevertheless, *Dion. Hal.* questions whether it did not come originally from the *Ardeates*. ⁵⁵ If this Law was then abolished, it is certain, it was afterwards revived; since it was in being, in the latter Ages of the *Roman Empire*. *Tacitus* says the Romans payed the twenty fifth Part of the Price of Slaves, by way of Tax. But, according to *D. Hal.* this Tax was afterwards reduced to a fiftieth Part.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCVII.
M. FABIVS
AMBUSTVS,
M. POPILIVS
LENAS, Con-
suls.
Liv. B. 7. c. 17.
Flor. B. 1. c. 8.

veral times ⁵⁶ practised since, in different Places. Their Priests made Snakes of Ribbons of different Colours, which they carried in one hand, and lighted Flambeaux in the other; and affecting the Air of Furies, advanced towards the Entrenchments of the *Romans*. A Sight, which at first affrighted them. They thought themselves surrounded by a *Legion* of infernal Spirits. It was as much as the *Consul*, Lieutenant-Generals, and *Legionary Tribunes*, could do, to recover them from their Fright: but they, at length, made them ashamed of being terrified with Bugbears, like Children. And when once recovered from this childish Fear, they turned their Rage, and Arms, against these pretended Spectres, and dispersed them. After this, they fell upon the Enemy, besieged their Camp, forced it, and after having plundered it, returned to their own Entrenchments. In their way, they made themselves merry with their own Fright, and the Enemy's silly Artifice.

Fast. Capit.
Liv. B. 7. c. 17.

Ibid.

Oros. B. 3. c. 6.
Eutrop. B. 2.
Liv. and Oros.
ibid.

Fast. Capit.

BUT in the mean time, the *Tarquinienses* and *Falisci* were raising up more formidable Enemies to *Rome*, than Priests metamorphosed into Furies. They stirred up all *Hetruria* against the Republick. The whole Nation of the *Hetrurians* were already upon their March towards the *Roman* Territory, and were advanced as far as the Place called ⁵⁷ *The Salt-Pits*, on the Banks of the *Tyber*. Their Approach therefore threw the *Romans* into a Consternation: and they had recourse to their usual Remedy in great Emergencies. The *Consul Popilius*, doubtless in the Absence of his Collegue, named a *Dictator*: and as he was a *Plebeian* himself, he raised *C. Marcius Rutilus* to the *Dictatorship*, who was a *Plebeian* likewise. The latter was a Man of approved Valour. He had been *Consul* the last Year, and had enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph, after the Defeat of the *Privernates*. The new *Dictator* also chose a *Plebeian* to be his General of Horse; whose Name was *C. Plautius Proculus*. So that the Government of the Republick was almost entirely in the Hands of Men of true Merit, who were all chosen out of the People. Then the Jealousy of the *Patricians* was more warm than ever. They were even driven to Despair, to see a *Plebeian* made *Dictator*, which had not been done before, since the Establishment of the Republick. They were enraged, that the highest Offices in *Rome* were left open, and made common to all: and in their Rage, they did their utmost to prevent the *Dictator's* having the Necessaries for the threatened War, decreed him. But the People, on the other hand, hastened the Preparations for the Campaign; every thing was got ready sooner than usual; and then he marched out to meet the Enemy, without farther delay. He coasted along the *Tyber*, marching sometimes on this Side, sometimes on that, often crossing the River in Boats, and always in pursuit of the *Hetrurians*. Wherever he understood any of their Parties had appeared, he sent Troops to intercept them. And at length, *Marcius* arrived at the Enemy's Camp, surprized, and forced it. Historians don't tell us what Number of *Hetrurians* perished in the Battel, and the Attack of the Entrenchments: but leave us to guess at the Multitude of the Slain, by the Number of the Prisoners. All Authors agree, that eight thousand were made Prisoners in this famous Action; except one Author, who, unless it be the Error of his Copyists, reckons but seven. So that this complete Victory well deserved all the military Honours: But Party-Zealots will allow nothing to be Merit, out of their own Party. The Senate, which consisted of *Patricians*, opposed the Triumph of a *Plebeian Dictator*. Nevertheless, the People did him Justice, for their own Honour's sake. They alone ordered the Conqueror a Triumph; and he entered *Rome* triumphantly, in spite of the Senators, on *The Day before the Nones of May*.

UPON *Marcius's* return, he found the time drew nigh for assembling the *Comitia* in the *Campus Martius*, to elect *Consuls* for the Year ensuing: but there were then none but *Plebeian* Magistrates in *Rome*, to preside in these *Comitia*. The *Consul*

⁵⁶ *Frontinus*, B. 2. says the Inhabitants of *Veii* made use of the same Stratagem against the *Romans*.
⁵⁷ There were several Places in *Italy*, called *The Salt-pits*. 1. That near the Ford of *Volaterra*, in *Hetruria*, at the Mouth of the River *Senio*, which retains the same Name to this Day. 2. That in *Apulia*, or *La Pouille*, near the Lake called *Lago Salso*, in the Neighbourhood of the River *Cerbalus*, or *Cervaro*. 3. *The Salt-Pits* that *Ancus Martius* made near the Port of *Ostia*. And lastly, those

which the *Veientes* surrendered up to *Romulus*, with the *Septem-Pagium*, according to *Dion. Hal.* at a little Distance from the Mouth of the *Tyber*. That the Antients have distinguished the *Salt-Pits* of the *Septem-Pagium*, from those of *Ancus Martius*, that Neighbourhood makes it probable that they were the same. The *Hetrurians* therefore were far advanced into the *Roman* Territory, to the Place now called *Campo di Saline*.

Fabius was absent, and in all probability pursuing the Victory over the *Hetrurians*: and for this reason the Nobility raised Difficulties against holding these *Comitia*. The Pretence made use of, to prevent any *Plebeian*, even tho' a *Dictator*, or a *Consul*, from presiding in the *Comitia*, was that of Religion. The *Pontifical* Laws required, that the Election of chief Magistrates should be consecrated by *Auguries*; and *Auguries*, said they, belong of right only to the Nobility: And for this time, the Nobility prevailed. The *Dictator Marcius*, and the *Consul Popilius*, were excluded from presiding in *Comitia*, on account of their Birth. And therefore, as there was a Necessity of having some Magistrate of the first Rank, to preside in them, the Republick was forced to have recourse to an *Interregnum*. Six *Patricians* were chosen to govern it, by turns. Their Names were, *Q. Servilius Ahala*, *M. Fabius*, *Cn. Manlius*, *C. Fabius*, *Sulpicius*, and *L. Aemilius*: To whom ⁵⁸ *Livy* adds two more, who seem to us to be Supernumeraries; and to have been probably put into his Manuscripts, by the Mistake of the Copyists. From the Beginning of this *Interregnum*, the *Patricians* managed their Affairs so well, that they hoped to have only *Patricians* in the *Consulship*; tho' one of the *Consuls* had been a *Patrician*, and the other a *Plebeian*, for eleven Years last past. They held the *Comitia*, when it was *Fabius's* Turn to preside in them; and were indeed so successful, as to prevent any *Plebeian's* being elected. So that the *Plebeians* were, for some time, excluded from the highest Offices, in the very Year, in which they triumphed most: and it is scarce to be conceived, how sensible an Affliction this unforeseen Stroke was to the *Tribunes of the People*. They exclaimed against the Election, which, they said, was contrary to the Laws, and to the Customs which had been established in the Republick, for the last eleven Years. But *Fabius*, the President in the *Comitia*, silenced them, by quoting against them a Law of the *Twelve Tables*; whereby it was enacted, *That only the last Edict of the People should be of force, and render all preceding ones null*. He from thence inferred, that the *Roman* People had repealed the Law, which divided the *Consulship* between a *Patrician*, and a *Plebeian*, by giving their Votes for two *Patricians*, in this last Instance: and this reasoning was admitted as solid. So that, ⁵⁹ *C. Sulpicius Peticus*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, were both confirmed in the *Consulship*, tho' both *Patricians*.

§. XII. THE new *Consuls* entred upon their Office immediately after the Election: But whether they made War with the *Tiburtes* jointly, and under the same *Auguries*, or whether they separated, and one led his Army into the Territory of *Tibur*, and the other into that of *Tarquiniæ*, is uncertain. However, (for Historians differ about it) this at least is certain, that nothing very considerable happened, in any of this Year's Expeditions. We are only told, that the *Roman* Troops took the City of ⁶⁰ *Empulum*, from the *Tiburtes*, after a slight Battel: and this was all that was done, by the two *Patricians*, who were artfully chosen, to the Exclusion of the *Plebeians*. But what was most extraordinary, was, the Method they took, to keep the *Consulship*, wholly to their own Party, without suffering the Commons to have any share in it. When the time came for proceeding to a new Election, *Sulpicius* and *Valerius*, absolutely refused to resign their Dignity into any Hands, but those from whom they received it. *We hold the Consulship*, said they, *of the Senate and Patricians; and are bound both in Honour and Gratitude, not to resign it into any Hands, but those of Patricians. We will either wholly renounce this Dignity for ever, or keep it wholly out of the Hands of Men ignobly born*. On the other hand, the *Plebeians* were enraged at this unreasonable Obstinacy, and said; *What signifies it to us, that Sextius and Licinius obtained the highest Offices, if all Plebeians are to be excluded from them, ever after? We will rather suffer Kings, or Decemviri, to rule over us, than Patrician Consuls. Without this Variety, of*

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCVII.
M. FABIVS
AMBUSTUS,
M. POPILIUS
LENAS, Con-
suls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCVII.
INTERREG-
NUM.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCVIII.
C. SULPICIVS
PETICUS, M.
VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 7. c. 18.

Liv. ibid.

⁵⁸ These two supernumerary Magistrates, are *Quintus Servilius*, and *Marcus Fabius Ambustus*, who were probably the same Persons as *Quintus Servilius*, surnamed *Ahala*, and *Marcus Fabius*, whom *Livy* had mentioned before.

⁵⁹ In some old Editions of *Livy*, we read *Cneius Potius*, instead of *Caius Sulpicius Peticus*. This was his third *Consulship*; and the first, of *Marcus Valerius Poplicola*.

⁶⁰ The Geographers say nothing of the ancient City of *Empulum*. They honestly confess they don't

know the Situation of it. Only Father *Kircher*, in his Work called *Old and new Latium*, places it three Miles North of the *Tyber*, near a Place he calls *Ampiglione*, where he himself observed several considerable Ruins. And, according to him, upon these Ruins was also built what he calls *Castellum S. Angeli*, or *Castello Della Madama*, in the Territory of *Tivoli*. Besides, this Father brings an old MS. in Proof of this, which MS. was put into his Hands by *Tarquin Pamata*. This Work contains the History of the Origin and Destruction of *Empulum*.

Sometimes

Year of *sometimes governing, and sometimes obeying, what Equality will there be in the Re-*
publick? Shall all the Power be on one Side, and the other be condemned to per-
 R O M E CCCXCVIII. *petual Slavery? Which Lamentations had indeed the Air of Sedition; but the*
 C. SULPICIUS Malecontents had no one to head them. The *Tribunes of the People* raised the
 PETICUS, M. Tumult; but there was no body to regulate the Motions of the enraged Populace.
 VALERIUS The People went down to the *Campus Martius*, several times, in order to proceed
 POPLICOLA, to Elections; but the *Comitia* were always interrupted by popular Commotions.
 Consuls. Nevertheless, the *Consuls* stood the Shock of these fruitless Storms, with Constancy.
 At length, a Day came, on which there were greater Disturbances in the *Comitia*
 than usual. The greatest number of the People cried out, that they ought not
 only to dissolve the Assembly, but likewise leave *Rome*, and separate themselves
 from the *Patricians*, as formerly; and a great number of Mutineers did in fact
 quit the *Campus Martius*, leaving only the least passionate behind them: But those
 who remained, gave their Suffrages for two *Patricians*, whereby the Election was
 concluded in their Favour.

Year of *S. XIII. THUS* ⁶¹ *M. Fabius Ambustus, and T. Quinctius Pennus, both Patri-*
 R O M E CCCXCIX. *cians, took Possession of the Consular Dignity. But nevertheless, there is reason*
 M. FABIVS to suppose, from the different Accounts of Authors, that there was then a Schism
 AMBUSTUS, in *Rome*; and that those who separated from the *Comitia*, chose *Plebeian Consuls*.
 T. QUINCTI- *Livy* says, he had read the Name of *M. Popilius*, a *Plebeian*, among this Year's
 US PENNUS, *Consuls*, in some Annals. On the other hand, the *Greek Tables* make *Marcus* the
 Consuls. *Plebeian*, the Collegue of *T. Quinctius*, in the *Consulship* for this Year. May it
 not then be from hence supposed, that the different Parts of the divided People,
 chose different *Consuls*? As for ourselves, we build upon the Authority of the
D. Sic. Cassiod. *Fasti Capitolini*, and other Writers of Antiquity; and therefore acknowledge only,
Liv. B. 7. c. 18. *M. Fabius Ambustus, and T. Quinctius Pennus, for Consuls.*

THESE two *Patrician* Collegues, both took the Field, but on different Expedi-
 tions. The War with the *Tiburtes* fell by Lot, to *Fabius*; and the War with the
Tarquinienses, to *Quinctius*. Both were successful Campaigns to the *Romans*;
 but *Fabius* had the Advantage of subduing his Enemies, without much Blood-shed.
 He took ⁶² *Sassula*, a City of the *Tiburtes*, and was already preparing to take the
 rest of their Castles and Towns, by force: but the Fear of his Arms made the En-
 my more tractable. The Inhabitants of *Tibur* knew their own Interest; they had
 recourse to the Conqueror's Clemency, surrendered at Discretion, and put all their
 Country under the Dominion of the Republick. An advantageous Conquest,
 which delivered the *Romans* from the Hostilities of a Nation, which was the more
 troublesome, for being near: and therefore a Triumph was decreed the Con-
 queror of the *Tiburtes*, who entred *Rome* in Pomp, on *The Third of the Nones of*
June.

THE Battel *Quinctius* fought with the *Tarquinienses*, was indeed more bloody,
 and less decisive: so that he was not honoured with a Triumph. But the *Romans*
 had thereby the barbarous Pleasure of satisfying their Revenge, by reaking their
 Hands in the Blood of the Conquered. It has been observed, that the *Tarquini-*
enses had the Cruelty, about four Years before, to massacre 307 *Roman* Soldiers,
 whom they had taken after a Defeat: and the *Romans* had now an Opportunity of
 making Reprisals. *Quinctius*, after he had seen great Multitudes of these *Hetrur-*
rians fall in Battel, had taken a great number of Prisoners: and the *Consul*, con-
 trary to the Custom of the *Romans*, who generally contented themselves with re-
 ducing those they had taken in War, to Slavery; put all who escaped in the Battel,
 to the Sword: only he reserved 358 of these miserable Captives, and sent them to
Rome. These were the most considerable among the Prisoners; and the Senate
 made them an Example of Terror to the neighbouring Nations. They were all
 first beaten with Rods, in the *Forum*; and then beheaded, by the *Lictors*.

⁶¹ This was the third *Consulship* of *Marcus Fabius*; and the first, of *Titus Quinctius Pennus*, to whom the *Fasti Capitolini* give the two Surnames of *Capitolinus*, and *Crispinus*. *Solinus* places the Birth of *Alexander the Great*, and the burning of the famous Temple of *Diana of Ephesus*, in this Year. But his Chronology does not agree with the Years of *Rome*.

⁶² After the strictest Search *Cluver* could make for the Situation of the Cities of *Italy*, he confesses he knows not where the ancient City of *Sassula* formerly stood. But *Kircher*, who examined Things upon the Spot, guesses it stood on the Ground where *S. Gregorio* stands at present.

THESE Victories extended the Reputation of the *Romans*, to Nations, with whom the Republick had been very little concerned. The ⁶³ *Samnites* sent an Embassy to them, and courted their Friendship, and the Senate concluded a Treaty of Alliance with them, upon the foot, as I believe; of the Confederacy of the *Latins* and *Hernici*. The *Samnites*, without making any Alteration in their Laws, and Government, engaged to furnish the Republick with Troops, as it had Occasion for them; and the Republick promised to protect them against all their Enemies, at home and abroad. Thus *Rome* advanced, by very insensible Steps, to that immense Grandeur, at which she at last arrived.

Year of
R O M E
CCCXCIX.
M. FABIVS
AMBUSTUS,
T. QUINCTIVS
PENNUS, Con-
suls.

§. XIV. SUCH was the Situation of the Affairs of the *Romans*, in the Close of the fourth Century, after the Foundation of their City. The People continued still inclined to get one *Plebeian*, at least, chosen *Consul*; but the Commons were in so bad a Condition, as would not suffer them to form, or carry on, any Intrigues. Tho' the Interest of Money borrowed, had been considerably lessened; in favour of the *Plebeians*, they found the principal Sums alone sufficient to keep them down. This was an Advantage the Nobility had over them, and they made use of it, to imprison them, and reduce them to Slavery. The *Plebeians* had therefore neither Courage, nor Strength enough, to maintain their Rights, and secure the *Consulship* to themselves. So that the *Patricians* became Masters of the *Comitia*, and got two of their own Body, namely, ⁶⁴ *C. Sulpicius Peticus*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, chosen *Consuls*. The *Romans* had then more Enemies than one upon their Hands. The *Tarquinienses*, the Inhabitants of *Cære*, the *Falisci*, and the *Volsci*, either actually disturbed the Quiet of the *Romans*, or were preparing Work for their Valour. But the Republick, which could not provide for so many Wars at once, inclined most to extend her Limits on the Side of *Hetruria*. The *Æarites*, though hitherto in Alliance with the *Romans*, yet had thoughts of revolting, and seemed disposed to surrender themselves up to the *Tarquinienses*. As the City of *Cære* was near *Tarquinia*, these two Nations often intermarried; and these Alliances, had gained the *Tarquinienses* the Affections of the *Æarites*. *Rome* was therefore preparing to punish the one, and turn their Forces against the other; when an Embassy from the *Latins* diverted them from that Design. These old Allies represented, That the *Volsci*, who were always restless, tho' often subdued, had drawn together an Army; and after having ravaged *Latium*, were ready to enter the *Roman* Territory. So that these Motions, which threatened *Rome* on both Sides, obliged the Senate to divide the Forces of the Republick, and raise two Armies. It fell to *Sulpicius's* Lot to command that which was designed for *Hetruria*; and to *Valerius's*, to conduct that which was to march against the *Volsci*. The *Consuls* took the Field; and *Valerius* was already encamped on the Confines of the Territory of *Tusculum*, in order to stop the Incursions of the *Volsci*; when he was, all on a sudden, recalled to *Rome*, to nominate a *Dictator*. *Sulpicius's* Letters had terrified the Senate. They imported, That his Army was not sufficient to suppress the Insolence of the united *Tarquinienses* and *Æarites*; That the

Year of
R O M E
CCCC.
C. SULPICIVS
PETICUS, M.
VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA;
Consuls.

⁶³ The *Samnites* and the *Sabines* were, according to the *Roman* Writers and ancient Geographers, originally but one Nation. And being afterwards divided into two Nations, those who advanced Westward retained their old Denomination of *Sabines*, and inhabited that Part of *Italy* near *Latium*, which was called, from them, *Sabinia*. The others spread themselves Eastward, and possessed themselves of a large Tract of Ground, reaching from the Confines of *New Latium*, to the Borders of *Apulia* and *Luzania*. The several Names of *Sabinites*, *Sabnites*, and *Sabelli*, which Authors give these People, shew their Origin. These are they whom the *Greeks* called *Σαβίνας*; and hence came the Name of *Samnites*, which the *Romans* gave them. Several other Nations sprung from this People, namely, the *Piceni*, *Vestini*, *Marrucini*, *Frentani*, *Peligni*, *Hirini*, and *Marfi*, who all dispersed into different Nations on the East of *Italy*, where each Nation possessed itself a little Territory. So that the Name and Nation of the *Samnites* were, after this Separation, confined within the Bounds of *Samnium*: that is, between the Country of the *Volsci*, on the West; the River *Vulturnus*, or *Volturno*, on the East; the Ri-

ver *Sagre*, or *La Sangro*, on the North; and *Campania*, properly so called, to the South. This Country contained the present County of *Molise*, Part of *The Hither Abruzzo*, the *Capitanata*, and *Terra di Lavoro*. *Festus* pretends, that the Name of the *Samnites*, or *Sannites*, was taken from those Darts which the *Greeks* called *σαβίνα*, and which were pretty much like the *Veruta* of the *Romans*. These Arms were in Use among the *Samnites*, as appears by these Words of *Virgil*, *Æneid* 7.

Et Tereti pugnans mucrone, veruque Sabello.
Festus says indeed, that the *Samnites* being chased by the *Sabines*, fled for Refuge, under the Conduct of their Leader *Canius Castronius*, to a Hill, which was called *Samnium*. And *Strabo* repeats all the Particulars of this Story; but nevertheless acknowledges, that the *Samnites* were originally *Sabines*. This is likewise *Varro's* Opinion, *B. 6. de Ling. Lat.*

⁶⁴ *Caius Sulpicius Peticus* was now raised to the *Consulship*, the fourth time; and *Marcus Valerius Poplicola*, the second. *Cassiodorus*, and *Diodorus*, both neglect to give us the Surnames of these *Consuls*; and the *Greek Tables* omit both their *Prænomena*.

F f

Falisci

Year of
R O M E
CCCC.
T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Dictator.

Falisci had joined them; That the former had already plundered the Country, round about the *Roman Salt-pits*, near the *Tyber*, and had carried their Booty to the *Cerites*; and That lastly, it was not to be doubted, but the latter had joined with the *Tarquinienses* in this Expedition. In order therefore to have a third Army raised, to oppose the *Cerites*, whilst one of the *Consuls* kept the *Tarquinienses* and *Falisci* in Awe, and the other the *Volsci*; the Senate obliged *Valerius* to name a *Dictator*. The Person chosen, was that *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who had signalized himself, some Years before, in a single Combat, with a proud *Gaul*, whom he stripped of his Gold Collar: and his Election seems to have been irregular. This brave *Roman* had never been *Consul*, and the *Consulship* was a necessary previous Step to the *Dictatorship*. But *Valerius* regarded nothing but *Manlius's* Merit in the Choice; and his Nomination was not contradicted; tho' it seemed to be contrary to Law. As soon as the *Dictator* was nominated, he chose *Cornelius Cossus* to be his Master of Horse; and these two brave Men may be said to have wanted nothing to signalize themselves in their Employments, but Enemies to fight with.

MANLIUS's first Business was to proclaim War with the *Cerites*, in a lawful manner, both by the Authority of the Senate, and the Edict of the People. And then, without raising new Troops at pleasure, the *Dictator* contented himself with a *Consular Army*; that is, ⁶⁵ as I understand it, with two *Roman Legions*, and some Auxiliaries from the Allies. Which first Preparations were enough of themselves to terrify the *Cerites*. They perceived the Republick shewed a greater Desire of declaring War with them, than their Hostilities had deserved; and therefore soon made amends for the little Ravages they had committed in the *Roman Lands*, by a speedy Repentance. Being convinced that they never could be able to raise Forces enough, to equal those of the *Romans*, and being full of Indignation against the *Tarquinienses*, for having drawn them into so troublesome a Quarrel, they neither raised Troops, nor made any Preparations for War. They made it their Business to send Deputies to *Rome*, from all their Towns, to implore the Clemency of the *Romans*. These Ambassadors were at first received by the Senate, with some Indignation. They were referred by them, to treat with the People about their Reconciliation: and the *Cerites* hoped they should be able to obtain their Favour, by religious Considerations. It may be remembred, that when *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, *Cære* had been an *Asylum* to the *Vestals*, and tutelary Gods of the *Romans*: and this was the Topick, the Ambassadors made use of, to move the common People to pity them. When they had obtained leave to speak in the *Comitia*, they first turned their Eyes, and lifted up their Hands in a suppliant manner, towards the Temple of *Vesta*, and the Habitation of the *Vestals* and *Pontifices*; and then said: *Disdain not, O ye Gods, whom we preserved from the Insults of the Barbarians; and You, Romans, who found a ready Retreat among us, in your Afflictions; Disdain not, to have some regard to us, in our Misfortunes! Have we deserved to be so hastily reckoned among your Enemies? Shall some little Acts of Hostility, occasioned rather by Ties of Blood and Relations, than any settled Hatred, or Fury, break all the Ties of a Friendship, which was founded in Religion? Shall a small Fault, in which there was no premeditated Design to do Mischief, make you forget the Zeal with which we served you, when you were most in Distress? The Tarquinienses, your Enemies, as they passed through our Territories, enticed some of our Husbandmen to go with them, in hopes of Plunder. This is all our Crime. And what is the Satisfaction you demand for it? Would you, Romans, have us surrender up the Offenders; or do you require, that we should punish them ourselves? Only give us your Commands, and they shall be obeyed. But at the same time, let it be remembred, That *Cære* was formerly consecrated, by the Residence of your Gods; and That your Priests met with an honourable*

⁶⁵ We have Reason to believe, that all the Troops of the Republick were then but four *Legions*, from several Passages of *Livy*, and particularly, from that where he says, B. 9. that the People assumed a Right of nominating sixteen *Legionary Tribunes*, to be divided among the four *Legions*. Whence we infer likewise, that this Number was not increased for a long while, except in great Emergencies, when the *Romans* had several Enemies to contend with, at the same time; as it happened

in the Year 259, when they had Wars with the *Volsci*, *Sabines* and *Æqui*, who then attacked them on all Sides. Then ten *Legions* were raised, which were divided into three Armies. But this was an extraordinary Case. Generally speaking, the *Roman Armies* which were divided between the two *Consuls* were not to consist of more than two *Legions* each, exclusive of the Troops which the Confederate Cities raised voluntarily, or by Compact, for the Service of the Republick.

Reception, and your Vestals with an Asylum there. Shall that City be given up a Prey to the Fury of your Soldiers, which was the Receptacle of your Religion, when driven from Rome? A Discourse, which, with the Repentance of the *Cerites*, raised the Compassion of the Assembly; and it was the constant Maxim of the *Romans*, that a Pardon was to be granted, to all Nations, who submitted themselves. Nor was this all that was to be said in favour of these new Enemies. Their former Benefactions also pleaded strongly for them, and Gratitude prevailed over the Rigour of Justice. So that the Republick received them into Favour, and granted them a Truce of an hundred Years. From which we may infer, that their former Alliance with the *Romans*, was not like that of the *Latins* and *Hernici*. The Treaty the Republick made with the latter, subjected them to her in some measure; and, properly speaking, they were become the Subjects of the *Romans*, under the Title of Allies. But the *Cerites* had never been more, than barely the Friends of the *Romans*, and such they still continued to be.

Year of
R O M E
CCCC.
T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Dictator.

THE *Dictator* therefore, instead of marching against them, turned his Arms against the *Falisci*, the Allies of both the *Tarquinienfes* and *Cerites*. But the Enemy left the Field. So that, *Manlius*, after he had laid their Country waste, led back his *Legions* to the City, with no other Glory, but that of having filled her Enemies with Terror. The rest of his *Dictatorship*, and of the Year, was spent in Works of Peace. The Walls of *Rome* were repaired, the Towers rebuilt, and the Temple of *Apollo* consecrated. The City continued undisturbed with any Divisions, till the time came for proceeding to the Election of new *Consuls*. The *Dictator*, who was to preside in it, intended to prevent any *Plebeian's* being elected. But the *Tribunes of the People* saw through his Designs, and revived the old Quarrels between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, about the *Consulship*. They insisted, that the *Licinian* Law, which gave at least one of the *Consulships* to the *Plebeians*, ought to take place: whilst the *Dictator* protested, he would rather absolutely abolish the *Consulship* in the Republick, than suffer any *Plebeian* to be raised to this supreme Dignity. But the Obstinacy of the *Dictator* ruined the Affairs of the Nobility. The artful *Tribunes of the People* continued to oppose the assembling the *Comitia by Centuries*, and by that means gained time. *Manlius's Dictatorship*, and the *Consul's* Year, both expired at the end of six Months; and an *Interregnum* ensued. But those, who had then the Government in their Hands, found both Parties irreconcilable. It is well known, that these Governors, in *Interregnums*, ruled each five Days successively; and ten of these Five-Day-Reigns were already passed, and the *Tribunes of the People* could not yet be brought to abate of their Pretensions, or suffer the *Comitia* to assemble, for the Election. So that these Delays tired out the Senate. They were afraid these Disputes would end at last in an open Revolt. And indeed, to their Murmurings about this last Matter of Discontent, the People began already to add Complaints, in relation to the Debts, which overwhelmed them. These they uttered in their private Assemblies, and were more strongly affected with them, than with the Neglect of the *Licinian* Law. When therefore *L. Cornelius Scipio* was, in his Turn, declared the eleventh Governor of the Republick, during the *Interregnum*; the *Conscript Fathers* gave him Directions, to satisfy the People; to let the *Licinian* Law take place; to assemble the *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*; and to permit one of the *Consuls* to be chosen out of the *Plebeians*. The Persons elected, ⁶⁶ were *Publius Valerius Poplicola*, a *Patrician*, and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a *Plebeian*, who was now raised to this Office, a second time.

INTERREG-
NUM.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCI.

P VALERIUS
POPPLICOLA,
C. MARCIUS
RUTILUS,
Consuls,

§. XV. THE first Business of the Republick, under these new *Consuls*, was to regulate the Payments of the Debtors, and to get them discharged from their Creditors. All Parties were then inclined to live in Concord, and the Interest of Loans was the only Obstruction to their Re-union. But this Difficulty was removed by the Wisdom of the *Consuls*. They no longer considered the Relief of the Debtors, as a private Affair, but as the general Concern of the Publick: and they therefore chose out five Men, of known Probity, and very great Experience, to take an account of all the Debts of the *Romans*. And tho' the Office of these great Men was transient, yet their Names were transmitted to Posterity. They were, *C. Duilius*,

Liv. B.7. c.21.

⁶⁶ Diodorus, upon the Credit of some defective Annals, displaces *Gaius Marcius Rutilus*, in order to substitute *Marcus Fabius*, a *Patrician*, in his room.

P. Decius

Year of *P. Decius Mus, M. Papirius, Q. Publilius, and T. Æmilius.* The Title that
 R O M E was given them, was also far from a glittering one; they were called *Bankers* ⁶⁷.
 CCCC. But these publick Bankers were very different from those who traded with the
 P. VALERIUS Money of private Families, for their own Profit: They had the Command of the
 POPLICOLA, publick Treasury, to enable them to discharge the Arrears of all Debtors; and,
 C. MARCIUS which rarely happens in such Affairs, they discharged their Commission to the Sa-
 RUTILIUS, tisfaction of all the Parties concerned. They managed Matters so well, by their
 Consuls. wise Oeconomy, that the publick Treasury suffered very little; and only advanced
 the Money for making the proper Payments, without losing any of the Money so
 advanced. Those, who out of Sloth, rather than any want of Ability, had suf-
 fered themselves to be over-run with Arrears, either borrowed the Money they
 wanted to discharge them, of the publick Bankers, and gave the Treasury Security
 for it; or else deposited the Value of their Debts, in their Creditor's Hands, in Ef-
 fects which were valued by the publick Bankers. By this means, the greatest Part
 of the Debtors were relieved, without Injury to any body, and, which is more
 surprizing, without any Murmurs.

Year of *R O M E* was, without doubt, one of the Ancestors of *Julius Cæsar*. The *Dictator* chose
 CCCC. *L. Æmilius*, surnamed *Mamercinus*, to be his General of Horse; and then it ap-
 JULIUS IULUS, peared, that he himself had been too precipitately chosen. All was quiet among
 Dictator. the *Hetrurians*; which makes it probable, that these Reports of a War, were art-
 fully spread by the *Patricians*, that they might have an Opportunity of placing a
 Man at the Head of the Republick, who was able to oppose the *Tribunes of the*
People, prevent the Execution of the *Licinian Law*, and take effectual Care, that
 none but *Patricians* should be raised to the *Consulship*. And indeed, *Julius* made
 use of all his Credit and Power at home, against the Interests of the Commons.
 He laboured to get the two *Consulships* filled with *Patricians*: But he was so
 warmly opposed, that both he, and the *Consuls*, went out of their Office, before

67 This is the first time the Historians of old Rome mention these *Bankers* under the Name of *Mensarii*; to whom the Magistrates and Senate committed the Management of the publick Money. Their Business was to negotiate the publick Money, and turn it to Advantage; to receive the Revenues of the Republick, either in Person, or by Collectors appointed by them for that Purpose; to collect the casual Profits arising from Confiscations, Purchases, Sales, or Exchanges; and to receive the Deposites and Securities of every private Person. They were looked on by the *Romans*, as the Guardians and Depositaries of the publick Faith. Their chief Business was to relieve Citizens over-run with Debts, who borrowed the publick Money of them, gratis, or at a very moderate Interest. Their Office was much the same as that of the *Τραπεζίται* among the *Greeks*. These, according to *Tully*, in his *Oration for Flaccus*, collected the Tributes and Taxes. He speaks of a City of Greece, which had its own *Bankers*, thus: *Cum civitate mihi res est acerrima, & conscientissima literarum, in qua nummus moveri nullus potest, sine quinque Prætoribus, Tribus Quæstoribus, quatuor Mensariis, qui apud illos a populo creantur... Si Prætor dedit, ut scriptum est, a quæstore numeravit; quæstor, a mensa publica; mensa, aut ex vectigali, aut ex Tributo.* But this was not the Case of another Sort of *Bankers*, which were called indifferently, *Argentarii*, and *Mensarii*. They were pro-

fessed Money-Changers, and kept their Shops in the *Forum Romanum*. There they traded for Gain, and their own Profit, by lending Money, usually at great Interest. They lived near the Place where *Tarquinius the First* built those old Shops for them, which were called *Tabernæ Argentariæ*. *Plautus* describes these Bankers, in his *Curculio*, in these Words; *Sub veteribus (Tabernis) ibi sunt, qui dant, quique accipiunt scænore.* Hence the Expression of *as circumstantaneum*, which *Tully* uses, in one of his Letters to *Atticus*, to signify Money borrowed at the Bank. Publick Sales were usually made in the Presence of a Banker. The Money arising from the Sale was put into his Hands; and he accounted for it with the Proprietor, after he had first entered the Sum received, in his Register; which he produced as his Voucher, before the *Prætor*, in case of a Dispute. This appears from *Cicero's* second *Oration* against *Catiline*, *Meo beneficio Tabulæ novæ proferentur, sed auctionariæ*; and from *Quintilian* 11. 2. *Hortentius actione dimissa, quod cuique vendidissent, testibus argentariorum tabulis, reddidit.* The usurious Trade of this latter Sort of Bankers was much decried in Rome. *Suetonius* mentions, as a most bitter Invective, the Reproach which *Mark Antony* and *Cassius* cast upon *Octavius*, of being the Grandson of a professed Banker, who was detested by all the People.

the *Comitia* could be assembled, for a new Election. Then, *C. Sulpicius Peticus*, Year of
and *Fabius*, both governed the Republick successively, for their five Days each, in R O M E
the *Interregnum* that ensued; and they made a greater Impression on the People in CCCC.I.
these few Days, than the *Dictator* could do, in all his time. They brought the JULIUS IV-
Commons to a Compliance with the *Patricians*: and it is therefore probable, LUS, Dictator.
that it was some private Dislike to *C. Julius*, that hindered them from complying
with his Desires, of having two of the Nobility raised to the *Consulship*. For the
Plebeians made less Opposition to the Request of the two Governors, during the
Interregnum. In Consideration of the Relief given to the Debtors, they abated of
their Pretensions, and suffered two *Patricians* to be raised to this high Dignity.

§. XVI. THE *Centuries* chose the same ⁶⁸ *C. Sulpicius*, who had been one of Year of
their Governors in the *Interregnum*, for one *Consul*; and gave him *T. Quinctius* R O M E
Pennus, for his Collegue. They both went to carry on, and finish, the War CCCC.II.
with the *Falisci*, and *Tarquinienses*. It was the Lot of the former to march against
the *Tarquinienses*; and of the latter, to oppose the *Falisci*. But they did not sub- C. SULPICIUS,
due these two *Hetrurian* Nations, either by winning Battels, or taking Towns. T. QUINCTIUS
No Army appeared to stop, or fight, them. The *Romans* entred into their Enemy's PENNUS, Cor-
Lands, without Opposition, and plundered, and laid them waste. The Fire did suls.
more Mischief in their Territories, than the Sword. And in short, these Nations
at last opened their Eyes, and being tired out with these Inundations of *Romans*,
which were so often repeated, and the Calamities they brought upon them, came,
and humbly implored the Clemency of the *Consuls*. But as it was customary for
the *Roman* Generals, to refer the Petitions of the Nations they subdued by their
Arms, to the Senate, or People; the *Falisci* and *Tarquinienses* were forced to
send their Deputies to *Rome*. When they came there, their Submission was ac-
cepted: and the Republick granted them a Truce of forty Years. Thus, through
her readiness to pardon the Nations, which she might have conquered, she made
but little Progress; tho' almost continually in Arms, and tho' her Wars seldom
failed of being successful.

AND NOW the Peace the *Romans* enjoyed, giving them a favourable Opportu-
nity, to elect two new *Censors*, the Day was fixed for the *Comitia* to proceed to
this important Election. The *Censors* Office was then very considerable. Inso-
much, that none but the most illustrious *Patricians* had yet enjoyed it, and the
Plebeians had always been excluded from it. But nevertheless, one of the present Liv. B. 7. c. 22.
Candidates for this great Employment, was a *Plebeian*; but a Man, of Merit
enough, to qualify him for the greatest Dignities. It was the famous *C. Marcius*
Rutilus. After he had been twice *Consul*, and once *Dictator*, he thought he
might aspire at any Office. Besides, he had been the first *Plebeian*, who had been
chosen *Dictator*, in spite of the Oppositions of the Nobility; and therefore he
did not despair of gaining the *Censorship* likewise, and thereby opening the way,
for Men of distinguished Merit of his own Party, to enjoy it. Indeed, every body
thought he had ill-timed his Affair, and that the two *Patrician Consuls* would op-
pose his Design, as they already declared they would. But nevertheless, the brave
Marcius pursued his Sollicitations, with the Help of the *Tribunes of the People*,
and waited for the Election. It chiefly belonged to the People to determine it, by
Vote, in the *Comitia by Centuries*: and the Commons had been stirred up by their
Tribunes, to make themselves amends for the Violence offered to the *Licinian Law*,
in the last Election of *Consuls*. They therefore insisted on making *Marcius* the
Plebeian, Censor; and their Party being strongest, in the *Comitia*, *Marcius* was
chosen, and with him ⁶⁹ *Cn. Manlius*, a *Patrician*.

THESE

⁶⁸ This was the fifth *Consulship* of *Caius Sulpi-*
us, and not the second, as we find it said in the
Greek Tables. According to *Livy*, Authors differ
to *Quinctius's* *Prænomen*; some give him that of
Quintus, others that of *Caius*. The *Fasti Capitolini*
call him *Titus*. And if we had not *Livy's* Autho-
rity to add to them, we think these *Fasti* decisive of
themselves, especially in relation to the *Prænomena*.
The Surnames of these Magistrates. The same An-
thors give *Quinctius* two other Surnames, viz. those
of *Cincinnatus*, and *Capitolinus*. He was therefore
different Person from *T. Quinctius Pennus Capi-*
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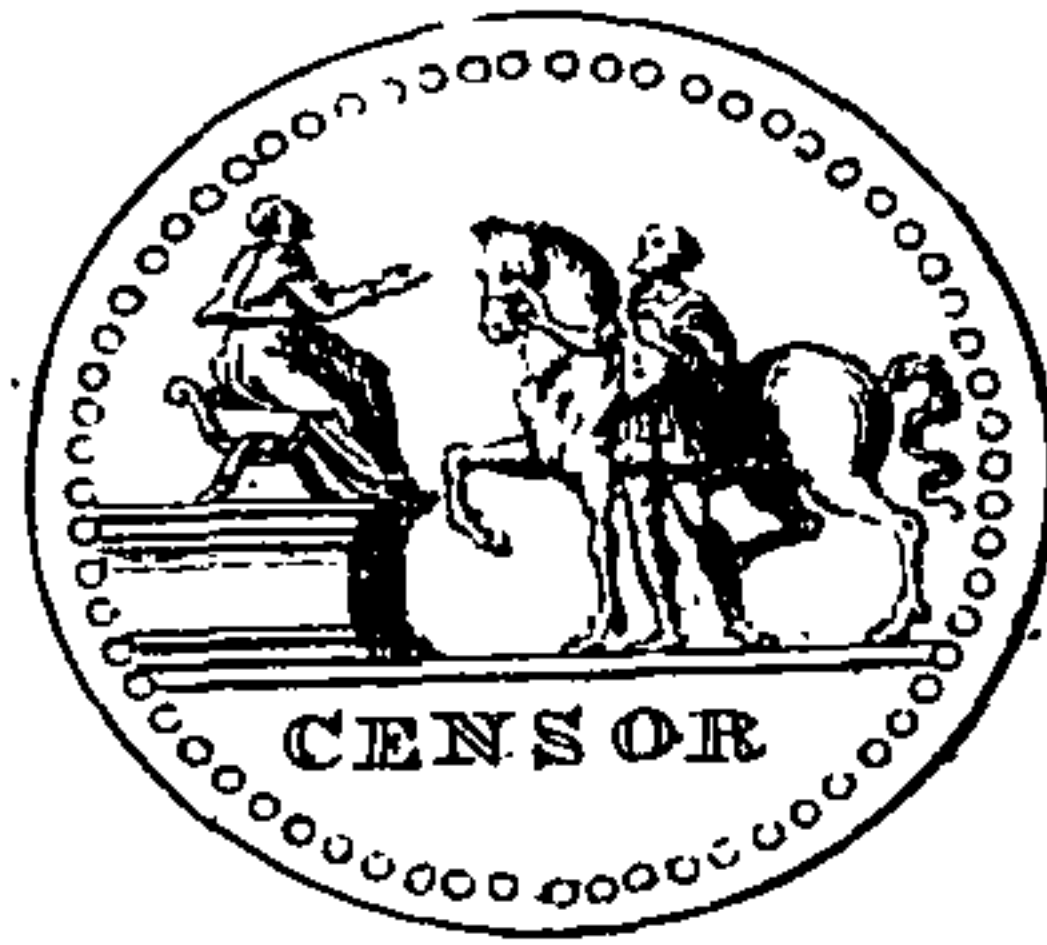
tolinus Crispinus, who was *Consul* in the Year 399;
and he now entered upon the *Consulship*, the first
time.

⁶⁹ There is Reason to believe, from a Passage in
Tully's first *Philippic*, that the *Manlian* Family was
divided into two Branches; one of which was *Pa-*
trician, and the other *Plebeian*. The *Roman Ora-*
tor's Words are these. *Propter unius Marci Manlii*
scelus, decreto gentis Manliae, neminem Patricium
Marcum Manlium vocari licet. That is, it was de-
creed by the *Manlian* Family, on Account of the *Vid. Cic. Phil.*
Crime of one *Marcus Manlius*, That no *Patri-*
cian

Year of
R O M E
CCCCII.
C. Sulpicius,
T. Quinctius
Pennis, Con-
suls.

THESE two new Magistrates thought it necessary to have a new *Lustrum*, and take a new Account of the *Roman* People, as well as of all their Estates. Since the Discharge of the Debts, the greatest Part of the Lands had indeed passed into new Hands. It was therefore the Business of the *Censors*, to enquire who these new Possessors were: for it was a Part of the *Roman* Policy, to know the Worth of every Subject in the Republick. This is reckoned to be the 21st *Lustrum*, since King *Servius Tullius* established them.

It is probable, that the *Censors* received at this time an Increase of Power, which was ever after continued to their Office. The Commons were very willing to give a Lustre to an Office, to which a *Plebeian* had just been promoted. One *Ovinus* was then one of the *Tribunes of the People*; and he proposed to get a 7^o Law passed by the *Curia*, which augmented the Honour and Credit of the *Censorship*. The Number of the Senators is known to have been three hundred. These were all chosen out of that vast Number of *Patricians* and 7¹ *Ple-*



cian of that Family, should ever after bear his Name. However, it is past doubt, that *Cneius Manlius*, who obtained the *Censorship* with *Marcus Rutilus* the *Plebeian*, was a *Patrician*. There is no Instance of two *Plebeians* having been chosen *Censors* together, till many Years after this.

70 The *Roman* Historians have told us nothing of the *Ovinian* Law. Only *Festus* mentions it, and that without assigning the Time or Occasion which gave Birth to it. Formerly, says *Festus*, a Senator was not thought disgraced or degraded, tho' his Name was omitted, in reading over the List of the Senators; because the Kings chose and excluded whomsoever they pleased, without any other Reason but their own Wills. And the Consuls, Dictators, and Military Tribunes, exercised the same Power, and made those *Patricians* or *Plebeians* Senators, who were most attached to them; without any Regard to others, upon whom they were not concerned in Interest to bestow this Mark of Distinction. Things continued on this Foot, till the Tribune *Ovinus* passed a Law, which empowered the *Censors* to make Senators, and to exclude all but Persons of known Probity, out of this venerable Body. From that time, those of this Body, who were omitted in the *Censor's* List, were thought degraded, and not suffered to go into the Senate. From which we observe two things. 1. That the *Censor's* Office was, in the Beginning, confined to the Business of taking an Account of the People, and the Ceremony of the *Lustrum*. But afterwards, it extended itself very suddenly, beyond its first Limits; and this is said to have been chiefly done in the Year 403, when *Ovinus* was Tribune of the People. 2. That they had not only a Right of Inspection over the Senators, but likewise over the *Roman Knights*, whom they reviewed in this manner. Every Knight was summoned by the publick Crier, to come and present himself before the *Censor*, on horseback. This Custom of reviewing the *Roman Knights*, is represented on one of the Emperor *Claudius's* Medals, as above, whereon the Emperor appears seated on his Tribunal, and performing the Office of *Censor*, in reviewing a *Roman Knight*. If the Knight was in a bad Condition, the *Censor*, to punish his Negligence, retrenched the Pay he had out of the publick Treasury, which was called *Æs Hordeareum*. But this Punishment, which

was called *impolitia*, was the mildest. *Aulus Gellius* tells us, that a Knight in good Plight appeared before the *Censors*, *Scipio* and *Marcus Pomilius*, with a very lean and ill-dress'd Horse. And being ask'd why he was so fat, and his Horse so very lean, he replied sneeringly, Because he took Care of himself, but his Man took Care of his Horse. Upon which the *Censors* were angry at this Answer, took away his Horse from him, and degraded him from the Rank of Knighthood. This was likewise done to those who did not behave themselves agreeably to the Laws of Honour and Honesty; and this Punishment was carried so far, that they were often put down from a superior to a less honourable Tribe, without any Regard to their Rank, when the Offence was great. Nor were the *Censors* more favourable to the common People, whose Names they sometimes struck out of the Tribe-Roll; and whom they sometimes deprived of their Right of Suffrage, and consequently of standing for any publick Office. This was called *referri in tabulas Cæritum*, because this Degradation sunk the Offenders to the same Rank with the Inhabitants of *Cære*, who obtained the Title of *Roman Citizens*, without any of the Privileges annexed to it. But they, who were thus disgraced by losing their Privileges, were not therefore free from the Poll-Taxes which were laid on the *Romans*; for which Reason they were called *Ærarii*. And in this they were in a worse Condition than the *Cærites*, who were honoured with the Quality of Citizens, without being subject to be taxed.

71 In the first Ages of *Rome*, only Nobles, or the most considerable of the Citizens, could aspire at the Order of Senators. But the *Plebeians* afterwards enjoyed that Dignity; and, according to some, as early as King *Servius Tullius's* Time. Nevertheless, they did not begin to acquire this Dignity till after *Tarquin's* Expulsion. Then *Brutus*, or, as others, *Valerius Poplicola*, chose out proper Persons among the People, to fill up the vacant Places of the Senators, which the last *Tarquin* had sacrificed to his Suspicions, and his Ambition. And the *Plebeians* were more frequently raised to the Senatorial Dignity, after they had assumed a Right of standing for the *Curule* Magistracies.

beians,

beians, whose Estates were considerable enough to entitle them to be ranked in the first *Class*. The Right of filling up the Senate, and chusing these Senators, in the time of the *Kings*, belonged to them only. After the Revolution, which invested the *Consuls* with Regal Power and Authority, *they* had this Right of chusing the Senators, and filling up these three hundred Places, with whom they pleased: and the *Consuls* kept Possession of this honourable Prerogative, till *Ovinus* became *Tribune of the People*, and *Marcus* the *Plebeian, Censor*. Then the People thought fit to strip the *Consuls* of this Part of the *Consular* Power, and transfer it to the *Censors*. By this Step, the *Tribunes* severely revenged the past Breaches of the *Licinian* Law, which so much favoured the Commons. The two *Patrician Consuls* were now deprived of the finest Privilege belonging to their Office: and it is surprising, that so great a Change should be made in the Republick, without raising any Disturbances. But the Historians don't mention any; and it is certain, *Cn. Manlius*, and *C. Marcus*, assumed a Right, as *Censors*, of removing whomsoever they pleased out of the Senate, and continuing whomsoever they pleased in it. The Ceremony of doing it, which was ever after practised in *Rome*, was this: After the *Census*, and the *Lustrum* with which it ended, were over, the *Centuries* still continued under Arms, in the *Campus Martius*. Then the *Censors* appeared, and from an Eminence read the List, in which the Names of all those, of whom the Senate was to consist, were written. The Person first named, became then ⁷² *The Prince of the Senate*, that is, the President of that Assembly, in the Absence of the *Consuls*. This was sometimes an Office for Life, and was not always changed at every *Lustrum*. The rest the *Censors* named, had also the Right of sitting and voting in the Senate. Those they did not name, were deemed ⁷⁴ *ipso facto* deprived of their Dignity, and no longer ranked among the Senators: So that it was indeed a Reproach to a Man, to be omitted in these Lists, but not an indelible one. Some appealed from the Judgment of the *Censors*, to other Tribunals; and others reformed their Manners, and by a wise Conduct, became fit to be raised to the highest Posts, the *Censorship* itself not excepted. However, this new Addition of Power to the *Censors*, aggrandized their Office, and made them always formidable to the Senate itself.

AND now that the *Censorship* was open to the *Plebeians*, the *Patricians* were afraid they should likewise lose the two *Consulships*, by virtue of the *Licinian* Law. The two present *Consuls* were *Patricians*, and they made it their whole Business to get two more of their own Body chosen *Consuls* the next Year. But tho' the Expedient they made use of was well contrived, it did not succeed. Tho' the Republick was neither threatned with any Danger, nor had any War to maintain, yet the *Consuls* nominated a *Dictator*. The Pretence for this Nomination, which was somewhat irregular, was, that he should preserve the publick Peace in the Assembly, which was soon to be held in the *Campus Martius*, for the Election of Magistrates for the next Year. They hoped an absolute Governor would be more respected in the *Comitia* than they: and be able, by dint of Authority, to get two of the Nobility chosen *Consuls*. The Person they pitched upon to be *Dictator*, was a Man distinguished by his Birth, his Employments, and his personal Merit. It was the famous *M. Fabius Ambustus*, who had at that time been thrice *Consul*; and had been honoured with a Triumph, but three Years before. And the General of Horse he chose, was little inferior to himself, namely, the famous *Servilius Ahala*, whose Zeal for the Republick had made him immortal.

§. XVII. WITH this Assistance, the Nobility depended on being able to confine the *Consulship* to themselves: and were therefore surprized to see, *M. Popilius Lænas*, a *Plebeian*, who had been *Consul* twice already, promoted again to this supreme Dignity. The Colleague the People gave him, was ⁷⁴ *L. Cornelius Scipio*, a

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C. SULPICIUS,
T. QUINCTIUS
PENNUS, Con-
suls.
Fast. Pompon.
Sextus.

Liv. B. 7. c. 22.

Fast. Capit.

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LÆNAS, L.
CORNELIUS
SCIPIO, Con-
suls.

⁷² The highest Station in the Senate was generally bestowed on him who had gained most Glory by his Employments, or Virtues, or Great Actions. In the Choice of the other Senators, the *Censor* had regard to their Age, Wealth, Reputation, Honesty, &c. Several Historians say it was necessary for them to have had some Employment before: But it is difficult to reconcile this with what the same Writers say, viz. that the *Plebeians* were made Senators before they had enjoyed the highest Offices. It is probable, that to this time, the *Plebeians* were

rarely chosen Senators. The having been *Quæstor*, was a sufficient Qualification for being made a Senator. The *Quæstorship* was enjoyed by both *Patricians* and *Plebeians*.

⁷³ The *Censors*, especially when required, publicly declared their Reasons for degrading a Senator; and the Sentence of the *Censor* was almost always ratified by his Colleague. So much Deference had they for one another.

⁷⁴ The Names of these two Magistrates are altered by *Diodorus*, who gives the first *Consul* the Name

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suls.
Appian in Cel-
tic.

Liv. B. 7. c. 23.

Patrician. But nevertheless, the Senate was mortified, to find themselves as little able to get two *Consuls*, as they had been to obtain two *Censors*, of their Body; and could not but be uneasy, even at the Success *Popilius* had in his *Consulship*. The *Plebeian Consul* only, happened to have the Command of an Army. The *Gauls* had lately appeared in the Country of the *Latins*, all on a sudden, and drawing near to *Rome*, had made one of those tumultuary Incursions into her Neighbourhood, wherein they always laid waste all the Country in their way: and *Popilius's* Collegue fell sick of a languishing Distemper, when he should have taken Arms against an Enemy, which the *Romans* always thought formidable. So that *Popilius* became possessed of the Generalship, without a Competitor, and was ordered to march against the *Gauls*, without either having drawn Lots for it, or borne the Uneasiness of having entred into an odious Competition with *Cornelius Scipio*, before the People. The *Consul* immediately ordered Troops to be raised: and that he might be the sooner ready to march, and come to a Battel, he ordered the Assembly for making the Levies to meet without *The Gate 75 Capena*, and not on the *76 Capitol*. All was peaceable; and so many enrolled their Names, that the *Consul* got an Order of the Senate, that they should be divided into two Armies. That

Name of *Marcus Pompilius*, and the second the *Prænomen* of *Gaius*; and not that of *Lucius*, which the *Fasti Capitolini* and *Livy* give him.

75 *The Gate Capena*, now called *the Gate of St. Sebastian*, led to *The Appian Way*; as we learn from *Frontinus*, who tells us, that the *Censor Appius* made a great Road from this Gate, quite to *Capua*. The Entrance into it was very dirty, and sometimes it was overflowed; either because it lay very low, or because several *Aqueducts* met near it: which *Martial* seems to insinuate in these Words, *Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta*. *Juvenal* also says the same thing.

Substitit ad Veteres Arcus madidamque Capenam.

Asconius assures us, there was a Grove, and a Temple dedicated to the Honour of the *Muses*, without *The Gate Capena*; and that it was therefore called *Porta Camæna*.

76 When Troops were to be raised, the Standard, says *Festus*, or rather two Standards, were set up in the *Capitol*; one red, for the Infantry; the other blue, for the Cavalry. *Virgil* expresses this ancient Custom in this Verse,

*Ut belli signum Laurenti Tarnus ab arce
Extulit*

The Day and Place for inlisting, were generally settled by an express Edict of the Chief Magistrate for that Purpose. All the *Romans* who were of Age to bear Arms, were obliged to obey the *Consul's* Orders, and appear at the Place appointed, without Delay, under Pain of being fined; and sometimes the refractory were condemned to be beaten with Rods, or reduced to Slavery; or punished with Confiscation of Goods, and the Loss of all the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. But those were excepted from this Law, who had lawful Reasons for absenting themselves. A Funeral, a Family-Festival, Sickness, the Loss of a Limb, a Sacrifice, a Day of Expiation, when Families purified themselves after Funerals, or important Affairs to be transacted with Foreigners, were allowed to be reasonable Excuses. And tho', generally speaking, all Persons were obliged to serve in the Army after they were seventeen Years of Age; yet some were dispensed with, at least for a time, on account of their Employments, or the Services they had done their Country. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Camillus*, mentions a Law which excused the Priests from going to any War, unless with the *Gauls*. *Cicero*, B. 2. *De Nat. Deor.* speaks of one *Publius Vatiennus*, whom the Senate excused from Military Service. *Publius Vatiennus* & agro a Senatu, & vacatione, donatus est. But it was impossible for any of the

Citizens to escape the Vigilance of those who had the Care of the Levies. The publick Registers, or Tables of the *Census*, contained an exact List of all Families, the Names of each Person in them, and of those who were newly born, or dead. When the Day for the Levies came, the *Consuls* appeared in the *Capitol*, or *Forum*, or elsewhere, as there was Occasion. And there the *Consul*, whose Turn it was to govern, sat on a *Curule Chair*, and incorporated as many Soldiers as he wanted, into the *Legions*. The Soldiers were at first enrolled by *Classes* and *Centuries*, according to the Laws *Servius Tullius* had established. But from the Course of the History we infer, that this Method did not last long. No Regard was had but to the Order of the *Tribes*, who were called upon, one after another, as their Turns came by Lot. In each *Tribe*, the *Consul* either chose what Soldiers he liked, still observing the Order of the *Classes* and *Centuries* of which it consisted; or else chose every particular Man by Lot; especially when any factious Men appeared, who were determined not to take Arms, and refused to answer, when their Names were called. *Val. Max.* B. 6. c. 3. §. 4. confirms this by the Example of the *Consul Curius*, who did so, when those who were summoned to take the Military Oaths refused to appear. He therefore, says *Val. Max.* chose to draw the *Tribes* by Lot, and the Lot fell upon the *Tribe Pollia*; then *Curius* proceeded in the same manner, with respect to the Citizens in that *Tribe*. The Person whose Name came up first, made no Answer to his Summons to appear before the *Consul*. His Silence was understood to be a Refusal, his Goods were sold by Auction, and himself sold for a Slave. *Varro* also says the same thing, in *Nonnius*. *Curius Consul in Capitolio cum delectum haberet, nec citatus in tribu civis respondisset, vendidit tenebriorem*. But most commonly, the *Consul* himself chose his Soldiers out of the *Tribes* by Lot, according to the Order of the *Classes* and *Centuries*. And lastly, if only a small Body was to be raised, the *Tribes* one of which they were taken, were chosen by Lot. The greatest Care of the Magistrate who inspected the Levies, was to see that the first Soldiers who were chosen should have lucky and auspicious Names; *Cicero*, among others, tells us, B. 1. *De Divinat.* that this was done in the Levies, as well as *Census* of the People. His Words are these: *Itemque in lustranda Colonia, cum Imperator exercitum, Consul populum lustraret, bonis nominibus qui hostias darent eligebantur; quod idem in delectu Consules observant, ut primus miles fiat bono nomine*. And *Festus* says the same thing. Great Care was taken, says he, that the first Persons named, either when the People were numbered, or new Levies raised, should

That which the *Consul* commanded, consisted of four *Legions*, that is, about twenty thousand Men, exclusive of the Auxiliaries. The *Roman* Eagles, and other Standards, if we may so call them, which were put in the *Quæstors* Hands, during the Peace, and deposited in the publick Treasury, were brought to *Popilius*. He gave each *Legion* an Eagle, and divided the Standards among the *Manipuli* and the *Cohorts*. The rest of the Levies he formed into another Army, to guard the City, or to be ready to take the Field, upon the first Orders: And *M. Valerius Poplicola*, the present *Prætor*, had the Command of it. This was the first time *Rome* ever saw a *Prætor*, whose Office had hitherto been wholly confined to hearing and judging of Civil Affairs, placed at the Head of an Army, for Want of a *Consul*.

In the mean time, *Popilius* began his March, and led his Troops within Reach of the Enemy. He made it his first Business to post himself well, and fortify himself, in order to form a Camp: But while the *Romans* were marking it out, the *Gauls* made haste to offer them Battel. As soon as they saw the Eagles, they marched out of their Camp, and drew up in Battalia, in the Valley which lay between them and the *Romans*. Nevertheless, the prudent *Popilius* would not suffer himself to be drawn into a precipitate Engagement. He knew the natural Fire of the Enemy; and he gave them time, to let the first Heat of it abate a little. But the *Gauls* ascribed the *Consul's* prudent Conduct to a Diffidence of his own Strength. They thought Fear alone had been his Motive to encamp on an Eminence, and cover himself with Entrenchments. And the Rashness of the *Gauls* was increased by the Inaction of the *Romans*, who still continued to guard their Lines, and carry on their Works, without exposing themselves to the Hazard of a Battel. The *Triarii* 77, that is, the Troops in which the main Strength of the *Roman* *Legions* consisted, were busy in fortifying the Camp. The *Gauls* therefore advanced with a great Shout, and fell upon the *Romans*. Those Soldiers in the *Roman* Army, who were called *Principes*, and *Hastati*, stood the first Shock of the *Gauls*. They had been posted in the first Lines, to cover the Workmen; and they had great Advantage from their Situation. The *Romans* fought from the Upper-ground; so that their Darts could not but fall with the more Force; and scarce any of them were thrown in vain. A great many of the *Gauls* were wounded, and their Bucklers so overloaded with them, that they could scarce move forwards. Somuch, that tho' they had already surmounted one Part of the Hill, in order to come to a closer Engagement with the *Legions*, they hesitated for some time, and were in doubt, whether they should advance or retire. At length they determin'd to continue the Attack; but this Uncertainty itself, abated the Ardour of the

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ould always have such Names, whose Significations foreboded good Success, and prepossessed the People, with favourable Prejudices of a good Event. *minis boni gratia, in delectu, consue, primi nominantur, Valerius, Salvius, Statorius.* The People firmly believed, that such Names as, *Valerius, Juvinus, and Statorius*, had a wonderful Power of guarding them against Disgrace and bad Fortune: they inferred from them, that *Rome* would always continue in her first Vigour, and stand immovable, against the Attacks of the Enemy. In a word, they caught this beginning a manifest Sign of the Protection of the Gods, and the happy Success of the Fair in hand. This Superstition took place; even in private Affairs, Offices of Religion, Marriages, Births of Children, Banquetings; and especially in publick Transactions, which were therefore begun in this Form. *Quod felix, faustum, fortunatumque.* But to return to the Levies; they were generally made, in the Order described. But in *Polybius's* Time, as he himself assures us, the *Legionary Tribunes* met the *Consul*, at the Place appointed for signing the new Levies, or Recruits. Then these Tribunes were so divided, that the first and third Legion had each of them six of these Officers, four Horse, and two of Foot: and the second and fourth had six, three of Horse, and three of Foot. The latter could not be promoted, till they had served ten Years, and therefore *Polybius* calls them *seniores Tribuni*. The former were not obliged to

have served more than five: and they were therefore called *Juniores Tribuni*. After this Distribution was made, the *Consul*, or General, chose out four young robust Soldiers, of near the same Size and Strength; and then the *Tribunes* of the first *Legion* chose one of these four Men, and the other three were placed in the second, third, and fourth *Legion*. Then the *Consul*, or *Tribunes* by his Order, insisted four more, the Choice of which belonged to the Commanders of the second *Legion*; and so on, to the Commanders of every *Legion* in its Turn, till the Number was completed. By this just Method, all the *Legions* were equally well filled. After this, says *Festus*, the *Romans* did not march against the Enemy, till thirty Days were past, reckoning from the Day the Standard was erected. But if the Danger was imminent, all these Precautions were not taken. The Levies were then raised in a tumultuous, and disorderly manner; after which, the Troops began their March immediately.

77 We have already said enough, B. 5. of the four different Bodies, of the *Triarii, Principes, Hastati*, and *Velites*, of which the *Roman* *Legions* consisted, to inform the Reader, what they were. And we shall have occasion to speak more particularly of them hereafter, when we come to the Times, in which the *Romans* brought the Art of War to Perfection: and we will then give him a complete Plan of the *Roman* Soldiery.

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Gauls, and raised the Courage of the *Romans*. The latter repulsed their Enemy and then tumbled them down from the Top of the Hill. Nay, the Flight of the *Gauls* was so sudden, that there were more of them stifled and trodden to death by their Fellows, than fell by the Sword. However, *Popilius's* Victory was yet only begun; but the Fierceness of the Enemy completed it. The *Gauls* were in a manner innumerable, and few of their Men had been engaged in this first Attack. Their Commanders were scarce sensible of the Loss they had sustained. So that the Multitudes of fresh Troops they had left, encouraged them to return to the Charge, and they accordingly renewed the Fight. The *Romans* waited for them with Resolution, without leaving their Posts on the Eminence: and in the first Onset of this second Battel, the *Consul*, who exposed himself too much in the Advanced Guard, was wounded with the Point of one of 7⁸ those Javelins, the *Gauls* used, which were longer than those of the *Romans*. The Javelin had like to have gone quite through his Shoulder: and when the General was retired, to have his Wound bound up; the *Romans*, fatigued with having fought two Battels in one Day, contented themselves with barely resisting the Enemy, so as not to suffer themselves to be broken, but without either pressing upon them, or pursuing them. But when the *Consul* appeared again, his *Legions* took new Courage. *Fellow-Soldiers*, said he to them, *what checks your Valour? We have not now Sabines and Latins to deal with, who from being Enemies, may become our Allies; but Gauls, no wild Beasts, which will certainly devour us, if we don't kill them. You have already stained the Hill with their Blood; go next, and deluge the Valley with it.* At these words, the *Romans* forgot their Weariness, repulsed the Enemy, and drove them from the Declivity of the Hill into the Plain: And then they changed their Order of Battel. The *Roman Legions* drew up into the Form of a *Wedge*, and made an 7⁹ acute Angle, in order to penetrate the more easily into the Enemy's Battalions: and this Disposition succeeded. The *Gauls* dispersed. And indeed they, in a manner, fought without either Commanders, or Discipline. Their Impetuosity, and natural Bravery alone supported them in Battel. But when they began to give way, they were as impetuous in their Flight, as they had been in the Engagement; and did not spare even their own Men. The first Lines fell upon those behind them, and having no other Obstacle in the Way of their Retreat, turned their Arms against their own *Fellow-Soldiers*. In this manner, the *Gauls*, being dispersed, partly by the *Romans*, and partly by themselves, fled beyond their Camp, and retired to the Hills of *Alba*. But the *Consul* did not think proper to follow them beyond their Entrenchments. He was wounded himself, and his Army tired with fighting. So that, he contented himself with plundering the Enemy's Camp, all the Booty of which he gave to his Troops; and then he led back his victorious Army to *Rome*, enriched with the Spoils of the *Gauls*.

§. XVIII. THE Conqueror had merited the Honours of a Triumph; it was universally acknowledged, that no *Roman* General, since *Camillus* and *Sulpicius*, had given the *Gauls* a greater Overthrow; and a Triumph was decreed *Popilius* the *Plebeian*. But the Ceremony was postponed, till he was cured of his Wound. His Collegue *Cornelius Scipio* still continued sick: And therefore the Republick, seeing that both the chief Magistrates were incapable of performing the Duties of their Office, desired them to nominate a *Dictator*, to preside at the Election of

78 This Javelin is called by *Livy*, and other Writers, *Mataras*, *Mataris*, and *Materis*. This was so common a Weapon among the *Gauls*, that the Author of the Books *ad Herennium*, which some ascribe to *Cicero*, makes use of this Term, to express the whole Nation by: *nec tam facile ex Italia Mataris Transalpina depulsa est*. The People of *Gaul*, says *Sisenna*, in *Nonnius*, strike with their *Materis*; and the *Suevi* with their Lances. This Weapon continued long in use among the *Gauls*; there are some Traces of it yet remaining in the *French* Language, since the Word *Matras* is used in some Provinces in *France*, to signify a Javelin.

79 *Livy*, B. 7. describes this Way of fighting, thus. *Cuneus deinde in medium agmen percurrunt*. It was in use among the *Greeks*, and seems to have been transmitted from them to the *Romans*. The

Cuneus, or *Wedge*, of the Ancients, was, according to *Ælian*, equilaterally triangular. And *Vegesius* gives us the same Idea of it, B. 3. The *Wedge*, says he, is a Body of Infantry drawn up into a triangular Battalion, so that it narrows more and more, from the Base to the Top, till it ends in an acute Angle. *Cuneus dicitur multitudo pedum, quæ juxta acie, primo angustior, deinde latior procedit, & adversariorum Ordines rumpit, quia a pluribus in unum locum tela mittuntur. Quam rem milites caput porcinum appellant.* *Ammian*. *Marcellinus* mentions the *Cuneus*, B. 17. and says, the Soldiers compared it to a Pig's Head. *Definitur in angustum fronte, quem habitum caput porcinum simplicitas militaris appellat.* *Agathias* and *Suidas* compare this Body of Men, drawn up in a *Wedge* or *Triangle*, to the capital *Greek* Letter, Δ. the

the *Consuls* for the Year ensuing. They pitched upon *L. Furius*, surnamed *Camillus*, the Son, as I suppose, of the great *Camillus*: and he chose *P. Cornelius Scipio* to be his General of Horse. The latter seems to have been the *Consul Scipio's* Brother: and these two *Patricians* endeavouring to get only *Patricians* chosen *Consuls*, not only gained that Point, but likewise prevailed to have the *Dictator* himself chosen one of them, and *App. Claudius*, surnamed *Crassus*, was his ⁸⁰ Colleague. But before they entered upon their Office, *Popilius* enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph. The Procession was made, on the Day the *Romans* celebrated the Feast of the *Quirinalia*, instituted in Honour to *Romulus*: which falling upon *The Third of the Ides of February*, it is therefore probable the *Consuls* entered upon their Office on *The Calends*, that is, the first Day, of *March*.

But the *Consul Furius* was not so agreeable to the People at first, as his Predecessor *Popilius* had been. The latter was the Idol of the *Plebeian* Party. When he entered *Rome* in Triumph, the common People openly insulted the *Patricians*, with asking; *Do you now repent of having chosen a Plebeian to command your Armies?* But the Commons were uneasy to see *Furius* at the Head of the Republick. He had, in his *Dictatorship*, excluded the *Plebeians* from the *Consulship*, and had made use of the Authority that Office gave him, to get himself chosen *Consul*. But this was a Reproach which he soon wiped off. The War he was forced to renew with the *Gauls*, reconciled all the People to him. These *Gauls* were the Remains of those *Senones*, who had formerly made themselves Masters of *Rome*. Since their being put to flight the last Year, by the *Consul Popilius*, they were come down from the Hills of *Alba*, whither they had fled for Refuge; had spread themselves upon the Sea-shore; and there committed their Robberies, and lived at Discretion, in the Country of the *Latins*. The *Romans* therefore resolved to make War with them, and drive them out of their Neighbourhood. But whilst they were making Preparations for this new Expedition, *Appius Claudius*, *Camillus's* Colleague, died: and this Accident put the *Romans* into some Confusion. They wanted two Generals to oppose the Incursions of two foreign Enemies, which threatened them, the one by Sea, and the other by Land. On one side, the *Gauls* had seized the Lands in *Latium*, and ravaged them: and on the other, a Fleet of *Greeks* were come to make a Descent in *Italy*, on the same Coast, where the *Gauls* had spread themselves; that is, from the Mouth of the *Tyber*, to *Antium*. From what Country belonging to *Greece*, these Pyrates came, to land in *Italy*, *Livy* would not determine; tho' he was inclined to think them ⁸¹ *Sicilians*, who escaped from *Syracuse*,

Year of
R O M E
CCCCIII.
L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, Dictator.
Fast. Capit.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCIV.
L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, APPIUS CLAUDIUS, Consuls.
Liv. B. 7. c. 25.

Auth. of Lives
of Illust. Men.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCIV.
L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, Consul.

Liv. B. 7. c. 25.

⁸⁰ *Diodorus the Sicilian*, puts other *Consuls* for this Year, viz. *Marcus Aemilius*, and *Titus Quinctius*. But this is an evident Mistake; and there is the like Mistake in several Editions of *Tully's Cato*. We there read *Lucius Aemilius*, instead of *Lucius Camillus*; and *Publius Claudius*, instead of *Appius*. *Flarean* also falls into another Mistake, when he confounds this *Appius*, with another *Appius* surnamed *Cæcus*. He did not consider, that the latter was not *Consul*, till the Year 446. *Cicero* places *Plato's* Arrival at *Tarentum*, in this Year 404, where his Philosopher became acquainted with *Archytas*, after he had heard him hold long Discourses with *Cains Pontius* the *Samnite*, against the bewitching Charms of Sensuality. And what seems to confirm the Truth of this Date, is this, that *Plato* did not die, till about forty Years after. It therefore cannot be true, as some pretend, that he came to *Tarentum*, in the *Consulship* of *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Cæcus*. The *Consul Furius Camillus*, was the Son of the great *Camillus*.

⁸¹ The Ancients comprehended under the Name of *Greece*, not only that great Peninsula, which lies beyond the *Adriatic* and *Ionian* Seas, but also all the neighbouring Nations, which lay on this Side, those two Seas, viz. *Sicily*, and the Southern Parts of *Italy*. Several *Greek Colonies* had dispersed themselves, especially in these two Countries, where they had established their own Government, Language, and Customs, after they had subdued the Natives. Hence the Name of *Great Greece* was given to all that Part of *Italy*,

which was inhabited by those, who were originally *Greeks*. But the difficulty is, how to know the Limits of it. Authors differ much on this Topick. *Pliny* confines it within the Gulphs of *Tarentum*; *Squillaci*, formerly *Scyllacius Sinus*; and the Gulph formerly called *Sinus Locrensis*, or *Brutius*, now the Gulph of *Girazzo*, or *Girace*; that is, between *Capo di Maria di Leuca*, and *Capo del l'Armi*; or to speak more in the Language of the ancient Geographers, between *The Salentin Promontory*, and *Cape Leucopetra*. So that the Name of *Great Greece* comprehended only *Lucania*; the Country of the *Brutii*, or the two *Calabria's*; a great part of the *Basilicata*, and of *The Hither Principality*. But *Ptolemy* adds to these, *Apulia*, or *La Pouille*. *Strabo* likewise adds to these Provinces, *Sicily* on one side, and *Campania* on the other. *Seneca ad Helvium*, c. 6. extends the Boundaries of *Great Greece*, much beyond the Provinces already mentioned, when he comprehends in it, all the Coast of *Italy*, which is watered by the *Tyrrhenian Sea*. And *Festus* does not exclude any one Canton in *Italy*, out of it; *Major Græciæ dicta est Italia, quod cum Siculi quondam obtinuerunt, vel quod in eam multe magnæ civitates ex Græciâ profectæ sunt*. *Ovid* had the same Opinion of it; as appears by these Lines,

*Nec tibi sit mirum Græiorum nomine dici
Italia, nam tellus Græciâ Major erat.* Fast. 4.

Athenæus was also of the same Opinion. In order therefore to reconcile these different Opinions, regard must be had to the Difference of Times. It is

Year of *cuse*, when ⁸² *Timoleon* came to deliver that Island from its Tyrants. But never-
 R O M E theless, it is more natural to believe, that they were a Swarm of those miserable
 CCCCIV. ⁸³ *Phocenses*, whom *Philip of Macedon*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, drove
 L. FURIUS CA- out of their native Country, about this time; and who, according to the Greek
 MILLUS, CON- Historian, in vain attempted to retreat into *Sicily*, and *Italy*. However, the Ro-
 ful. mans had the Pleasure of seeing their Country defended by their Enemies them-
 Diod. Sic. B. selves. The *Gauls* were jealous of their Booty, and therefore opposed the *Greeks*,
 16. who were newly landed. The nearest Part of the Sea-shore to *Rome*, was the

is very true, that the removal of several Greek Colonies, into almost all the Cities in *Italy*, gave the whole Country the Name of *Great Greece*, because these Nations, in order to make their Conquests resemble their native Country as much as they could, called it by the same Name. But after the People of *Rome* and *Latium* had communicated their Language, and Customs, to the neighbouring Provinces; the Name of *Great Greece* was confined to *Sicily*, and the most Southern Parts of *Italy*, which *Tully* speaks of in his 3^d Book *de Oratore*. *Instituitne Pythagoras totam illam veterem Italiae Græciam, quæ quondam magna vocitata est?* That *Sicily* made a considerable Part of *Great Greece*, *Strabo* assures us, B. 6. and *Livy*, B. 7. All that now remains, is, to enquire why the Name of *Great Greece* was given to the Countries before-mentioned, rather than to *Achaia*, *Peloponnesus*, *Epirus*, and in a word, to all *Greece*, properly so called. As to which, *Pliny* says, that this Appellation of *Magna Græcia* was most agreeable to the Genius of the *Greeks*, who loved to give pompous Names to every thing that belonged to them. But it seems to me more probable, that all *Italy* and *Sicily* were first so called, in comparison of old *Greece*, which was less than these Places: and that afterwards, Custom appropriated the same Name to the most Southern Parts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, which are sometimes called, *Græcia Subcivica*, and *Græcia Exotica*; the former by *Apuleius*, the latter by *Plautus* in his *Menechmi*, to shew that *Great Greece* was a foreign Country, and separated from old *Greece*.

⁸² *Timoleon*, who descended from one of the most noble Families in *Corinth*, raised the Glory of his Family, by his great Exploits. He had so great a Love for his Country, and for Liberty, that he did not spare his own Brother *Timophanes*, who had usurped the Sovereignty. He was assassinated by his Brother-in-law *Æschylus*, with *Timoleon's* Consent. After which, *Timoleon* long wandered about in desert Places, tormented with his own Anxieties of Mind, and Remorse for what was done; and much affected with the bitter Reproaches of his Mother. But at length, being pitched upon by the Magistrates of *Corinth*, to be Captain-General of the Troops, they were sending to relieve *Syracuse*, which was oppressed by *Dionysius the Younger*; he went to *Delphos*, before he set sail, in order to pray to *Apollo*, to make his Enterprize successful. While he was offering Sacrifice there, a Fillet embroider'd with Crowns, fell down from the Roof of the Temple where it hung, and rested upon his Head. This Accident was thought a sure Presage of Victory; and having there set sail with ten Gallies, he landed in sight of *Syracuse*. After he had made himself Master of the Town, the Citadel of which he razed, and had taken *Dionysius* Prisoner, whom he sent under a strong Guard to *Corinth*; he marched his victorious Army against the Tyrant *Icetis*, King of the *Leontini*, and *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* General, who had a Design of seizing *Sicily*. After this, he also fell upon all the other Tyrants, who all felt the great Effects of his Valour. Having thus delivered *Sicily* from Oppression, about the end of the fourth Year of the 110th Olympiad; he resolved to spend the rest of his Life in Peace at *Syracuse*. Towards the end of it, he lost his Sight:

and after his Death, the People of *Syracuse*, in Gratitude for the great Services he had done them, erected a stately Monument to his Memory, which was surrounded with Portico's and Halls, wherein the Youth were taught bodily Exercises.

⁸³ The *Phocenses* here mentioned, dwelt in *Phocis*, a Province of *Greece*, between *Boeotia* and *Ætolia*. These People engaged in a destructive War with the *Thebans*, and *Locrenses*, and plundered the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, at the Instigation of their General *Philomelus*. But before he would be guilty of such a Robbery, he communicated his Design to *Archidamus*, King of *Lacedæmon*, who promised to assist him privately with Men and Money, tho' he did not declare openly for him. With this Assistance *Philomelus* took Possession of the Temple, after he had put all to the Sword who pretended to resist him. Then he defeated the *Locrenses*, in a pitch'd Battel; and, flush'd with Success, forced the Priestess to give him such Answers from the Oracle as he desired; that he might appear to act only by the Authority, and with the Consent, of *Apollo*. He likewise found Means to support himself with the Alliance of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, who joined with him against the *Thebans* and *Locrenses*. This was the Beginning of *The Holy War*. And when he was attacked on all Sides, he seized the Riches of the Temple, which he had hitherto spared. He employed these Treasures in raising a great Army, which at first struck Terror into his Enemies; but being at length surrounded on all Sides, and forced into a narrow Pass, which he could not get out of, to avoid being overtaken by the *Theban* Army, he chose rather to end his Days, by throwing himself from the Top of a Rock, than to fall alive into the Hands of the Conquerors. And *Onomarchus* his Brother had no better a Fate than himself. His own Soldiers conspired against him, and threw him into the Sea. His third Brother, *Phayllus*, who succeeded him, was burnt to Death in the Fire which consumed the Temple of *Abes*, a City of *Phocis*. But *Diodorus* makes him to have died the next Year of a raging Fever, which was contagious. After the Death of his Uncle, *Phalæcus*, the Son of *Onomarchus*, had the Command of the Troops. But he did not long survive him. He was killed in a Rencounter, and his Death put an End to *The Holy War*. *Philip* King of *Macedon* exterminated the miserable Remains of the *Phocenses*, razed all their Cities, except *Abes*, which had not been concerned in their Sacrilege, and forced them to leave their own Country, and seek a Retreat elsewhere. The Ancients have observed, that *Philomelus*, *Onomarchus*, and *Phayllus*, all died by one or other of those three Kinds of Death, which used to be inflicted on those who profaned Holy Things. This War began, according to *Diodorus*, B. 16. in the second Year of the 106th Olympiad, i. e. in the Year of *Rome* 399. It lasted to the End of the second Year of the 108th Olympiad. *Pausanias* places the Beginning of this War, in the fourth Year of the 105th Olympiad. But it is evident that he is mistaken in his Calculation. We need no other Proof of it than *Demosthenes's* Oration, *De omentita legatione*. This Orator declares, that the Cities of the *Phocenses* were destroyed the same Year the *Pythian Games* were celebrated; which was usually done, at the End of the second Year of every Olympiad.

Place where these two Sorts of Robbers came to a Battel. After which, both Parties retired, the one to their Ships, the other to their Camp; without any other Advantage to the *Gauls*, than that of having driven away a Company of Robbers from their Prey, which they came to divide among themselves. But nevertheless, as the *Gauls* had not left *Latium*, and the *Greeks* were still coasting about it; it nearly behoved the Republick, to drive these Enemies farther off. And yet, the Consul *Camillus* seemed not to be sufficient of himself, to act against both Enemies, which were equally formidable. It therefore seemed necessary to nominate a Dictator, that he, acting in concert with the surviving Consul, might be able, to fight the *Gauls* on one hand, and also hinder the *Greeks* from settling in *Italy*, on the other. Nevertheless, the *Romans* would not offer such an Affront to *Camillus*, as to make any Man his Superior. They remembred, he had been Dictator himself the last Year. They much respected him for his personal Merit, and his Experience in War. Besides, the very Name of a *Camillus* seemed a very good Omen, in a War, to be made with the *Gauls*. And in short, all these Considerations made them accept of him as the sole Governor of the Republick; and *Camillus* wanted little more, than a greater Number of *Lictors*, to commence a regular Dictator.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCIV.

L. FURIUS CA.
MILLUS, Con:
sul.

Liv. B. 7. c. 25.

§. XIX. The single Consul's first Business, was to raise two Armies. The *Latins* were summoned to furnish their Contingent ⁸⁴ of Auxiliaries, according to the old Stipulations. But these refused to march under the Command of a *Roman* General. In a national Diet, held in the sacred Wood, near the Temple of *Ferentium*, they had agreed to shake off this dishonourable Yoke. Since you want our Assistance, said they to the *Romans*, it is your Business to submit to be commanded by a Latin General. If not, we will defend our Country ourselves, without submitting ourselves to the Government of others. Then the Senate, who found the Republick under a Necessity of acting without foreign Troops, ordered the Consul to be very rigorous in raising his Levies. Inasmuch, that no *Roman* Citizens, whether they lived in the City, or Country, were excused from marching. No excuses whatsoever were accepted. Since the *Romans* were forced to trust wholly to their own Strength, they raised so numerous an Army of Citizens only, as made the faithless *Latins* themselves tremble. They found Men enough among those who were obliged by Law to serve the Republick, to make up ten Legions. Each ⁸⁵ Legion then consisted of 4200 Foot, and 300 Horse: So that the whole Army amounted to at least 45000 Men. Which must appear a surprizing ⁸⁶ Number, if we consider that they were all taken out of one City, which had scarce been founded 400 Years. The Consul left two of these ten Legions in *Rome*, to guard the City, which he had stripped of its Defenders. The other eight, he divided between himself, and *L. Pinarius* the *Prætor*, whom he sent to the Sea-coast, to guard it against the Descent of the *Greeks*. As for *Camillus* himself, he went and cantoned his four Legions in the *Pomptin* Territory, a Country full of

⁸⁴ The *Romans* and *Latins* were obliged by their ancient Treaties, mutually to defend each other against all foreign Enemies. So that the *Latins*, whilst they continued faithful, used to join the *Roman* Armies, and serve in them as Auxiliaries, or Allies, to the Republick: And the *Latins* bore all their own expences; only the *Romans* supplied their Allies with Corn, as well as their own Legions. The *Latins* had a General, and *Quæstor*, of their own, but in Subjection to the *Roman* General, to whom they took an Oath. And ancient Authors say, that the Consuls chose twelve inferior Officers among the Allies, who had the same Authority, and the same Offices among them, as the *Tribunes* had among the *Romans*.

⁸⁵ We have already observed, that the Number of Soldiers in each Legion was different, at different times. It sometimes consisted of 4000, sometimes of 5000, and sometimes of 6000 Foot, exclusive of the Horse, which generally did not exceed 300, at any one time.

⁸⁶ This Number will appear yet more surprizing, if we understand *Livy* literally. He says that

in *Augustus's* Time, when *Rome* extended her Dominion almost all over the World, it would have been difficult to have raised so numerous an Army. Whence he concludes, that the *Romans* seemed to have multiplied their Conquests, only in order to multiply their Riches, and give themselves up to Luxury. *Quem nunc novum exercitum, si qua externa vis ingruat, hæc vires populi Romani, quas vix terrarum capit orbis, contractæ in unum haud facile efficiant: adeo in quæ laboramus, sola crevimus, divitias luxuriamque.* But surely no one can think, that at a time when *Rome* gave Laws to the Universe, it could have been difficult for *Augustus* to raise an Army of 45000 Men. Besides, *Dio* says this Emperor kept 23 Legions in constant Pay; and others say, 25. *Tiberius* also had the same Number, according to *Tacitus*, exclusive of the *City-Cohorts*, or the *Prætorian-Cohorts*. In order therefore to explain *Livy's* Meaning aright, we must say, that, according to him, *Rome* alone, when arrived at her highest Pitch of Grandeur, could scarce raise so many Soldiers upon the Spot, in an Age, wherein Wealth, and Distinctions, had enervated the *Roman* Valour.

Year of Marfhes and Rivers. He had no Design of coming to a pitched Battel with the **ROME** Gauls. It was enough for him, to harafs them in their Posts, to tire them out with little Skirmifhes, prevent their Incurfions; intercept their Convoys, and if possible, to ftarve them.

CCCCIV.
L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, Consul.

Aul. Gel. B. 9.
c. 11. Liv. B. 7. c. 26.

Zonaras, B. 7.
cb. 25.

Auth. Lives of
Illust. Men,
Art. 29.

Aul. Gell. Florus, &c.

BUT whilst both the *Romans* and their Enemies continued unactive, a fierce *Gaul*, of a gigantick Stature, and in Armor glittering all over with Gold, appeared between the two Armies. He was one of their Generals. After he had made a great noise with striking his Lance upon his Buckler, he ordered Silence to be proclaimed. Then, with a threatening Countenance, and his Eyes sparkling with Fire, he looked at the *Roman Legions*, and addrest himself to them thus: *Let the bravest Man among you come and enter the Lists with me, if he dares!* The *Gaul* made use of an Interpreter, to give the *Romans* this Challenge, which shews him to have been of the *Senones*, who had last passed the *Alpes*, and had not yet learned the Language which was spoken in *Italy*. His Words terrified the *Romans*: and the boldest of them were some time in suspense between the Fear of being overcome, and the Shame of being wanting in Duty to their Country, in her Distress. But at length, a young Officer in the *Roman Army* presented himself before the *Consul*; offered to fight the Giant; obtained leave; and made no doubt, but he should gain as much Glory by it, as *Manlius Torquatus* had formerly done, on the like Occasion. This brave *Roman* was *M. Valerius*, great Grandson to the famous *Dictator, M. Valerius Volusus*. The Nobleness of his Extraction, and his Courage, had distinguished him so much in the Army, that he was already *Legionary Tribune*, (that is, one of the six Commanders of a *Legion*) at twenty three Years of Age. *Valerius* marched boldly to meet his Rival, attended with the Shouts of his Countrymen, and carried a ⁸⁷ Raven upon his Helmet, which had perched upon it, ever since Day-Break. He had perhaps made it tame, that it might defend him in Battel. At least, it is much more rational to think so, than to ascribe the sudden Appearance of this Raven, to the miraculous Interposition of the Gods. But however, *Valerius* advanced towards his Rival, slowly, and with Intrepidity, but Modesty. The *Gaul* was remarkable for his Strength and Presumption; but the *Roman* had Address and Skill on his Side. As soon as they were engaged, the faithful Raven fought for his Master. He flew swiftly at the *Gaul*, so intercepted his Sight with his Wings, that he could not see his Adversary; struck him in his Face and Eyes with his Beak and Claws, and in short so incommoded and terrified him, that it was easy for his Rival to stab him. And as soon as the Death of the *Gaul* had put an end to the Combat, the Raven came and settled upon the Conqueror's Head. Then the *Romans* gave great Shouts, at the Sight of a Victory, which was entirely new to them: and the Raven ⁸⁸, being, as is well known, one of those Animals from which *Auguries* were taken; they therefore took it for granted, that Heaven had declared itself in their Favour. But the *Gauls* despised the Advantage *Valerius* had gained by the Help of a Bird; and crowded round the dead Body of their conquered General, to hinder the *Roman* from stripping him of his Armor, and making a Trophy of it. Upon this, the *Romans* ran to assist, and defend their Champion; which naturally led both Armies to a Battel. It was begun by some Companies of the Advanced-Guard; and then all the *Legions* pre-

⁸⁷ According to *Livy*, B. 7. and *Aulus Gellius*, B. 9. the Raven did not rest upon *Volesus's* Helmet, till after the Battel between the two Champions was begun.

⁸⁸ We have already observed, to what Excess the Superstition of the *Romans* carried the *Augural Science*, or the Art of guessing at future Events, by the Notes and flying of Birds. We should never have done, should we here enter into a Detail of all the childish Trifles, on which they made the Success of the most important Affairs to depend: And therefore we think it better to mention them separately, as Occasion shall offer, in the Course of the History. At present, it is sufficient to observe, that the Ravens were the chief Birds which were thought to foretell future things, and explain the Will of the Gods. Their Cries, their beating of their Wings, their Positions, were all awful Signs, from which

the Pagans drew Inferences of good or bad Success; tho' no Mortal can imagine, what could give Credit to such a kind of Prophecy. However, this Abuse gave Rise to those silly Terms, in the Books of the *Augurs*, whereby they expressed the Manner, in which the Birds foretold future Things: As *Aves oscines*, *aves præpetes*, *aves inferæ*, *aves arcivæ*, *aves inebæ*, *avis admissiva*, *avis altera*, *avis ambulant*, *avis astur*, *avis clivia*, *avis incendiaria*, *avis inibi*, *avis remora*, *avis supervaganea*, *avis vossra*, *avis secunda*, *avis dextra*, *avis sinistra*. In a Word, these Birds, considered in these several Views, were the chief Objects of the *Augural Science*. Those who are curious to know the Meaning of these Terms, may consult *Varro*, *Festus*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Græmella*. *Bulenger* also explains them, in his Treatise of *Augurs* and *Aspices*.

pared for an Engagement, so that a general Action seemed likely to ensue. *Camillus* thought it necessary to take advantage of the new Courage, with which Superstition, and *Valerius's* Victory had inspired his *Romans*. He said to them, pointing to the Conqueror of the Giant, Go, follow the Example of the brave *Valerius*. Heaven has openly shewed itself for us. We have a sure Pledge of its Protection, in the Person of the Gaul who lies dead on the Sand. Go, and fight round his Carcass. With these Words he encouraged the Soldiers, to whom Religion had given new Strength. The Skirmish between the advanc'd Guards had been bloody, and the Success pretty equal. But when the whole Armies advanced towards each other, the *Romans* prevailed. Before they came within reach of each other's Darts, the *Gauls* disbanded, and their Flight was general. They dispersed, took their Way through the Country of the *Volsci*, and after they had entered ⁸⁹ *Campania*, crossed the Plains of ⁹⁰ *Falernum*, penetrated as far as *Apulia*, and retired to the Coasts of the *Adriatic* Sea.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCIV.
L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, Consul.

AFTER the Rout of the *Gauls*, the General assembled his Soldiers, harangued them, and distributed among them the Rewards of their Valour. *Valerius* had deserved the greatest, and he received them. *Camillus* gave him a Crown of Gold, and two Oxen. This was a considerable Present at that time; but the Action was worthy of Immortality: Posterity therefore afterwards honoured him with a famous Monument. *Augustus* erected a Statue to his Memory, in the Square he built at *Rome*: and the Raven, placed on *Valerius's* Helmet in the Statue, was a Proof, that Tradition had transmitted down the Fact, as we have related it. After this single Combat, *Valerius* daily encreased in Dignity, and Reputation. We shall soon see him promoted to the highest Stations in the Republick. He preserved all his Life-time, which was an hundred Years, the unblemished Reputation of a great Magistrate, a good Father of a Family, and a zealous Patriot. And after his Death, the Name of *Corvus* which was given him, and that of *Corvinus*, which his Descendants always bore, did Honour to his Branch of the ⁹¹ *Valerian* Family, and distinguished it from all the other Branches of it.

Aul. Gel. B. 9.
c. 11.

§. XX. THE Consul had now nothing to do, to close his annual Administration with Honour; but to drive away the Greek Pyrates, who infested the Coasts of *Laticium*, and prevent their making a Descent: And with this View *Camillus* joined his Army to that of *Pinarius* the *Prætor*. The Adventurers, who were seeking their Fortune, continued long at Sea, without daring to land; and their Obstinacy forced the Consul to continue longer in the Field, than he expected. So that, in the mean while, the time for assembling the *Comitia*, to elect new Consuls for the next Year, drew on; which obliged *Camillus* to nominate a Dictator, with the Consent of the Senate, to preside in the Assembly of the *Centuries*, which was to be held in the *Campus Martius*. The Consul promoted *T. Manlius* to the Dictatorship; who chose *Cornelius Cossus* to be his General of Horse. The Dictator *Manlius* had been charmed with the Exploit of *Valerius Corvus*, as finding his own former Victory over the *Gaul*, whom he stripped of his Gold Collar, exactly copied in that of young *Valerius*; and his Dictatorship giving him a great deal of Influence in the Elections, he found means to prevail on the People to chuse the *Legionary Tribune*, who was yet but three and twenty, Consul. He was then in the Camp, and had made no Interest for the Consulship; he was yet too young, even to have a Place in the Senate. Nevertheless, *M. Valerius* was named Consul;

Year of
R O M E
CCCCV.

M. VALERIUS,
POPILIUS LÆ-
NAS, Consuls.

⁸⁹ *Campania*, the finest and most fruitful Country in *Italy*, is now the greatest Part of the present *Terra di Lavoro*. Ancient Authors have contended who should say most of the Beauty of this Province. *Non Italia modo, sed toto terrarum orbe, pulcherrima* *plaga*, says *Florus*, speaking of it. For this Reason it is generally called *Campania felix*, or *Campania the happy*. It was formerly bounded by the River *Vulturnus*, or *Voltorno*; but the *Romans* extended it to the West and North, as far as the *Liris*, now the *Garigliano*, or *Scaphati*. It was bounded to the East, and South, by the River *Sarnus*, or the *Sarno*.
⁹⁰ The Territory of *Falernum* was famous, among the Ancients, for its delicious Wines. It is watered by the *Savone* and *Vulturnus*. Its Boundary

is Mount *Massicus*, which some call Mount *Falernus*.

⁹¹ The Family of the *Valerii* came originally from *Sabinia*. It settled in *Rome*, when *Titus Tatius*, King of the *Sabines*, shared the Government of the *Roman* State, with *Romulus*. *Valerius Volusus* then began to raise the Reputation of his Family, which was divided into several Branches, some of which were *Patrician*, and others *Plebeian*. The Medals have preserv'd the Names of some of them, which are distinguished by the Surnames of *Afcianus*, *Flaccus*, *Messala*, and *Catullus*: But the ancient Monuments have not conveyed down to us any Traces of the Branch of the *Corvini*.

Year of *R O M E* and his Collegue was *Popilius Lænas*⁹² the *Plebeian*, who now entred upon this Office the fourth time. As for *Camillus*, he made so good an Appearance upon the Coast, that the *Greeks* durst not come ashore; and at last, wanting fresh Water, and other necessary Provisions, they put out to Sea. But tho' *Camillus's* Campaign had been successful, he did not obtain the Honours of a Triumph. His Expedition was not so remarkable for Blood-shed in Battel, as for the Flight of the *Gauls*, and the Departure of the *Greeks*. Nevertheless, it deserved an *Ovation* at least; but that sort of Triumph was lately grown more out of use at *Rome*, than formerly.

CCCCV.
M VALERIUS,
POPILIUS LÆ-
NAS, Consuls.

THE Glory of the present *Roman Consuls* depended more on the accidental Events of their Year, than on their own Prudence and Courage. Whilst *Popilius* and *Valerius* continued together at the Head of Affairs, the Republick was perfectly unactive. They had no War to make, no Enemy to fight, no intestine Faction to suppress. And as it was the Fate of *Rome* to be visited with publick Calamities, during her Inactivity, a Plague robbed her of as many Citizens, as she would have lost in a War. In order to remove this Scourge, recourse was had to the Superstition already introduced. Beds were placed in the Temples, great Feasts made, and Gods invited to them. All these Ceremonies were performed after the *Sybilline Books* had been consulted, by Order of the Senate, and by the *Decemviri*, who were appointed to be the Guardians of them; but the Historians say nothing of any good Effect wrought by these Superstitions.

§.XXI. WHILST the *Romans* enjoyed a profound Peace, the Happiness of which was interrupted by nothing but the Contagion, some⁹³ Ambassadors came to *Rome*, from *Carthage*. These two Cities, which were one Day to be Rivals, had been⁹⁴ founded much about the same time, the one by *Dido*, the other by *Romulus*. This fugitive Queen

⁹² *Diodorus Siculus* puts other Consuls for this Year; and places this fourth Consulship of *Marcus Popilius Lænas*, in the Year of *Rome* 407. Which is another Mistake, as we shall observe in its proper Place. The *Greek Tables* give *Marcus Valerius* the Surname of *Corvinus*; which is a Fault of which several Authors have been guilty. *Corvus* was *Valerius's* Surname. The *Fasti Capitolini* give him no other: And the *Fasti of Cuspinian*, the oldest Editions of *Livy*, and *Valerius Maximus*, exactly agree with them, in this Point. It is indeed probable enough that the Soldiers, who saw the Adventure of the Raven, might follow the sudden Heat, which is natural enough to Military Men, and give their Officer the Name of the Animal, which was his Second in the Fight. But then, it is not so natural to believe his Descendants should affect it. *Florus*, by Mistake, changes the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, which the Historians give this Consul, into *Lucius*.

⁹³ *Livy* says, B. 7. under this Year 405, that the Inhabitants of the City of *Antium* sent a Colony to *Saturnia*, which had been entirely ruined by the *Latins*.

⁹⁴ Such Darkness overspreads ancient Story, that it is not possible to discover the exact Time when *Carthage* was founded. Both ancient and modern Authors are so divided about it, that it is best to leave the Reader to judge for himself, in such a Variety of Opinions. I say nothing of *Virgil's* Account of *Dido's* Flight, and of the Arrival of the *Trojans* at *Carthage*. It is now universally agreed, that this long Episode is a mere Fiction, invented by the Poet, to magnify the Glory of *Rome*, the Rival of this Great City, to adorn his Poem, and set off his Hero. It is therefore taken for granted, that *Carthage* was not founded till several Ages after the taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks*. This all the Ancients allow, excepting only some few, and among the rest *Appian*, who makes *Xorus* and *Carthadon* Founders of this City, 50 Years before the Destruction of *Troy*; tho' the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* themselves always thought *Dido* the Foundress of it. *Eusebius* places it in the Year 804, of his *Chronicon*, the 3500 Year of the *Julian Period*,

which answers to the 2769th Year of the World, about 30 Years before the taking of *Troy*, i.e. 460 Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. His Authority for it, is one *Philiastus*, whom *Cicero* mentions in the 5th Book of his Epistles to his Brother *Quintus*. *Siculus ille Capitalis, creber, acutus, paucipillus Thucydides*. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Dido*, gives us an Account of this Author, who made himself odious to the People of *Syracuse*, by becoming the Minister of *Dionysius the Tyrant's* Cruelties: And *Cicero* gives him the Epithet of *Capitalis*, to shew that he had deserved a capital Punishment for his violent Counsels. Other Historians, as *Ménander*, quoted by *Josephus*, *Solinus*, *Velleius Paterculus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, *Theophilus*, B. 3. ad *Antilychum*, &c. place the Foundation of *Carthage* long after the taking of *Troy*. The first of these will have this City to have been built in the 7th Year of the Reign of *Pygmalion*, 144 Years after the building of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, the 3825th Year of the *Julian Period*, 296 Years after the Ruin of *Troy*, 114 Years before the first *Olympiad*, and 137 Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. But the Misfortune is, that *Josephus* has supported his Epochæ, by a false Calculation. He reckons 155 Years, and 8 Months; from the first Year of *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, to the 7th of *Pygmalion*; whereas he ought not to have reckoned more than 137 or 138 current. So likewise, from the Foundation of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, to *Dido's* Flight, was but 123 Years, or thereabout, and not 144 Years, as *Josephus* pretends; supposing, upon the Credit of the *Tyrian Annals*, that the Temple was built in the 11th Year of *Hiram's* Reign. This Mistake *Father Petau* seems to have rectified, when he fixes the building of this Temple to the 37th Year of his Reign. *Solinus* does not differ much from him, in this Epochæ. He reckons 737 Years from the first Year of *Carthage*, to its utter Destruction; which he places in the 608th Year of *Rome*, when, says he, *Cneius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Lucius Manlius* were Consuls; in the 4568th Year of the *Julian Period*. If therefore we take 737, out of 4568, there will remain 3831, which will be the Year of that

Queen did not indeed begin to settle her Colony of *Tyrians* in *Africa*, till sixty five Years according to some, and seventy two Years according to others, before *Romulus* raised the Walls of *Rome*. And it appears, That the *Romans* were not acquainted with any Nation, out of *Italy*, before they knew the *Carthaginians*; and That the first Alliance they entred into with any People, out of their own Continent, was with the Inhabitants of *Carthage*. As early as the first Year, after the Expulsion of their Kings, and the Conversion of their Monarchy into a Republick, even in the time of the first *Consuls*, *Brutus* and *Valerius*, the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* entred into a Treaty, chiefly in relation to Navigation and Commerce. This first Treaty was found in *Rome*, so late as in the time of the second *Punic* War, written on the Base of a Column, in the old *Roman* Language, which was then scarce understood. Such Alterations had the *Latin* Tongue then suffered! The *Greek* Historian has transmitted down this Treaty to us; and the Substance of it was this: That the Ships of the *Romans*, and their Allies, should not sail farther on the Coast of *Africa*, than the Cape called, 96 The Fair Promontory, unless a Storm, or a pursuing Enemy, drove them beyond it; That if any Roman Vessels touched at any Port beyond this Promontory, they should not buy any thing there, but the Victims which they wanted for Sacrifices, and the Materials, which were necessary for refitting their Gallies; and That they should not tarry there longer than five Days. On the other hand, the *Carthaginians* engaged, That if the *Romans* came to The Fair Promontory, to trade, there should no Tax be laid upon them, but the Fees of the Crier and Secretary. That the *Romans*, who

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Polyb. B. 3. c.
22, 23, 24.

Polyb. ibid.

that Period; and 3100, will be the Year of the World; in which *Carthage* was built. According to *The Epitomy of Livy*, *Carthage* was razed in the 607th Year of *Rome*, after it had subsisted 700 Years. According to *Velleius Paterculus*, it was founded out 65 Years before *Rome*. *Ante annos quinque & sexaginta quam Urbs Roma conderetur, ab Elyssa Tyria, quam quidam Dido autumant, Carthago condita: i. e.* in the 3897th Year of the *Julian* Period. *Servius* makes *Carthage* 70, and *Trogus Pompeius* 2 Years older than *Rome*. *Theophilus ad Autolybum*, B. 3. pretends, upon the Credit of Memoirs taken out of the Archives of the City of *Tyre*, that *Carthage* was built 34 Years, and 8 Months, after the Temple of *Solomon*. The Consequence of which Variety of Opinions seems to be, that it was built by Parts, and at different Times. In order therefore to reconcile the Historians, I don't see why we may not say, 1. That the *Phenicians*, who often cruised along the Coasts of *Barbary*, settled a staple there, and laid the first Foundation of *Carthage*, which was at first nothing but a Parcel of huts. And, 2dly. That some Ages after, *Dido* fled thither, to avoid the Fury of *Pygmalion*, and that his Princess enlarged it, built Walls round it, and gave it the Form of a great City. *Virgil* seems to favour this Conjecture, *Æneid*, B. 1. in these Words,

Miratur molem Æneas magalia quondam.

Some pretend, that *Hiarbas*, King of *Mauritania*, founded *Carthage*; and that *Dido* only built the Fortifications of *Birsa*, or *Botsra*; an *Hebrew* Word, which signifies a fortified Place. It was fortified, according to *Marmol*, in the same Place, where he says the *Christians* erected a Tower, called by them *La Roque de l'astinace*, and by the *Africans*, *Almenare*. Others say that *Byrsa*, which signifies the same in *Greek*, as *Byrium* does in *Latin*, was the Name of the City itself. *Dido*, say they, desired only as much Land as the Natives of the Country, as she could enclose with an Ox-Hide; but, add they, she cut the Land into very small Thongs, and thereby found means to make her City very large; agreeably to these Words of *Virgil*,

Meretricie solum facti de nomine Byrsam.

And Authors are no less divided about the Name of *Carthage*. It was, according to *Servius*, taken from

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a City of *Lybia*, called *Cartha*; according to others, from *Carchedon*, its first Founder; or from *Carthado*, which signifies, in the *Phenician* Language, A new City. *Bochart* examines into the Truth of these Etymologies, in his *Canaan*, B. 1. [Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, that the Revolt of *Edom* from the Dominion of *Judah*, interrupted the Trade of *Judah* and *Tyre*, on the *Red Sea*, and thereby gave Occasion to the *Tyrians* to build Ships for Merchandize on the *Mediterranean*, to make long Voyages there, and found several Cities in *Africa* and *Spain*, and among others, *Carthage*. This Revolt he places about the third or fourth Year of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*; and fixes the founding of *Carthage* to the fifth or sixth Year of *Jehoram*; about the seventeenth Year after the taking of *Troy*; the seventh Year of *Pygmalion*; and the 883d Year before Christ. *Chron.* p. 32, 107, 108.]

95 The *Romans* don't seem to have gained any great Advantages by this Treaty, in Point of Navigation, the Art of which they did not understand till later Ages. At least, History gives us no Account of their Commerce, or maritime Affairs.

96 *Polybius* calls this Promontory, Καλὸν ἀκρωτήριον. It lay, according to him, to the North of *Carthage*, and near it. Which Situation agrees with that of The Promontory of *Mercury*; *Herma*, or *Mercurii Promontorium*, is the Name the Ancients give it. It is now called *Cape Bona*. It is on the Coast of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and looks towards The Promontory of *Lilibæum* in *Sicily*. Yet we dare not affirm, that The Fair Promontory was the same as this Promontory of *Mercury*. *Livy*, B. 29. seems to distinguish them one from the other. Whilst *Polybius*, on the contrary, says nothing of one, but what is applicable to the other. This Disagreement of the Historians therefore will not suffer us to be positive, in a Case which is left undetermined by the most skilful Geographers. However, if the *Carthaginians* did set Bounds to the Navigation of the *Romans*, it was plainly, as *Polybius* observes, a political Precaution. They did not care to have their Coasts open to all Comers; lest the Fruitfulness of the Land, and the happy Situation of their Cities, for the Conveniency of Trade, should tempt their Avarice. Their Country was indeed so fruitful, that, according to *Pliny*, B. 5, & 17. it produced above an hundred Fold. This is the Country which was formerly called *Provincia Byzasena*.

K k

Should

Year of *should come into* 97 Sardinia, or that Part of Sicily, which belonged to the Cartha-
 R O M E ginians, *should be received there in the same manner as the Carthaginians them-*
 CCCC.V. *selves; and That they would not commit any Hostilities against the Inhabitants of*
 M. VALERIUS, Ardea, Antium, Aricia, Circæum, Terracina, or any other City in Latium, which
 POPILIUS LÆ- *was united to Rome. The other Cities of Latium, which were not subject to the*
 NAS, Consuls. Romans, *were not included in this Treaty. Only, the Carthaginians promised, That*
in case they should make themselves Masters of any of them, they would restore them,
without plundering them, and not raise any Fort in Italy. And the Romans, on the
other hand, engaged, That if any Carthaginian Rebel fled for Refuge into Italy, he
should not be suffered to tarry there, so much as one Night.

FROM these Articles of this ancient Treaty, we may observe; 1. That the
 Carthaginians had then made themselves Masters of Sardinia, and a Part of Sicily.
 2. That these Africans were even then afraid of the Romans coming with Ships of
 War, to discover the Coasts of Africa, and make Settlements there. 3. That the
 Romans, tho' confined within a very narrow Tract of Ground, were already for-
 midable to foreign Nations. And 4. That it was then customary to entertain
 Merchants hospitably, who came into any Ports, to trade; and That they paid no
 Taxes for their Goods, but the Fees of the Crier and Secretary. Such was the first
 Treaty the Romans made with Carthage, at the Birth of their Republick; and
 now, when Valerius Corvus, and Popilius Lænas, were Consuls, the Carthaginians
 crossed the Sea, and came to Rome, to confirm this Treaty, and make Additions to
 it. The Romans were now suffered to pass beyond The Fair Promontory; and to
 sail as far as 98 Utica, Carthage, and even to 99 Mastia, and Tarsejum. But they
 were not at liberty to sail beyond these Places, or found Cities, or make Con-
 quests. As to the Carthaginians, the Romans consented to their plundering the
 Cities of Latium, which were not in Confederacy with them; but would not suf-
 fer them to take possession of them, in order to settle there. The Carthaginians
 were forbidden to expose to Sale, any of the Slaves they took from the neigh-
 bouring Nations of Rome, in any of the Roman Ports; all such Slaves brought into
 them, were declared forfeited: And the Romans, on the other hand, laid them-
 selves under the same Engagements, with respect to the Carthaginians, and their
 Allies. It was likewise stipulated, That if the Romans did any Injury to any Peo-
 ple under the Dominion of Carthage, on the Coasts where they touched for fresh
 Water, or Provisions, it should be looked on as a publick Injury to the whole Na-
 tion; That no Roman should trade in Africa, or Sardinia, or continue ashore there
 above five Days; but That, in those Parts of Sicily which belonged to the Cartha-
 ginians, and at Carthage itself, they might sell any Merchandizes, which the Car-
 thaginians were allow'd to purchase. The Romans, on the other hand, allowed
 the Carthaginians the same Privileges of Trade, with respect to the City of Rome.
 So that this second Treaty differed from the first in these Particulars. 1. The Ro-
 mans were permitted to sail beyond The Fair Promontory; which was not al-
 lowed them before. 2. They were forbidden carrying on any Commerce in Sar-
 dinia, or any Part of Africa, except at Carthage, and Utica. As for the Cities of
 Mastia and Tarsejum, to which they were permitted to sail, we know no Cities
 in Africa, of those Names. Were they then two Cities in Syria? If so, what
 Power had the Carthaginians over them, that their Consent should be necessary to
 be had, before the Romans could trade thither? But wherever they were, it is
 plain that Carthage was then Mistress of the Seas, and set what Bounds she pleased
 to the Navigation of other Nations. And we may from hence infer likewise, that
 the two Republicks of Carthage, and Rome, were already afraid of one another.

97 It appears by the Articles of this Treaty, that Carthage had already subdued Sardinia, and a Part of Sicily, as Polybius observes, B. 3. when he mentions this first Alliance which was made between the Romans and Carthaginians.

98 Utica, situated on the Coasts of the Kingdom of Tunis, was the most considerable City in Africa, next to Carthage. It is now called Biserte, and retains no Footsteps of its ancient Grandeur. Old Utica lay between Raza-Musab, or The Cape of

Apollo, and the Mouth of the River Bagrada 52 Miles from Carthage. Some Geographers have thought it formerly stood in the Place where the present Porto Farino now stands; which is in the Neighbourhood of Biserte.

99 Stephen, and Ortelius, place the two Cities of Mastia and Tarsejum, near Hercules's Pillars. We see, the Carthaginians, at this time, peacefully shared the Empire of the Mediterranean, with the Tyrians, their Allies.

and Rivals for Power; tho' *Carthage* appears to have been much the most considerable of the two. All *Sardinia*, and a Part of *Sicily*, was already under the Dominion of the *Carthaginians*, besides the Possessions they had gotten on the Continent of *Africa*. Whereas *Rome* was hitherto wholly employed in multiplying the Number of her Inhabitants; and had increased her Territories but very little. She contained Fighting-Men enough within her own Walls, to equal the Armies of the largest Kingdoms; and found Strength enough in her own Citizens, to enable her to conquer all the rest of the World, in a little time.

THE whole Employment of the present *Consuls*, was to make these Treaties with the Ambassadors of *Carthage*, and offer up Vows to the Gods, to put a Stop to the Contagion. But I am at a Loss to find, by what Accident, or with what secret Political View, they were not suffered to preside in the *Comitia* for electing the chief Magistrates, for the Year ensuing. Nevertheless, it is not to be doubted but they were obliged to nominate a *Dictator*, to hold the Assembly which was to choose new *Consuls*. That Part of the *Marble* indeed, wherein the Name of the *Dictator* was written, is defaced; but there are plain Marks enough upon it, to leave it past Doubt, that a *Dictator* did preside at the Election. The *Centuries* ¹⁰⁰ promoted *C. Plautius Hypsæus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, to the *Consulship*. The latter had never yet been *Consul*, tho' he had been twice *Dictator*. This was a Mark of Distinction, never before paid to any Man's Merit, but his own; and was in it self irregular.

§. XXII. DURING this *Consulship* of *Plautius* and *Manlius*, the Republick enjoyed a Peace, which left the *Consuls* no room to gain themselves any Glory by Feats of Arms. They therefore endeavoured at least to promote the publick Welfare, by wise Regulations: The *Roman* People had long complained of the excessive Usury the Rich had taken for their Money: And *Rome* had formerly endeavoured to remedy this Evil, by sinking Interest to 1 per Cent. But nevertheless, the common People thought it a great Burden to pay this moderate Sum, every Year; and therefore the *Consuls* now reduced Interest to $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. So that only half an *As* Interest was paid for 100 *Asses*. They also gave the Debtors three Years time to discharge their Debts in, by paying one fourth presently, and one fourth each Year after, till the whole was paid. But tho' this Regulation was much for the Ease of the indigent Populace, yet they found themselves still over-burdened, and demanded an absolute Discharge from all their Debts. However, the Senate had, in that Case, more Regard to the Faith of Contracts, than to the Desires of the People; and therefore, without absolutely forbidding all Interest, they reduced it so low, that the Poor had no Reason to complain. Besides, in these Times of publick Peace, the Commons were much eased. They did not pay the Taxes usual in Time of War; nor did their Service in the Army divert the Husbandmen and Artificers from their Work.

§. XXIII. THE next Year, the War broke out again with the *Volsci*, those restless Neighbours, and old Enemies, which *Rome* had subdued, but had not been able entirely to quiet. The People raised the illustrious *Valerius Corvus* to the *Consulship*, for the second time; and one ¹⁰¹ *C. Poetelius Visolus*, for the first. But *Valerius* alone was sufficient to suppress the Insolence of these Rebels, who had so lately taken up Arms anew, against their Conquerors. The City of *Satricum* was the Occasion of this renewing of Hostilities. It was now about thirty Years since it had been destroyed by the *Latins*, upon a Quarrel with the *Volsci*, to whom it belonged. About three Years since, the *Antiates*, who were *Volsci* themselves, had raised it out of its Ashes, planted a Colony there, and both re-built, and re-peopled it. Nor was this all. They had sent Deputies of their own Nation to all the *Latin* Cantons, in order to stir them all up, to appear against *Rome*. *Satricum* was become the Magazine of the *Antiates*, and other *Volsci*; and was to be the Rendezvous, where all the Confederate Troops were to assemble. *Corvus*

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Fast. Capit.

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CCCCVI.
C. PLAUTIUS,
T. MANLIUS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 7. c. 27.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCVII.
VALERIUS
CORVUS, C.
POETELIUS
VISOLUS, Con-
suls.
Liv. B. 7. c. 27.

¹⁰⁰ This is thought to be the first *Consulship* of *Plautius Hypsæus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus Imperator*; tho' they are said to have been now made *Consuls* the second time, in some old Editions of *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*. But the *Fasti Capitolini* put past all doubt. Those two Authors seem to have

confounded *Plautius Hypsæus*, with *Caius Plautius Proculus*, who had been *Consul* before this time.

¹⁰¹ The *Greek Tables*, and those of *Cuspinian*, give *Poetelius* the Surname of *Libo*, as well as that of *Visolus*. *Diodorus* is mistaken, when he puts one *Marcus Pompilius* in his room.

therefore

Year of *R O M E* therefore no sooner was informed of these Motions of the *Volsci*, but he marched from *Rome*, by Order of the Senate; encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Satricum*; prevented the Conjunction of the Confederates; and, without tarrying till the Number of the Enemy was increased, offered Battle to the *Antiates*, the Inhabitants of *Satricum*, and the rest of the *Volsci* who were got together. The latter had immediately hastened to defend *Satricum*, as soon as they understood the *Romans* were taking the Field. To what Length the *Volsci* always carried their Hatred to the *Roman* Republick, is well known; and now, they could no longer govern themselves upon Sight of the Enemy. They immediately gave the *Romans* Battel, in the Neighbourhood of *Satricum*, without tarrying for any Reinforcements. And as we have already observed in general, That the *Volsci* were better at making Incursions, and attacking Parties with Vigour, than at supporting a general Action; so the brave *Consul* found it in this Instance, and immediately routed them. It was natural for the Conquered to fly for Refuge to *Satricum*; and therefore *Corvus* had provided himself with all necessary Machines to storm it. But he no sooner appeared before it, than the *Volsci* began to suspect their Safety there. A Fright seized them, and above 4000 Soldiers, besides a great Number of unarmed Men, surrendered to the Conqueror. Nevertheless, the City was not spared. The *Romans* reduced it to the same Condition, in which the *Latins* had formerly left it. It was burnt, nothing excepted but the Temple of the Goddess *Matuta*, which the *Latins* also had spared, when they burnt *Satricum*. But before the *Romans* set Fire to it, they plundered it, and all the Booty was given to the Soldiers. This Expedition, tho' fortunate, was not universally thought of Importance enough to deserve a Triumph; nevertheless, it was granted to *Valerius Corvus*. His Merit, which was superior to any Honours the Republick could pay him, made the *Romans* profuse of them to Him; in a Case, in which they might have denied them to another. He entered *Rome* in Triumph, on *The Calends of February*, with 4000 Captives before his Chariot. After the Ceremony was over, these Prisoners of War were all sold, for the Benefit of the Publick. Some Historians indeed have been of Opinion, that it was contrary to the Law of Nations, to reduce those Soldiers to Slavery, who had voluntarily surrendered; and have therefore thought that these 4000 Prisoners were only Slaves of *Satricum*, or of the Army of the *Volsci*. But to this it may be answered, That these Soldiers, who were sold to the best Bidder, had not surrendered by Capitulation, but at Discretion; and That therefore it was not unjust in the *Consul*, to make them Slaves.

THIS Triumph of *Valerius Corvus* is said not to have been the only Shew at *Rome*, in this Hero's second *Consulship*; it is said to have been followed by another, which was much more magnificent, and extraordinary. It is pretended, that the 102 *Secular Games* were then celebrated, the second time. It is insisted on, That these *Games* were never celebrated, but every 110 Years; and, That they were first instituted

102 Authors are much divided about the Origin of the *Secular Games*. Some, as *Valerius Antias*, quoted by *Censorinus*, c. 17. *de Die Natali*, pretend, that *Valerius Poplicola* established them at *Rome*, in the Year of *Rome* 245, after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*. Others, and particularly *Varro*, speaks of the Institution of these *Games*, in such a manner, as seems to imply they were of later Date, than the 245th Year of *Rome*. His Account of them is this. The *Romans* were much alarmed, by several Prodigies, and chiefly by Lightning which fell upon the Wall and Towers between the Gates *Esquilina*, and *Collina*. In this general Consternation, the *Decemviri* consulted the *Sybilline* Books, as usual. The Answer was, That in order to appease the Gods, *The Terentine Games* must be celebrated, in the *Campus Martius*, in Honour to *Pluto*, and *Proserpine*; black Victims must be offered up to them; and this Ceremony be renewed every hundred Years. But whatever was the Origin of the *Secular Games*, we will confine our selves strictly to the Testimony of the *Fasti Capitolini*. The Author of these *Fasti* had doubtless consulted the Registers of the *Quindecimviri* established by *Augustus Caesar*, to preside in religious

Affairs. And we therefore, upon the Credit of these ancient Annals, fix the first *Secular Games* to the Year of *Rome* 297, and the second to the Year 407. *Censorinus*, and *Zosimus*, are the only Authors, who have given us a particular Account of the Celebration of these *Games*. The latter speaks thus of them, in a Fragment of his History. They were called *Secular*, says he, because renewed only once every Age. *Valesius Valesius*, who descended from the *Valerian* Family, and was a famous Man among the *Sabines*, from whom he originally descended, was the first Occasion of the Institution of this Festival. He had a Wood before his House, the finest Trees in which were burnt to Ashes with Lightning. Soon after, his Children were seized with a Distemper which the Physicians thought incurable. In this Extremity therefore, he had Recourse to the *Aruspices*: Who answered him, That the Gods were enraged. In this Fear therefore he and his Wife threw themselves at the Feet of a Statue of *Vesta*, and offered to sacrifice both their own Lives to the Goddess, to save those of their Children. *Valesius* turning his Eyes towards the Wood which had been burnt, imagined he heard a Voice, which commanded him to carry the sick Children to *Terentium*.

instituted in *Rome*, in the Year of *Rome* 297; and thence it is inferred, That the second time they were celebrated after their Institution, must have been in the Consulship of *Valerius Corvus*, and *C. Pætelius*. But this Tradition, which has no better Foundation, than the obscure Words of one single Author of Antiquity, is not so certain, as to remove all Doubt.

Censorin. in libello. de die Natali. c. 14.

§. XXIV. THE War with the *Volsci* was no sooner ended, but a small Nation in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, ventured to try its Strength with her. The *Aurunci*, whom the *Greeks* often called *Ausoniæ*, because they were a Part of the great Nation of the *Ausones*, who gave all *Italy* the Name of *Ausonia*, by which it was some time called; the *Aurunci*, I say, were a little Nation, on the Confines of *Latium*, and upon the Coasts of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. Their Country was watered by the *Liris*, now called the *Garigliano*; and the *Volsci* were their Neighbours, to the North. These *Aurunci* were, no doubt, afraid, that the *Romans*, after they had completed the Conquests of the *Volsci*, would fall upon them, and enslave

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DORSO, SERVIVS
SULPICIVS.
Consuls.

entum, and give them some of the Water of the *Tyber* to drink, after it had been warmed on a Fire burning on an Altar of *Pluto*, and *Proserpine*. The perplexity into which he was thrown by this pretended Oracle, the Meaning of which he could not understand, obliged him to address himself to the *Oruspices* to unriddle it. And they advised him to obey it, tho' they understood nothing of the Matter. He therefore embarked on the *Tyber* with his Children; but the excessive Heat forced him to bring his Bark to a Part of the Shore where the Stream was not so rapid: and there he stopped, near a Shepherd's Hut, who told him, that the Place he was in, was called *Tarentum*. As soon therefore as he landed, he lighted a Fire, warmed some Water, and gave it to his Children. As soon as they had drank they fell asleep, and awaked in perfect Health. And they told their Father, that a Man of a majestic Stature, and an Air of something more than a man, had appeared to them in their Sleep, and ordered them to offer up black Victims to *Pluto*, and *Proserpine*, and to spend three Days and Nights singing and Dancing, in Honour of these Divinities, in that Part of the *Campus Martius*, which was appointed for Horse-Racing. *Valerius* thereupon immediately resolved to lay the Foundations of an Altar there. But he had not dug far into the ground, before he found an Altar, with this Inscription,

TO PLUTO,
AND TO PROSERPINE.

As removed all *Valesius's* Doubts, and he offered black Victims on the Altar he had found underground, and stayed three Nights in the same Place, he was directed. We have already mentioned a fabulous Story, *Vol. I. Page 223. Note 85.* as it is told by *Valerius Maximus*, who mentions several circumstances, different from those of *Zozimus*. The latter adds, that the Altar *Valesius* dug up had been erected on a remarkable Occasion. When he was at War with the City of *Alba*, and the two Armies were ready to engage, there suddenly appeared a Man clothed in black Skins, whose Aspect was terrible. He gave Orders, with a frightful voice, as from *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, that Sacrifices should be offered under Ground. The *Romans*, surprized at the Apparition, immediately built a subterraneous Altar, 20 Foot deep; and after offering sacrifices on it, covered it, that it might not be known where it lay. *Valesius*, who first dug up the Altar, was from that time called *Manius Valesius Tarentinus*; *Manius*, from the *Latin* Word *Manes*, which signifies the infernal Gods; and *Valesius* and *Tarentinus*, in Allusion to the Cure of his Children, and the Place of it. The first Year after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, the Consul *Publius Valerius Poplicola*, had also Recourse to the same Divinities, at a Time when the Plague made

great Ravages in *Rome*. He offered up a black Ox, and a black Cow, to *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, upon which the Contagion ceased. And *Poplicola*, in Memory of this Blessing, ordered this Inscription to be engraven on the Altar.

PUBLIVS VALERIVS POPLICOLA CONSECRATED THE FIRE OF THE FIELD OF MARS, TO PLUTO AND PROSERPINE, AND INSTITUTED GAMES, IN HONOUR TO THESE GODS, AND FOR THE DELIVERANCE OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

Afterwards, when *Rome* was visited with several Calamities, the same Sacrifices were renewed, in the Consulship of *Marcus Potitus*, and in the Year of *Rome* 352. The Senate ordered the *Sybilline* Books to be consulted. Those who kept them answered, that in order to remove the Calamities of the Republick, it was necessary to offer Sacrifices to *Pluto* and *Proserpine*. The Place where the Altar dedicated to them lay, was sought for, the Altar was found, and consecrated anew. The usual Sacrifices on this Occasion were offered upon it; the Gods became propitious to the *Roman* People, and removed their Calamities. After this, the *Romans* neglected to renew these Sacrifices for a long Course of Years, and from thence, says the *Pagan Historian*, came the Misfortunes which befel *Rome*, in *Augustus's* Reign. The Emperor therefore, in order to appease the angry Gods, ordered these Games to be renewed, in the Consulship of *Lucius Censorinus*, and *Caius Sabinus*. The *Sybilline* Books were consulted, and the *Quindecimviri* declared the Order and Time appointed for these Sacrifices by the *Sybil*. From this long Story of *Zozimus* we shall observe, 1st. The blind Credulity of the Author, who vouches for a fabulous Story, which a ridiculous Superstition had authorized among the *Romans*. 2^{dly}. The Vanity of the Pagan Worship. And, 3^{dly}. The Incorrectness of *Zozimus's* Relation, who puts Consuls in the Year of *Rome* 352, instead of *Military Tribunes*, who then governed the Republick. However, the Fact of the pretended miraculous Cure of *Valesius's* Children, gained Credit among the People, and gave Birth to the *Secular Games*. It was necessary to enlarge on the Origin of these Games, in order to give the Reader a full Account of it. As to the Preparations for them, the Order, Pomp, and Rites, observed in this Solemnity, we shall give a true Account of them, when we come to the Ages, wherein they were celebrated with most Magnificence; and shall at present only observe two things. 1st. That the *Romans* did not always wait a whole Age before they renewed the *Secular Games*, as will appear by the Sequel of this History. And, 2^{dly}. That that Part of the *Campus Martius*, which was called *Terentium*, or *Tarentum*, took its Name from the Verb *Tero*, because the *Tyber* beat against it, and insensibly wore away the Earth of it.

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CCCCVIII.
M. FABIVS
DORSO, SERV.
SULPICIUS,
Consuls.

L. FURIUS,
Dictator.

Liv. B. 7. c. 28.

them. They therefore began first, and declared War with the *Romans*, by the Devastations they committed in their Lands. Two *Patricians*, *M. Fabius Dorso*, and *Sulpicius Camerinus*, were then *Consuls*: and the *Aurunci* struck the Republic with more Fear than they expected, or than became the *Romans*, to an Enemy so little formidable. They fancied, they were going to engage with all the Cities of *Latium*, whom they imagined to be entred into secret Treaties with the *Aurunci*: and therefore the *Consuls* were forced by the Senate to nominate a *Dictator*, as in Times of most imminent Danger. *L. Furius* was promoted to the *Dictatorship*, and *Cn. Manlius*, surnamed *Imperiosus*, to the Command of the Horse. The Fright was so great in *Rome*, that all the Courts of Justice were shut up, and the Levies were raised, with the utmost Rigour, and no Excuses admitted. The *Legions* were ordered to march against this new Enemy in all haste, as soon as they were completed; and the *Romans* were not sensible of the Weakness of the *Aurunci*, till they came in sight of them. They then appeared only like a Party of Robbers, who had rashly ventured to make Incursions upon their Neighbours. But nevertheless, the *Dictator* did not all at once lay aside his Suspicion, that this Handful of Men were assisted with the Troops of a more considerable Nation; and when he saw these *Aurunci* themselves offer him Battel, it confirmed him in it. The Battel was fought with Courage on both Sides: and as for the *Aurunci*, they must have performed Wonders in it, in point of Valour, whatever that Historian may say of them, who is the only one that mentions the Action. According to his own Account, the *Dictator* was forced to have recourse to the Protection of his Gods, in the Heat of the Battel. He made a Vow to build a Temple to *Juno Moneta*; which was the Name given to the Queen of the Gods, a little time before *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*. It was pretended, that a Voice accompanied with an Earthquake, came from *Juno's* Temple, which gave the *Romans* Warning or Advice, to avert the Misfortune which threatned them, by offering a Sow with young; and from the Verb *monere*, which signifies, to forewarn, or admonish. *Juno* was called *Moneta*. The *Dictator Furius* promised the Goddess, that he would build her a Temple, under the particular Title of *Moneta*. As for the *Aurunci*, they were too weak to resist the Forces of the *Romans*; in spite of their Valour, they were vanquished. *Furius* returned victorious to *Rome*: And tho' he did not receive the Honours of a Triumph, he at least got leave to perform his

103 *Cicero*, B. 1. de *Divin.* gives this Account of the Surname of *Moneta*, which was given to *Juno*, a little before *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*. *Scriptum a multis, cum terra motus factus est, vocem exstitisse a Junonis Templo quod erat in arce, ut de sua plena fieret procuratio. Quo circa Junonem illam appellatam MONETAM.* *Suidas* indeed gives us another Etymology of it. He pretends, that *Juno* was called *MONETA*, because the *Romans* had been protected by this Goddess, in their War with *Pyrrhus*; at a time when they were in extreme Want of Money, and sought her Protection. To which he adds, that in Memory of the Service she had done them, they built her a Temple, with this Title, *JUNONI MONETÆ*, wherein the publick Money was afterwards kept. But the Testimonies of *Cicero*, *Livy*, and other Historians, ought to have more Weight than that of *Suidas*. *Ovid's Fasti* agree with the History.

*Arce quoque ex summa Junoni templa Moneta
Ex voto memorant facta Camille, tuo.
Ante domus fuerat Manli, qui Gallica quondam
A Capitolino reppulit arma Jove.* B. 6.

Nevertheless, it is true that there was more than one Temple dedicated to *Juno MONETA*, in *Rome*. That mentioned by *Tully*, in the Place quoted above, was in the *Capitol*, built, as is supposed, upon the Foundations of *Titus Tatius's* House; and was in being, during the Wars of the *Gauls* with the *Romans*. The Temple therefore which was erected and dedicated to the same Goddess, with the Title of *Moneta*, in this 408th Year of *Rome*, must have been different from the former, and of

later date. *Val. Max.* B. 1. c. 8. §. 3. mentions likewise another Temple, built in Honour to this Goddess, on the Hill *Aventinus*. But it appears not to have been built, till long after the two former. Immediately after the taking of *Veii* by *Camillus*, says this Historian, there was an Image of *Juno Moneta*, found in that City, for which the Inhabitants had a particular Veneration. As the Soldiers were preparing to remove this Statue out of the Nich, by their General's Order, with Design to carry it to *Rome*, one of them asked the Goddess whether she was willing to take that Journey. Upon which she immediately answered, that she was willing to leave her first Habitation, and to be carried to another Place. Then the Jest was soon turned into Admiration, and the Soldiers, struck with Respect and Astonishment, took particular Care of the sacred Depositum, thinking that *Juno* her self was come down from Heaven. The Image was set up in the Part of the Hill *Aventinus*, where the Temple dedicated to that Goddess now stands. *Capit. a Fr. Camillo Veis, milites jussu imperatoris simulacrum Junonis Monetae, quod ibi precipua religione cultum erat, in urbem trahaturi, sede sua movere conabantur. Quorum ab uno per jocum interrogata Dea, an Roma migrare vellet, velle se respondit. Hac voce audientibus in admirationem versus est. Jamque non solum lacrum, sed ipsam caelo Junonem petitam, per se credentes, lati in ea parte montis Aventini, nunc templum ejus cernimus, collocaverunt.* *Veientes* therefore worshiped a *Juno*, which was called *Moneta*, as well as the *Romans*: so that the Worship of this Goddess was not peculiar to the latter.

Vow, and then laid down his *Dictatorship*. The Senate ordered, that *Duumviri* should be chosen in the *Comitia by Tribes*, to inspect the Building of the Temple of *Juno Moneta*. They built this Temple on the *Capitol*, in the same Place where the House of the rebellious *Manlius* had stood: and in it were kept those 104 mysterious Books, written on Cloth, in which the Fate of *Rome* was pretended to be foretold. Afterwards, the Temple of *Juno Moneta* became 105 a publick Mint, where the *Romans* coined their Money; and from thence the Metals, which were stamped for current Coin in Trade, took the Name of *Moneta*, or *Money*. But when the *Dictator* laid down his Office, he still left room for the two *Consuls*, *Fabius* and *Sulpicius*, who returned to their Office, to gain themselves Glory. They made use of the Army he had commanded, led it against the *Volsci*, and after having attacked them at a time when they least expected it, took from them the City of 106 *Sora*. So that these Advantages, all gained immediately one upon another, did Honour to the *Consuls* of the Year, and to the *Dictator*, who had been substituted in their room.

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R O M E
CCCCVIII.
M. FURIUS
DORSO, SERV.
SULPICIUS,
Consuls.
Aul. Gel. B. 5.
c. 17. and Ovid
Fast. 6.

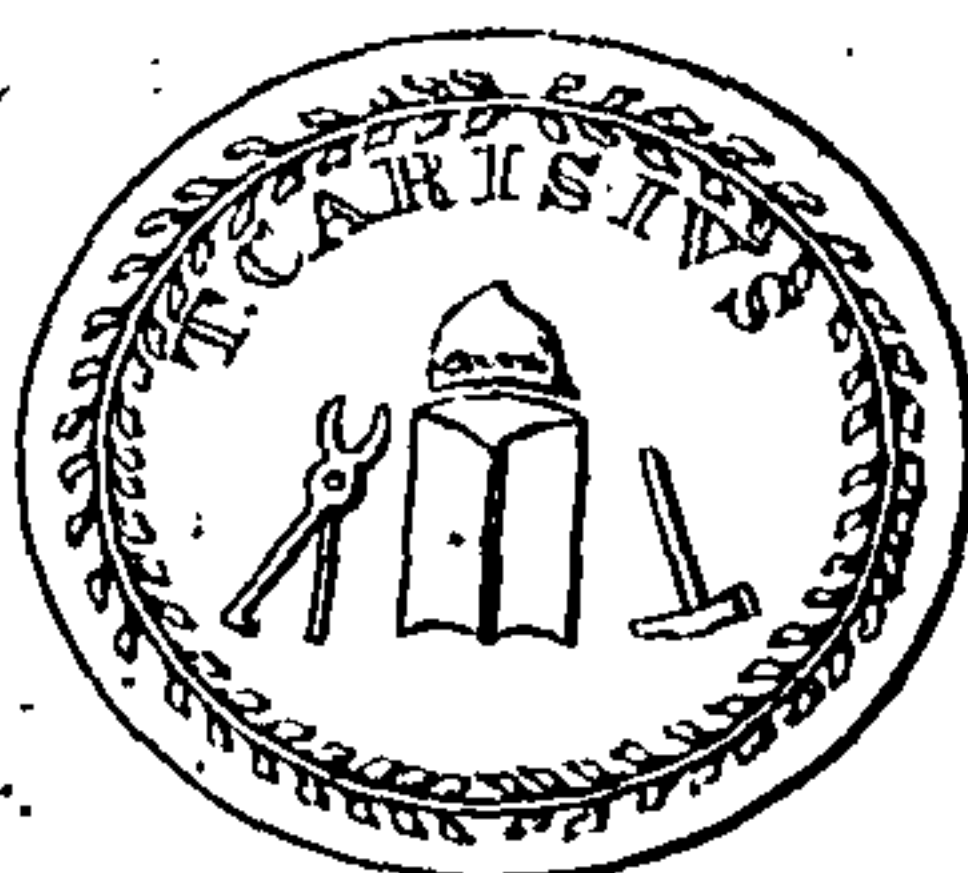
§. XXV. IN the mean time, the Building of the Temple of *Juno Moneta*, advanced so fast, that it was finished in one Year; and the new *Consuls*, *C. Manius Rutilus*, and *T. Manlius Imperiosus*, dedicated it, on *The Calends of June*. This was the third *Consulship*, of the former; and the second, of the latter. But as for the Regards the *Romans* paid the new Goddess, they seem only to have filled them with more Superstition. Immediately after the Consecration of the Temple, they fancied, that *Juno*, agreeably to her Title of *Moneta*, had given the Republick such wholesome *Admonitions*, by Prodigies, as it was dangerous to neglect. In short, there then fell Hail of so large a Size, and so hard, that it was easy to take it for Stones. Besides, it was so very dark in *Rome*, that great Part of the Day seemed to be turned into Night. This was enough to strike Terror into a People, who made the observing fortuitous Events a Part of their Religion; and who even took pleasure in indulging their Fears of their false Gods: And in this general Un-
safety, the Republick had recourse to her usual Remedy, in Times of general Alarms. She nominated a *Dictator*; as if the Authority of a Sovereign had been necessary to appease Heaven, as to fight the Enemies of the State. *P. Valerius Poplicola* was the *Dictator* the *Consuls* nominated; and he chose *Q. Fabius Ambustus* to be his General of Horse. The Design of this 107 uncommon *Dictatorship*, was, that this Six-Months-Monarch should order the *Ferie Latine* to be so-

Year of
R O M E
CCCCIX.
C. MANIUS
RUTILUS, T.
MANLIUS IM-
PERIOSUS,
Consuls.
Macrob. Sat.
B. 1. c. 12.
Liv. B. 7. c. 28.
Orosius, B. 3.
c. 7.

Fast. Capit.



Silver.



101 These mysterious Books contained nothing but the Annals of the Republick, from the Foundation of *Rome*, i. e. a continued Series of the fortunate and unfortunate Events which had befallen the State; a List of the Magistrates of each Year; and, in a word, whatever related to Religion, Policy, the Progress, Alteration, Revolutions, Losses, Graces, new Settlements, Laws, and Treaties, of the *Romans*; and all according to the Order of the Years. These were called the Books of the Destinies of *Rome*; or rather, faithful and chronological Memoirs of all Facts of Importance relating to it. 105 The Medal of the *Carisian* Family, which is represented above, has perpetuated the Memory of the Worship which was paid to *Juno*, under the Name of *Moneta*. On one Side of it, is the Head of this Goddess, the Guardian of the Money which used to be deposited in her Temple. On the Reverse are, an Hammer, Pinchers, Anvil, and Die, necessary Instruments for Coining, of which

CARISIUS probably had the Superintendence and Direction.

106 The City of *Sora*, in the Territory of the *Volsci*, stood on the right Bank of the *Liris*, or *Gargigliano*, on the Confines of the Country of the *Hernici*, and *Marsi*, above the Place where it joins the River formerly called *Fibrenus*, which is thought to be the present *Fiume della Posta*. *Sora* retains its first Name to this Day. In the Neighbourhood of this City, is the Hill of *Sora*, now called *Monte di Tescio Solido*. Under this Hill there is, according to *Kircher*, a subterraneous Cave, like a Vault, into which the Rain Water passes thro' the Earth, and freezes into Icicles, as it is dropping down; so that this Cave supplies the Neighbourhood with great Plenty of Ice, in the Midst of the hottest Summers.

107 This *Dictator* exercised an almost absolute Authority, as long as these Festivals lasted: But his *Dictatorship* expired with the Solemnity.

lemnized.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCIX.
C. MANIUS
RUTILUS, T.
MANLIUS IM-
PERIOSUS,
Consuls.

lemnized. By which we are, as I conceive, to understand, that the Intention of the Republick was to place a Man at the Head of it, who should have Credit enough, to be able to institute Festivals, not only in *Rome*, but in all *Latium*; in order to appease the Wrath of the Gods, with which the People thought themselves threatned. And the *Dictator* accordingly instituted *Ferie*, or Festival-Days, and took care to see them duly observed. They were solemnized by *Supplications*; i. e. the Temples were opened, Victims slain there, the Senate marched to them in Procession, and the People visited them, at certain times, and stated Hours. Nay, the *Dictator's* Orders extended yet farther. The Temples in *Rome* were not only frequented by the *Roman Tribes*, both of City and Country; but People were brought from the neighbouring Nations to offer up their Sacrifices and Prayers in them: And they also had their distinct *Ferie*, and fixed Times of *Supplication*. In short, all *Latium* seemed to join with the *Romans*, in their Acts of Piety, and to share the publick Uneasiness. And it was perhaps with the same View of appeasing the Wrath of the Gods, that the *Dictator* revenged the People of the Injustice of the Usurers. They were cited to appear before the *Ædiles*, and severe Sentences were passed upon them. Thus the *Romans* spent near a Year, in taking Advantage of the pretended Admonitions of an imaginary Goddess; and preserving themselves from the fancied Threatnings of Heaven.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XVI.

§. I. **H**ITHERTO the *Roman* Valour had scarce shewn it self beyond *Old* Year of
and *New Latium*. *Old Latium* was bounded, to the North, by the *R O M E*
River *Arno*; to the South, by the *Pomptin* Marshes, and the City of *CCCCX.*
Circæum; to the East, by Mount *Algidus*, near *Alba Longa*; and to the West, by *M. VALERIUS*
the *Tyber*, which divided it from *Hetruria*. The *Romans* had not yet extended *CORVUS, COR-*
their Frontiers any farther beyond this River, than the Conquests of the Great *NELIUS COS-*
Caillus; that is, any farther into the Country of the *Hetrurians*, than *Veii* and *sus, Consuls.*
Cere. Afterwards, the *Romans* gave the Name of *New Latium*, to the Countries
they had conquered on the East Side of their Capital, *i. e.* to the United Territo-
ries of the *Æqui*, *Hernici*, *Volsci*, and *Aurunci*. As these People, who had been
entirely subdued, were admitted into the same Alliance the *Romans* had entered into
with the old *Latins*, they therefore were also called *Latins*, and their Countries,
New Latium. Within these narrow Limits did *Rome* exercise her Arms and her
virtue, for above 400 Years. Having been sometimes engaged in subduing these
wre Neighbours, sometimes in keeping them in Subjection, sometimes in punish-
ing their Revolts, she was always at War with the same Enemies, confined within
a narrow Circle, and had not yet extended her Conquests beyond the two *Latiums*.
Nay, the *Roman* Republick had scarce Knowledge of the Nations that bordered
upon these Limits. The *Sammites* were the only People which had made a Sort of
Treaty of Union with the *Romans*; but without any Dependence upon them, or
becoming tributary to them: and they, all on a sudden, and by mere Accident,
became their Enemies. And as the *Sammites* were both Powerful and Brave, they
held out a great while, against all the Efforts of *Rome*. Some pretend the *Romans*
did not subdue them in less than fifty Years, others not in less than seventy; and it
is at least certain, that the *Roman* Republick found them an Enemy worthy of her.
It was by them she began the Conquest of the East Side of *Italy*, and thereby
opened the Way for extending her Victories into *Africa*, and *Asia*. Insomuch that
the War the *Romans* made with the *Sammites*, is often represented by the Histori-
ans, as the *Epocha* from which the Beginning of their Grandeur is to be dated.
These Brave Enemies may indeed be said to have perfected the Valour and mili-
tary Skill of the *Romans*; to have brought them into great Dangers; and furnished
their Generals with Matter for many Triumphs. These Times which we are now
entering on, will afford us a little more Light than the former; and in them we
shall see the Republick make a swifter Progress.

THE *Dictator* for the preceding Year brought the Republick to an *Interregnum*.
For which it is not easy to give a probable Account, unless it was in order to get
the *Patricians* again chosen *Consuls*, without the Scandal of having made an At-
tempt against the *Licinian* Law. The Presidents of the *Interregnum*, were the Pre-
sidents of the *Comitia by Centuries* for electing *Consuls*; wherein *M. Valerius* ¹ *Cor-*
vus was raised to the *Consulship*, a third time; and *Cornelius Cossus*, surnamed *Ar-*
ruina, was made his Collegue. Providence seems to have taken Pleasure in pro-
moting *Valerius* to this Dignity, in order to furnish *Rome* with an able General to

¹ This 410th Year of *Rome*, was the third Con-
sulship of *Marcus Valerius Corvus*; and the first, of
this *Cornelius Cossus Aruina*. The Author of *The*
VOL. II.

Lives of Illustrious Men, instead of *Corvus*, puts
Maximus. The last Surname was indeed pretty
common in the *Valerian* Family.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCX.

M. VALERIUS
CORVUS, COR-
NELIUS COS-
SUS, Consuls.
Auth. of the
Lives of Illust.
Men, c. 26.

conduct the War, she was going to engage in. He was of that Branch of the *Valerii*, who took the Surname of *Maximus*, and descended from the Great *Poplicola*. The Adventure of the Raven, which had perched upon his Head, and defended him against the proud *Gaul*, had gained him great Veneration among the *Legions*, who looked on him as a Commander immediately under the Protection of Heaven. And it must be owned, that the Reputation he had acquired by Accident, or Craft, he maintained by Valour, and Wisdom. His Collegue was as much inferior to him in Merit, as in Reputation. Under these *Consuls*, the Enmity between the *Romans* and *Samnites* broke out. But the Rupture did not proceed from any private Interest, in either of the two Nations, or from the mutual Jealousies of both. A City, which was then almost unknown to the *Romans*, sowed the Discord between them, and changed their Alliance into lasting Enmities and Hatred.

S. II. THE ² *Sidicini*, that is, the People of *Aufonia*, who dwelt beyond the *Liris*, in the Neighbourhood of *New Latium*, and whose chief City was ³ *Teanum*, were at War with the *Samnites*. The latter were unjustly attempting the Conquest of a Country, which was inferior to them in Strength and Power. The Oppressed therefore had recourse to their Neighbours; and the People of *Campania* took Arms in favour of the *Sidicini*. It was their Interest to stop the Progress of the *Samnites*. But it unfortunately happened, that the Allies the *Sidicini* made, had no Bravery. *Capua* ⁴ was the Capital of *Campania*, which is very well known to have been a City of Pleasure. The very Air Men breathed in it, inclined them to Effeminacy; and the Fruitfulness of the Country, joined with the fine Temperature of the Climate, enervated the Courage of its Inhabitants. These weak Allies of the *Sidicini* were easily defeated by the *Samnites*, whom a long Experience in War, had made very much superior to them. The People of *Campania* therefore felt all the Weight of the War, which had not been begun with them: The *Samnites* came and fell upon them with all their Forces. They found it would be more for their Interest, to fight these new Enemies, among whom they would find a richer Country to plunder, and a larger Conquest to make: and therefore thought no more of the *Sidicini*, but fell upon *Campania*. The *Samnite* Army was already

² The Country of the *Sidicini*, beyond the *Liris*, or *Garigliano*, and on this Side the *Vulturnus*. now *Volturno*, was bounded to the West, by the Territory of the *Volscei*; to the East, by that of the *Aurunci*; to the South, by *Campania*, and the *Tyrrhenian* Sea; to the North, by a Part of *Samnium*. This Country is at present one of the Western Parts of *Terra di Lavoro*.

³ *Teanum* stood in *The Latin Way*, on the Confines of the Territory of *Calenum*. It is now called *Tiano*. We must take care not to confound this City with another *Teanum*, which lay in *Apulia*. In order to distinguish them, that here spoken of, was called *Teanum Sidicinum*. *Tully* observes this Distinction. *Ego Capuam veni, eo ipso die, quo Tu Teanum Sidicino profectus es* B. 8. ad *Attic. Ep.* 13. *Strabo*, B. 5. makes this one of the most considerable Cities in the South of *Italy*. All the other Cities, says he, are but Villages, in comparison of *Capua*; except the City of *Teanum*, the Capital of the Territory of the *Sidicini*.

⁴ *Capua*, formerly the Capital of *Campania*, stood in that Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which now makes a Part of *Terra di Lavoro*; and of which *Pliny* says, *Summum ibi Liberi Patris cum Cerere certamen*. Some ancient Authors pretend, it took its Name from the Openness of the Country, a *Campestribus Locis*, as we learn from *Livy*, B. 4. *Pergrina, res sed memoria digna traditur eo anno facta, Vulturnum Etruscorum Urbem, quæ nunc Capua est, ab Samnitibus captam, Capuamque, ab Dutæ eorum Capye, vel quod propius vero est, a Campestri Loco, appellatam*. So that, according to him, 1. *Capua* was a City built by the ancient *Hetrurians*: And 2. It was in the earliest Times call'd *Vulturnum*; (probably, because in the Neighbourhood of the River *Vulturnus*;) till such time as it was ta-

ken by the *Samnites*, under the Command of *Capys*, who changed its first Name of *Vulturnum*, into that of *Capua*. *Velleius*, upon the Credit of some ancient Authors, says, it was built by the *Tusci*, or *Hetrurians*, above forty eight Years before *Rome*. At least, there is reason to infer as much from his Calculation. The *Hetrurians*, says he, laid the Foundations of this City 830 Years ago. Now he wrote, and dedicated his History to *Marcus Fincius Quartinus*, when he, and *Caius Cassius Longinus* were *Consuls*; i. e. in the 780th Year of *Rome*, according to his way of reckoning. So that there is near fifty Years difference between the two Epochas. *Marcus Cato*, as quoted by *Velleius*, thought *Capua* was about 260 Years older than *Rome*. According to *Virgil*, *Capys*, one of *Aeneas*'s Companions, was the Founder of this City,

Et Capys, hinc nomen Campanæ ducitur Urbi.

And at this rate, it must have been several Ages older than the Historians make it. According to some Writers, it was first inhabited by the *Oscei*, who were driven away by the *Gumani*, and afterwards came and possessed themselves of it a second time. However, it is certain, *Capua* was one of the most famous Cities in *Italy*. It even rivalled *Rome* and *Carthage* for Grandeur. The Sweetness of its Air, and Fruitfulness of its Soil, gave it the Name of *The Delicious City*. It afterwards became so powerful, as even to give the *Romans* Jealousy. *Capua*, which subsists to this day, was placed on the left Side of the *Vulturnus*, about two Miles from the *Old*, where are yet to be seen ample Proofs of its ancient Magnificence, in the stately Ruins, of old Theatres, Portico's, Palaces, Aqueducts, Reservoirs, and Vaults under Ground, &c.

in the Field, and posted itself on Mount *Tifata*, from whence it threatened *Capua*, which that Mount overlooked. After this, the *Samnites* marched down in good Order, to that fine Plain, which lies between *Capua*, and that Mountain: and there a Battel was fought, in which the *Capuans* were routed, and overcome, and forced to fly within their Walls for Refuge. In this Extremity of Danger therefore, which threatened this fine City, which was as big as *Rome*, or *Carthage*, the Inhabitants of it sent a Deputation to the *Romans*, to implore their Assistance. And the Republick was in all probability delighted, to see a neighbouring Nation at her Feet, which had not experienced her Valour, and which she hoped to bring into Subjection to her. When the Deputies were admitted into the Senate, they made this Speech. *The Design of our Embassy, Conscript Fathers, is to implore your Assistance for the present, and to promise you a perpetual Friendship for the future. Had we offered you our Alliance in our Prosperity, it would neither have been so indissoluble in itself, nor so advantageous to you. We should then have treated with you as Equals, and our Engagements to you would not have laid us under any Obligation to retain a continual Remembrance of your Favours. But now, that we seek Assistance from you, in our Distress, the Relief your Compassion shall reach out to us, will put it out of our Power, ever to separate from you, without Ingratitude. The Samnites indeed have been courting you, and obtained your Good-Will before us; but ought your Engagements with them to exclude us from your Alliance? You have hitherto always thought the Advances Foreigners have made to you, a sufficient Reason for you to receive them into your Friendship. We may venture to say, the Capuans are not altogether unworthy of it. It's true, we have no great reason to boast of our Advantages, in the present Condition to which the War has reduced us; but nevertheless, it is as true, that next to Rome, scarce any City has a more fruitful Territory, or is more considerable, than Capua. Besides, we lay behind the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, your eternal Enemies; and in their future Enterprizes against you, they will have us at their Backs; and perhaps give us an Opportunity of returning you the Succour, as you shall have lent us. And when your Courage shall have subdued the Countries between us and you, which will, without doubt, soon happen, we shall then be both your Neighbours and Allies. How hard is our Fate! We are under an absolute Necessity, of either becoming subject to the Romans, as Friends; or the Samnites, as Enemies. Consider therefore, whether you had rather have Campania subject to the Samnites, or yourselves. You generally assist all the Cities who fly to you for Protection, with great Humanity; and none ever more justly deserved it, than Capua. She is oppressed for having relieved her Neighbours, and assisted them beyond her Strength. It was indeed very much our Interest to join with the *Sidicini*. The Samnites would infallibly have fallen upon us, after they had conquered *Teanum*, we being the chief Objects of their Ambition. This is now very evident from past Facts. As soon as they had a Pretence to attack us, they were not content with revenging themselves on us, near *Teanum*; but fought a second Battel with us, at the Gates of *Capua*. Our Lands are exposed to their Robberies; and our Farms are become a Prey to the Soldiers who plunder them, and the Flames which consume them. Only *Capua* remains yet untouched. But the Samnites are going to lay Siege to it; and either they will in their Rage destroy it, or out of Ambition keep it to themselves. Do you therefore, Romans, make this City yours. We chuse rather to see you Masters of it, in a friendly manner; than to see an Enemy reigning there, with the Sword, and with Violence. Will not the Conquest of *Capua* induce you to enter into a War? But why do I say, a War? The bare Report of your having promised to assist us, will change their Contempt of us into Terror; and the bare Shadow of your Protection throw them into a Consternation. And then, all our Lands will be yours. You will be Masters of our Country, and the Gates and Houses of the *Capuans* will always be open to receive you,*

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M. VALERIUS
CORVUS, COR-
NELIUS COS-
SUS, Consuls.
Flor. B. 1. c. 16.

Liv. B. 7. c. 30.

Old *Capua* was overlooked by Mount *Tifata*, which stood in the Neighbourhood of this City; and of that, which is now called *Caserta*. This Mount is now known by the Name of *Il Monte san Vito*. The Southern Part of Mount *Tifata*, which lay towards Old *Capua*, is called in the Language of the present Natives, *Montagnuola*. It was there,

according to *Hollstenius*, that *Hannibal* pitched his Camp. On the Eastern Summit of this Mountain, there was a Temple erected to *Jupiter*, and on the Western, one to *Diana*; as is conjectured from two Inscriptions which time has spared, and which run thus, *JOVIS TIFATINUS.... AD DIANAM*.

We

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CORVUS, COR-
NELIUS COS-
SUS, Consuls.

We shall look upon you as our Founders, our Defenders, nay, our tutelary Gods. None of your Colonies will be more firmly attached to you, than Capua. And in order to obtain all these Advantages, you need only give us some Sign, some slight Mark of your Protection. Give us but reason to hope, you will come and relieve Capua, and you will fill the Minds of all its Inhabitants with Gladness. With what Earnestness did they attend us to the Gates of their City, when we begun our Journey hither! What Vows did they make to the Gods! What Floods of Tears did they shed at our Departure! And with what Impatience do they expect our Return! Your Answer to us, will either fill them with Joy, or Consternation. A favourable Decree will make us your Friends and Allies for ever; a contrary one, will ruin, and utterly destroy us.

THIS Speech ended, the Deputies were ordered to withdraw, that the Senators might deliberate on their Message, and determine, with Freedom. They were indeed very sensible, what an Advantage it would be to the Republick, to secure to itself one of the largest, most populous, and richest, Cities in *Italy*; to become Mistress of a fruitful Province, which would supply *Rome* with Plenty of all sorts; and of a maritime Country, which abounded with good Ports, to enrich her by Commerce. But the Faith of ancient Treaties prevailed over all these Considerations of Interest. They remembered, that the *Samnites* were Friends to the *Romans*, before the *Campani* came to implore her Assistance. They feared the Gods, who are the Avengers of the Faith of Treaties, and had regard to that great Reputation which the *Romans* had hitherto maintained for Probity. Nevertheless, they resolved not utterly to neglect the Interests of an unhappy People. The Consul *Valerius* reported the Resolutions of the Senate to the *Capuan* Ambassadors, in these Words. *The Senate of Rome think you worthy of their Protection. But nevertheless, we must have regard to our old Friendship with the Samnites, while we assist you. We therefore absolutely refuse to take Arms in your Favour: this would be offensive to the Gods. But we will send, and intreat the Samnites our Friends, to put a stop to their Hostilities, and lay down their Arms. Which, tho' a Decree, somewhat favourable to the Capuans, yet the Deputies could not think this enough to avert the Misfortunes with which their City was threatned. And therefore, having yet spoken only of an Alliance and Confederacy with the Romans, they now proceeded further. They, agreeably to the Powers they had been invested with by the Senate of Capua, made this Declaration. Since the Romans are scrupulous of openly attacking the Samnites, contrary to the Faith of their Treaties; let them at least not be afraid to defend their own Property, against the Usurpation of their Enemies. Capua and Campania are theirs. Romans, we this day subject them to your Jurisdiction. The Capuans, and Campani, their Cities, their Territories, their Lands, their Temples, and all that belongs to them, whether sacred or profane, is yours. We give ourselves up to you, and surrender all we have into your Hands. From this time therefore, all our Losses will be yours. And this Donation in due Form, by Ambassadors authorized to make it, was accompanied with a very moving Sight, which these distressed Suitors gave the Roman People. They fell prostrate in the Porch of the Senate-House, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, burst out into a Flood of Tears. Their own Interest therefore, and their Compassion, made new Impressions on the Minds of the Senators. They were greatly affected to see a Nation, which had made itself miserable, only by having assisted their Neighbours, involved in a War unjustly brought upon them. They were grieved to see the Inconstancy of Fortune, who was now exercising great Severity upon the most delightful Country in *Italy*. They then thought, that the Faith of their Treaties could not oblige them to betray a People, who had surrendered themselves up into their Hands. They even hoped the *Samnites* themselves would be so just, as to desist from plundering a Province which was become *Roman*, and dependent on a Republick which was their Ally. And with these Dispositions, the *Romans* sent an Embassy to the *Samnites*. The Deputies were ordered to represent to them, the Affliction of the *Campani*; the Application they had made to *Rome*; the Refusal the *Romans* had given them of taking Arms against the *Samnites*; the strict regard the Senate had to their old Alliance; and lastly, the Donation the *Capuans* had made of their whole State, to the Republick. They were also instructed to intreat the Enemies of the *Capuans* to spare a Province which was be-*

come *Roman*, on account of the Old Friendship, which united them with *Rome*. And lastly, in case the *Samnites* were not to be prevailed on by these gentle Methods, but obstinately persisted in plundering *Campania*; the Instructions of the Ambassadors then were, that they should, in the Name of the People and Senate of *Rome*, give the *Samnites* notice to quit the Country they infested. With these Instructions the *Roman* Ambassadors set out for the Capital of *Samnium*. When they were introduced into the Senate of the *Samnites*, they first offered the Requests of the *Romans*, in favour of the *Campani*; and then demanded, the Deliverance of Province, which had surrendered itself up to *Rome*. But the *Samnites* were proud People. They were neither intimidated by the Majesty of the *Roman* Name, nor softened by the Remembrance of their Treaties with *Rome*. They not only declared, they would not desist from the War with the *Capuani*; but likewise confirmed the Resolution they had taken, by a sort of Insult, in the Presence of the Ambassadors. As they were going out of the Senate, the *Samnite* Magistrates sent for the Commanders of their Troops, and ordered them to go instantly, and ravage *Campania*. *Rome* was not yet grown powerful enough to give Law to all her Neighbours.

But the Return of the Ambassadors to *Rome* filled both Senate and People with indignation against the *Samnites*. All other Business was laid aside, that the *Romans* might wholly apply themselves to making Preparations for the War, they were going to proclaim. It was declared, with all the Ceremonies instituted by *Numa* on such Occasions, which were ever after his time practised by the *Romans*; at least upon the first Rupture with a Nation, which had been in Friendship with them.

§. III. THE Senate sent *Feciales* to the *Samnites*, to demand Satisfaction for the Injuries they had done the Republick in *Campania*. Upon their giving an unsatisfactory Answer, a Dart was thrown into their Country, to shew it was the Country of an Enemy to *Rome*. Thus far the Senate proceeded by their own Authority. It now remained, that the People should be brought to consent to the War proclaimed; for it was their Part to approve, or rather confirm it, by their suffrages. After they had given their Consent to it, the two *Consuls* took the Field, each at the Head of an Army. It fell to *Valerius's* Lot, to command in *Campania*; and to *Cornelius's*, to enter the Country of the *Samnites*. The former posted himself on Mount ⁶ *Gaurus*, in *Campania*: the latter near ⁷ *Saticula*, in *Samnium*. The Stress of the War lay at first on the Brave *Valerius Corvus*. The *Samnites* were greatly enraged at the *Campani*, and were resolved to vent their Rage against them in their own Country. This indeed was no more than *Valerius* expected, and therefore he pitched his Camp in an advantageous Place. There were three Hills in *Campania*, which were each called *Gaurus*; and it is probable, *Valerius* posted himself at the Foot of that Mount *Gaurus*, which lay between ⁸ *Puteoli*, and *Baia*.

Mount *Gaurus*, now *Il Monte Barbaro*, was formerly famous for the Goodness of its Wines, as *Pliny* assures us, *B. 14.* and *Statius*, *B. 3. Ver. 1.* *ubi vineta madentia Gauri*. This Mountain is far from *Puteoli*, *Baia*, and the Lake *Lucrinus*. It reaches to the Lake *Avernus*, and the Territory of *Cuma*. Some Geographers say there were three Mountains in *Campania*, which all bore the Name *Gaurus*; one near *Minturnæ*, and Mount *Mafius*; the second, near *Nuceria*, and *Surrentum*; the third, on the Borders of the Lakes *Avernus* and *Lucrinus*. Opposite to this, there is another Mountain, which the Natives call *The New Mount*, and which was all raised in one Night, in September, 1538. The Earth, after terrible Concussions, then vomited great Quantities of Stones, and Sand, mixed with Bitumen and Sulphur; insomuch, that the neighbouring Buildings were buried under this horrible Heap of Earth and Rocks, which were thrown upon one another, in the Shape of a Mountain. *Holstenius* justly blames *Servius* and *Cluver*, for displacing *Saticula*, formerly a City of *Samnium*, putting it in *Campania*, contrary to *Livy*, and several Passages of *Festus*, and *Virgil*. The latter of the Inhabitants of *Saticula*, *Æneid*, *B. 7.* *l. 11.*

that they led a laborious Life; *Pariterque Saticulus asper*: Which agrees much better with the People of *Samnium*, than those of *Campania*, whose Effeminacy was suitable to the Softness of their Climate, and of the Air they breathed. *Cluver* is therefore mistaken, when he says this City stood at the Foot of Mount *Tifata*, in the Neighbourhood of *Capua*.

⁸ *Puteoli* was formerly one of the most famous Cities in *Italy*. The Equity of its Laws and Government, gave it the Name of *Dicæarchia*. So *Strabo*, and several Greek Authors, call it. This Name, say the ancient Geographers, it retained, till it was changed into that of *Puteoli*, (from *Puteus*, which signifies a Well) on the Account of *Quintus Fabius's* sinking a great many Wells there, for the Convenience of the Inhabitants, who wanted fresh Water. But some think it was called *Puteoli*, from the Stink (in *Latin* called *Putor*) of its hot Waters, and Soil, which continually emitted sulphureous Vapours and Exhalations. *Puteolos dictos putant ab aqua calide putore, quidam a multitudine Puteorum, Festus*. And *Varro*, *B. 4. de Ling. Lat.* is of the same Opinion. *A puteis oppidum Puteoli Nisi a putore potius, quod putidus sit, odoribus ex sulphure & alumine*. Insomuch, that the Ancients gave

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9 *Baie*. As soon as the *Samnites* saw the *Romans* encamped, they no longer restrained their ardent Desires of engaging the *Legions*, but earnestly pressed the Generals to give them the Signal for a Battel. *The Assistance*, said they among themselves, *which the Romans have brought the Campani, will do them no more Service, than the Succours of the Campani did the Sidicini*. But the Consul knowing himself to be advantageously posted, was not in Haste to give Battel, notwithstanding the Insults of the Enemy. He long deferred coming to an Action, and only tried the *Samnites* in little Skirmishes, in order to make himself Master of their Way of fighting. But at length, when the Day of Battel was come, he assembled his Soldiers, and addressed himself to them, in this manner. *New Enemies, and a new Way of fighting, are not such terrible Objects as to frighten the Romans. The more East any Nations lie of us, the less brave they are. Don't judge of the Samnites, by the Victories they have gained over the Sidicini, and Campani. Had these Nations been never so equal in Point of Valour, the Fortune of War must have made a Difference, as to the Success. But the Truth is, the Campani were first enervated by the Softness of the Climate they dwell in, before they were overcome by their Enemies. Compare the only two Advantages the Samnites have gained over these cowardly Nations, with that Series of numberless Victories, whereby Rome has raised her Glory, since her first Foundation. We reckon almost as many Triumphs as Tears. The Sabines, the Hetrurians, the Latins, the Hernici, the Æqui, the Volsci, and the Aurunci, have all bowed under the Roman Yoke. The Gauls have sunk under the Weight of our Arms more than once; and the Greeks, who were shamefully driven from our Ports, retired to carry on their Depredations in other Places. And after you have thus done Justice to your own Valour, cast your Eyes on the General who commands you. Under whose Conduct are you going to engage? Is Valerius only fit to encourage you with his Harangues? Is he brave only in Words? Does not he know how to face Danger, throw a Javelin, or engage an Enemy? Romans, don't only regard what I say, but follow my Example. It is not by caballing and Faction, that I have thrice obtained the Consulship; but to this Arm, I am indebted for it. It might formerly have been made a Plea to raise me to this Honour, that Valerius was a Patrician, descended from one of the Deliverers of his Country, and of a Family, which has always had a share in the Government of the Republick, from its very Birth. But now Rome has no regard to*

gave the neighbouring Territory the Name of *Campi Phlegrei*, or, *The burning Fields*. Several are of Opinion, that this City was founded by the *Campani*; but *The Abridger of Stephens* thinks it was built by a Colony of the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Samos*. And this is *St. Jerom's* Opinion, in the Translation of the *Chronicon of Eusebius*, B. 2. *Puteoli Samiorum opus, quæ & Dicæarchia dicitur*. This Father places the founding of this City in the 64th Olympiad, and the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. *Puteoli* stood on the Sea-shore, eight Miles from *Naples*, near the Lake *Avernus*, and served for a Port to the City of *Cuma*. The Multitudes of rich Wrecks, and the Abundance of valuable Things which the Sea throws up, all along this Shore, shew the great Trade and Wealth of this ancient City. The Great Men of *Rome* had their Country-Houses there, and among the rest *Cicero*, who built a long Gallery in his, after the Plan of the Academy at *Athens*. This was the Retreat of a few learned Men, with whom *Cicero* held Conferences, on the Subjects of Eloquence and Philosophy. In the midst of the City, was a sumptuous Temple, all of Marble, and supported by stately Columns. It is now the Cathedral Church. There are yet there some magnificent Remains of a Temple of *Neptune*, and another of *Diana*, of a vast Amphitheatre, Sepulchres, cinerary Urns, Statues, Basso Relievo's of exquisite Workmanship, and in a word, of Antiques of all Sorts. At the farthest Part of *Puteoli*, on the Sea-shore, are the Ruins of an old Mole; and the little the Fury of the Waves, and of Time, has spared, shew the Largeness and fine Architecture of this Building. *Cicero's* Baths, and several Springs of mineral Waters, which

are in the Neighbourhood of *Puteoli*, are worthy the Observation of Travellers.

9 *Bayus*, one of *Ulysses's* Companions, gave his own Name to the ancient City of *Baie*, because, as is said, he was buried there. This City was deemed one of the finest, and most delightful, of any in *Campania*, as well for its advantageous Situation, as the Beauty of its Fields and Gardens. Its Hills were full of Villa's which belonged to the greatest Men in *Rome*. Every thing contributed to make this District the Seat of Sensuality and Delight. Which made *Seneca* say, the Pleasures of *Baie* were the fatal Rock, on which the *Roman* Virtue split. We shall often have Occasion to speak of the magnificent and costly Buildings the *Romans* erected here; some valuable Remains of which are yet daily discovered. The Temples of *Diana* and *Venus* do yet retain the Traces of their ancient Magnificence, amidst their Ruins. The *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, have been very long, in describing the wonderful Properties of the hot and mineral Waters, which are found in this Country. *Baie* was, above all other things, famous for the Conveniency of its Port. But nothing but Gallies can now ride in it, since the Sea has swallowed up some of the ancient Buildings and Walls, the Remains of which are yet to be seen, four Foot under Water: So that large Ships, which draw much Water, cannot enter, without running the Hazard of splitting against the Rocks. This Port was made in the Form of a Crescent, in a Bay which was three Miles long, from the Promontory of *Misenum*, to the Lake *Avernus*; from whence it extended it self four Miles farther, to *Puteoli*.

any thing but Merit. She seeks for Consuls among the Plebeians. The Romans have almost forgot my Surname of Poplicola, and remember only that of Corvus. A Title acquired by Valour, and the Protection of the Gods, is more deeply imprinted on their Minds, than an Appellation transmitted down to me with my Blood. But nevertheless, I have ever been a Poplicola, in the true Sense of the Word. Whether in great or little Employments, whether Consul, or Legionary Tribune, I have always made it my Business to honour, encourage, and protect, the People. In return therefore to my Affection for you, go, Romans, and fall upon the Enemy; run, and gain me the Honours of a Triumph.

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SUS, Consuls.

THIS Picture which the brave *Valerius* drew of himself, was not a flattering one. Never was a Consul more popular; never was General more tenderly beloved by his Soldiers. He took a pleasure in mixing with them, and sharing the Labours of the meanest Soldiers in the Legions. *Valerius* always made one at the Soldiers Divisions, whether Wrestling or Running, and did not disdain to enter the Lists with a common Soldier. He always kept his Temper, and whether victorious or vanquished, in these Exercises, his Countenance never changed. He was always bestowing Favours, and that with a just Regard to Times and Persons. He was always easy in his private Conversation, and gave every Man full Liberty to express his Sentiments in his own manner; but as for himself, he always maintained a certain Dignity in his Discourses. And lastly, which was yet more, he shewed the same Affection to the People, and continued as popular, after he was raised to the highest Posts, as he had been before. It was therefore natural for Troops to adore so gracious, and so brave a General. They marched out of their Camp, with a wonderful Ardor for Victory, which was increased by the Harangue they had just heard. And when the Armies were drawn up against one another, it then appeared how equal they were in Strength. Their Numbers were much the same; and each had the same Hopes of Victory, and the same Fears of being overcome. The Courage of the Romans was supported by the Confidence, which naturally flowed from a continual Prosperity for four hundred Years together; and the Samnites were encouraged by the two Advantages they had lately gained immediately after one another, over the *Campani*, and *Sidicini*. The Roman Army had more Experience in War; but the Samnites, who were used to conquer in a mountainous Country, were more inured to Fatigue. Each Army stood in awe of the Forces and Courage of an Enemy they had never yet engaged with; and the Process of the Battel shewed how little reason either had to depend on the Victory. It was long disputed, without any Advantage on either Side. The Roman Legions, which faced the Cohorts of the Samnites, made them sensible of their Skill; and the Samnites made the Romans feel the Strength of their Arms. The Consul therefore, impatient of the Victory, thought it necessary to intimidate an Enemy which he could not overcome by Force: and ordered his Cavalry to fall upon the Samnite Battalions, and break them. But this Project did not succeed. The Cavalry had not room enough to wheel in; so that their Horses only hindered one another, and could not advance. Upon which, the Roman General was forced to have recourse to his Infantry. He dismounted, and cried out to the Officers of the first Line of the Legions; *I find it is the Foot must do the Business. Courage, Fellow-Soldiers, follow me! Tread in my Steps; strike, and stab, all that oppose you. You will soon see all those glittering Javelins vanish, and the Ground cover'd with dead Bodies.* At these words, he threw himself into the midst of the Enemy. The Legions followed him, and cut their way with their Swords; whilst the Horse took the Enemy in Flank, whom they could not attack in Front. But tho' the Samnites received more Blows than they gave, they still kept their Ground, and were not broken. The Battel was obstinately fought on both Sides, and neither Party knew what it was to fly. The Dead lay in Heaps round the Samnite Standards; yet were not their Cohorts shaken. They had resolved to defend themselves to the last. At length, the Romans fell on their Enemies with fresh Fury; and the Samnites began to give way, but without Disorder; and lost Ground, without breaking their Ranks. But this Motion lost them a great number of Men; the Ground was covered with them: and in short, there would have been but few of them left alive, if the Night had not obliged the Romans to put an end to their Victory. After the Battel was over, the Romans confessed, they never had engaged a more fierce, or more

Liv. B. 7. c. 33.

Livy, ibid.

Year of more intrepid Enemies: And they would not easily have been able to have persuaded themselves their Victory was complete, had not the *Samnites*, who retired to their Camp, deserted it in great Confusion in the Night, and abandoned it to the Conqueror. The Fugitives declared, nothing had intimidated them more, than the Looks of the *Romans* during the Battel. Their sparkling Eyes, their furious Looks, and enflamed Countenances, struck such Terror into the *Samnites*, as they were not able to support. As for the *Consul*, as soon as he became Master of the Enemy's Camp, he was sensible of the Advantages he had gained in the Battel. He there received the Congratulations of the *Campani*, who came in Crowds to pay their Compliments to their Deliverer.

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M. VALERIUS
CORVUS, COR-
NELIUS COS-
SUS, Consuls.

§. IV. WHILST the brave *Valerius* was signalizing his Valour in *Campania*, his Colleague *Cornelius Cossus* had another Army of *Samnites* to engage with, in *Samnium*; and was obliged to fight it, in a Country full of unpassable Rocks. He was advantageously posted near *Saticula*, on the Confines of *Samnium*, and *Campania*; but, with what View I know not, thought fit to leave his Camp. He first marched his Troops thro' a mountainous Country, and then led them into a Forest, all the Roads in which were narrow, and out of which there was but one Passage, which was through a deep Valley. But *Cornelius* knew not, that both the Wood and Valley were lined on all sides with *Samnites*; and it was out of his Power to alter his March, when he discovered that the Enemy surrounded him. The *Samnites* were not in haste to attack him, as long as he continued upon the Hill. They waited for his Army's descending into the Valley, that they might there fall upon it on all Sides. This therefore threw the *Consul* into the utmost Consternation; but, it fortunately happened, that he had a brave Officer among his Troops, who drew him out of the Danger. This was the famous *P. Decius Mus*, who was yet only a *Legionary Tribune*; and who afterwards signalized his Love for his Country, by generously devoting himself to Death, to save it. The prudent *Tribune* observed an Eminence at a distance, which commanded the Camp of the *Samnites*, which was pitched near that Place. It was indeed difficult for a whole Army, attended with their Baggage to go and take Possession of that Post: and therefore *Decius* resolved to make himself Master of it, with a Detachment. But first, he addressed himself to the General in this manner. *Do you see, Consul, yonder Eminence, which overlooks the Enemy's Camp? That is the only Resource the Roman Army has left, in this imminent Danger. The Samnites have imprudently abandoned it; it is therefore our Business to take Possession of it. In order to which, I ask no more than the two first Lines of one Legion. And when you see me posted there, be no longer under any Apprehensions of the Enemy, but continue your March. The Samnites will not dare to fall upon you, and dispute your Passage, when exposed to our Darts. And as for us, we will, by the Assistance of Roman Valour, and the Gods our Protectors, find means to disengage ourselves from the Enemy, and rejoin you.* The General approved of the Design, and detached a small Body of Troops under *Decius's* Command. He took his Way through the Wood, and concealed his March so well, that the Enemy did not perceive him, till he was near the Post he was going to seize. And then the Sight of the *Romans* climbing up the Rock, in order to post themselves upon it, was such a Surprise to the *Samnites*, that they were long considering what to do, but were not able to prevent their Design. In the mean time, the *Roman* General took advantage of this Interval, marched out of the Valley, and gained the Hills. Upon which, the Enemy found it absolutely impossible for them, either to come at the *Consul*, and attack him, which was not to be done, without passing through the same Valley, out of which he had escaped; or to come to a Battel with *Decius*, and force him down from the Eminence, on which he was now posted. Nevertheless, the Fury of the Enemy seemed most likely to fall on the latter, whose wholesome Advice had saved the *Roman* Army. But the *Samnites* were one while for surrounding him on all Sides, to prevent his Escape, and destroying him and his Men, in their Post, without suffering him to rejoin the *Roman* Army; and then they were inclined to attack the *Consul*, who was weakened by the Division of his Army: so that their Irresolution continued till Night overtook them, before they came to a Determination. *Decius* indeed expected to see the Enemy insult him, on his Rock, or at least shut all the Avenues to it. But when he perceived, that no Troops surrounded him,

him, in order to stop up all the Passages back again, he assembled his Soldiers, and spoke to them in this manner. *What sort of Enemies, says he, are these we have to deal with? Are these the formidable Samnites, who have made themselves famous for a double Victory over the Sidicini, and Campani? What Judgment can we form of their Army! We see them sometimes march to the Right, and sometimes to the Left, without coming to any fixed Resolution. They should have surrounded us by this time; and yet not one of their Commanders thinks of investing us. Romans, let us not follow their Example. Let us form our Designs with Expedition, and execute them with Courage. But before we do any thing, let us take a View of all the Places, where the Enemy may lay in Ambush for us; and of all the Avenues through which they may come upon us, and surprize us; or we may escape, if they neglect it. This ought to be the Business of the little Day-light we have left.*

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THIS said, Decius immediately changed Clothes with a Foot-Soldier, and commanded his Centurions to dress themselves like private Men, and follow him. This he did to prevent the Enemy's perceiving, that the Officers of the Detachment went themselves to make this Discovery: And Decius himself marched quite round, and placed Centinels at all the Avenues, with Orders to return silently to the main Body, as soon as the Trumpet had sounded the 10 second Watch of the Night. Accordingly, his Orders were punctually obeyed; and when all his People were got together, he addressed himself to them thus. *Our present Deliberations, Faithful Companions in a dangerous Expedition, must be without Noise. Let every one give his Vote, not by tumultuous Acclamations, but barely by changing Place, without speaking. Let those who are for the Affirmative, move to my Right Hand; and those who are for the Negative, to my Left. By this means, the Affair may be determined by a Plurality of Votes, and yet without Noise. You know very well, dear Fellow-Soldiers, that it is not by our Flight, or by being forsaken by the rest of the Army, that we continue here. Our Valour brought us to this Post; and 'tis that alone which must force our Way back. You have already saved the rest of the Army; now save yourselves. What sort of an Enemy is this we have before us? They knew not how to take Advantage of the Opportunity they had of overcoming us; they have suffered us to seize an advantageous Post, which they neglected; and we have not had the Courage to drive us from it, with all the Forces of a numerous Army. We have deceived them when they were awake; and it will surely be much easier to surprize them, when they are asleep. This is the only Means we have left to preserve ourselves, either from the Swords of the Samnites, or from the Danger and Thirst which threaten us. Let us not therefore deliberate whether we shall march away from this Place; it is matter of absolute Necessity. But do you determine by Vote, whether we shall wait till the Return of the Day, before we make our Escape; or take the Opportunity of this dark Night. If we tarry till Morning, the Enemy will surround us with a Ditch; as they have already done with their troops, which they have posted in Plottoons, all round the Hill. Alas! what time can be so proper for the Execution of so brave a Design, as the present Moment? At this instant, Sleep closes all the Eyes of the Enemy, and makes them unfit for Action. Let us then make our Way silently, through the sleeping Battalions, this Moment; or if it be necessary to discover ourselves, let us frighten them with our shouts. This is my Opinion: and let all those who approve of it, file off to my Right Hand, and those who are for tarrying till Day-light, to my Left.*

Liv. B. 7. c. 35.
Ibid.

EVERY Man, without Exception, declared himself of Decius's Opinion: and he therefore immediately put himself at the Head of his Troop. He marched on in

to The Romans divided the Night into four equal parts. At each of these the Soldiers mounted guard in their Turns. At every Station, four Centurions were placed, who were relieved by four others, after the first Watch, and so on, successively. In order to prevent any Surprize, the General gave the Legionary Tribunes the Watch-word, a little before the Sun was down, written on Tables of wood. These Tribunes communicated these Tables to a chosen Number of Soldiers, called for Reason Tesserarii. They were chosen out of

any Part of the Army, whether Horse, or Foot, or Auxiliaries. These Men, whose Business it was to do it, went among the Legions, and distributed these Tables among the Centurions, who communicated them to the Centuries: so that one of these little Tables, called Tesseræ, was conveyed from Hand to Hand, first to the lowest Centurion, by him to the Centurion above him, and so on, to the first Centurion, who returned it to the Tribune. This was the Method of giving the Soldiers the Watch-word.

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profound Silence, and came down from the Rock, with his brave Companions. They took their way through those Places, where they thought there were fewest of the *Samnite* Troops, and had already passed half that sort of Camp, which the Enemy had formed round the Rock, when a *Roman* Soldier struck his Foot against the Buckler of a *Samnite*, and made a noise. This was near a Body of Guards, and the Centinel waking upon it, gave the Alarm in that Quarter. The *Samnites* therefore ran to Arms, without knowing what was the matter. They knew not whether it was *Decius*, and his Troops, the *Consul* and his Army, or some *Samnite* of the Camp, that had disturbed their Rest. And in the midst of this universal Commotion, *Decius* ordered his Men to give a great Shout. They did so, and doubled the Consternation of the *Samnites*, who were frozen with Fear; whilst the *Romans* killed their Camp-Guard, gain'd the Plain, and made their Escape, without the Enemy's daring to follow, or attack them. Then *Decius's* first Concern, was, to inform the General, that he and his Men were safe. They were indeed near enough to the *Roman* Camp, and far enough from the Enemy's, to be able to take a little rest, in Safety. It was not yet Day; and therefore *Decius* commanded an halt, and said, *All Posterity will celebrate the glorious Action we have just now executed; but let us tarry, till the Sun is up, before we present ourselves to the Consul, and join his Army. You have deserved to enter the Camp, in a more glorious manner, than in Silence and Darkness; rest yourselves therefore in this Place, till the Light returns.* In the mean time, *Decius's* Courier informed the *Consul* of the Deliverance of the Detachment for which he was in pain; and when it was known, that it was ready to enter the Camp, the Joy was universal. The News was spread by writing it on one of those Tablets, which the *Romans* called *Tesserae*. This the *Consul* sent to the General Officers; they, to the *Centurions*; and the *Centurions*, to the private Men. This was the way of conveying the General's Orders to the Soldiers, in the *Roman* Armies. The whole Army marched out to meet the Troops, which had saved their Lives, at the Peril of their own. They made great Shouts for Joy; all these brave Men were congratulated, and called Preservers of the Army; Thanks were given to the Gods for their happy Return; and the Head and Author of this generous Enterprize was very highly extolled. His Entry into the Camp, was a sort of Triumph to him. He marched into it, surrounded with his glorious Troops. All Eyes were fixed upon him; and he was raised above the *Consul*, in the Esteem of the Soldiery. As soon as he was arrived at the General's Quarters, as it were ¹¹ in Triumph; the General ordered a Trumpet to give the Army notice, to come ¹² and hear his Harangue. And the *Consul* was already enlarging on *Decius's* Praises, with Effusion of Heart, when the modest *Tribune* interrupted him. He liked better to give his General whole-some Advice, than to hear his own Panegyrick. *The Enemy, says he to Cornelius, are in such a Consternation with the last Night's Fright, that I cannot but think it proper to attack them upon the spot, without losing time in Harangues. Their Troops are dispersed here and there in Plottoons, all over the Country. Nay, I am of opinion, that they have sent out Detachments after me, who are in vain seeking for me in the Wood. Let us therefore run, and invest their Camp, while their Army continues surprized, and is thus weakened.* Accordingly, *Decius's* Project was approved; and the *Consul* ordered the *Romans* to Arms, and to march against the Enemy, without delay. They trusted to good Guides, who led them cross the Forests to the *Samnite* Camp, through wider, and less dangerous Ways, than they had

¹¹ *Livy* calls the General's Quarters *Prætorium*, from the Name of *Prætor*, which was given to all Persons in general, who were invested with a supreme Authority. So that the *Romans* meant by it him who commanded their Armies in Chief. *Aconius* is of this Opinion. *Veteres omnem magistratum cui pareret exercitus, Prætores appellarunt; unde & Prætorium, tabernaculum ejus dicitur. Quintus Curtius, Justin, and Cornelius Nepos, often use the Word Prætorium, to signify the Quarters of the Kings, and foreign Officers, who were at the Head of the Troops. We shall speak of the usual Situation and Extent of the Prætorium hereafter, when we come to treat of the Form and Disposition of*

the *Roman* Camps.

¹² The *Roman* Generals, in all Ages, used to harangue their Troops, either before any important Expedition, to encourage them to fight; or after the Action, to give those their due Commendations who had distinguished themselves by their Valour. And that was the Time the General used to distribute the Military Rewards among the Brave. He was usually raised upon a Tribunal of Earth, or Stone; but sometimes harangued on Horseback. We find the Traces of this Custom in *Trajan's* Medal, and several Imperial Medals, which we have dispersed in this History, in their proper Places.



A. A Roman Soldier in the Sagum.
B. A Roman General in his Paludamentum.

before passed. The Moment the *Romans* appeared there, they saw their Enemies in Disorder, almost all gone out of their Entrenchments without their Arms, and rambling about the Fields. Several of them had not time to rally, and return to the Camp, but the greatest Numbers of them fled thither for Refuge. The Conquest of it was neither long, nor difficult. They who guarded the Avenues to it were soon put out of a Condition of fighting; and in short, the *Roman* General entered the Entrenchments of the *Samnites*, and made himself Master of them. The Cries and Shouts of both the Victors and Vanquished, affrighted those *Samnite* Soldiers who had been posted round the Hill in the Wood, by their Generals; they ran, in great Terror, to their Camp, and put themselves in the Power of their Enemies, of their own Accord. Then the Slaughter was indeed terrible. Thirty thousand *Samnites* were put to the Sword, and their Camp plundered. The Success of the Day far exceeded even *Decius's* Expectation; and all agreed, that the *Romans* were indebted to him alone for this glorious Victory.

As soon as *Decius* returned to the Camp, the *Consul* resumed his Panegyrick, which he had only interrupted, in order to go and Conquer. And now, the new Glory *Decius* had acquired, furnished the Orator with just Matter for new Commendations. But Words were not of themselves a sufficient Acknowledgment of his Merit. He was honoured with all the Military Rewards that were ever given to any Subaltern, for gallant Actions. Besides a Crown of Gold, which he received from the General, he had likewise a Present of 100 Oxen, and a white Bull with gilded Horns. As for the Soldiers of his Detachment, they also were not without their Reward. The *Consul* assigned them a double Quantity of Corn, not only for the present, but as long as they should live; and he gave every Man in his Troop two ¹³ *Saga*. And then the *Legions* likewise signalized their Gratitude to their Deliverer. The Present they made *Decius* was not rich, but honourable. It was customary in the *Roman* Armies, for the Garrison of a besieged Place to crown the General, who came to its Relief, and raised the Siege, with ¹⁴ *Gramen*; that is, with the Herb we call *Dogs-tooth*, which is generally to be found on the Walls of Cities. And this Honour *Cornelius's* Army paid *Decius*, who had delivered them out of greater Dangers, than those of a Siege. They unanimously made a Crown of *Gramen* for him, and put it on his Head, amidst the Acclamations of all the Soldiers. And now, the Detachment it self, which he had been brought safe out of the dangerous Post in which the *Samnites* had invested them, thought themselves likewise particularly obliged in Gratitude to bestow some Mark of Distinction on their Leader. They therefore crowned *Decius* with a Crown of Oak, which was called *Civic*, and was thought the most honourable of all the Military Rewards. Thus, loaded with three Crowns at once, he offered up the white Bull he had received from the *Consul*, in Sacrifice to *Mars*, by way of Thanksgiving: And he distributed the hundred Oxen which had been given him, among those who had been his Companions in Danger, and the Sharers of his Glory. The rest of the *Legions* likewise made a Present to the Company which had followed *Decius*, consisting of some Pounds of Meal, and ¹⁵ Measures of Wine. All these Honours, when paid, were attended with general Shouts, to shew that the whole Army were unanimous in paying them. Indeed, even the *Roman* Armies were a sort of Republicks. Every private Soldier had his Vote, in all Deliberations: They shewed their Approbation of what the General proposed, by their Shouts; and their Dislike, by their

Year of
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CCCCX.

M. VALERIUS
CORVUS, COR-
NELIUS COS-
SUS, Consuls.

Aut. Gel. B. 5.
c. 6.

Auth. of the
Lives of Illust.
Men, in P. Dec.

¹³ The *Sagum* of the *Romans* was a military Habit, open from Top to Bottom, and usually fastened on the right Shoulder with a Buckle, or Clasp. It was not different in Shape from the *Chlamys* of the *Greeks*, and the *Paludamentum* of the *Generals*. The only Difference between them was, that the *paludamentum* was made of a richer Stuff, was generally of a purple Colour, and both longer and fuller than the *Sagum*. The adjoining Plate will shew the Form of this Garment, which the *Latin* Authors call *Sagum*, and *Chlamys*, and *Paludamentum*.

¹⁴ *Pliny*, B. 6. c. 4. says nothing of the Crown of *Gramen*, which was given to *Decius*, and mentions only a *Civic* Crown, made of Oak Leaves, which

he says the Army honoured this *Tribunary Legion* with, as the Reward of his Valour.

¹⁵ *Livy's* Words are, *vini Sextarios*. Now the *Sextarius* of the *Romans*, was a liquid Measure containing in Weight 20 Ounces; that is, it was the 6th Part of the *Congius*, and the 48th Part of the *Amphora* of the *Ancients*. So that the *Roman Sextarius*, was equal in Content to two *Hemina*, or 12 *Cyatbi*, which were a Sort of Cups, or Bowls, which held about an Ounce and half of Liquor, more or less, according to the Weight of the Liquid. [The *Sextarius* contained, according to Dr. *Arbutnot*, one Pint, *English* Wine Measure, and somewhat more than $\frac{1}{6}$ of a Pint.]

Silence.

Year of Silence. And from hence came their Ardour and Zeal in all military Expedition
 R O M E which every private Soldier considered as undertaken by his own Choice.

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 M. VALERIUS
 CORVUS, COR-
 NELIUS COS-
 SUS, Consuls.

Liv. B. 7. c. 37.

§. V. HOWEVER, the Campaign did not end with the *Consul Cornelius's* Victory. It was now some Months since *Valerius Corvus* had given the *Samnites* the final Overthrow in *Campania*; and he perceived, that the Enemy there had recovered their Courage, and got new Forces. Tho' their Army had been routed, they rallied, and sent for Reinforcements. All the Youth in *Samnium* ran to the Camp in *Campania*, to try the Fortune of War, a second time. The *Samnite* Army appeared before ¹⁶ *Suessula*, a City situated between *Nola*, and *Capua*, and at an equal distance from both. The Fright their Arrival occasioned there, soon reached the *Roman* Camp. Couriers were continually running from *Suessula* to *Capua*, to the *Consul Valerius*, who lost no time in marching to the Relief of the *Suessulani*. He set out for *Suessula* with his Troops, leaving the useless Multitudes of Servants, Beasts of Burden, and Sutlers, which belonged to the Army, in his old Camp with sufficient Forces to defend it. When he came and posted himself within reach of the Enemy, he chose out as narrow a spot of Ground to encamp upon, as he could well crowd his Cavalry and Infantry into. This the expert *Valerius* artfully did, to deceive the Enemy; and it succeeded. The *Samnites*, full of Confidence in their Numbers, came and offered the *Romans* Battle. But the *Consul* feigned Fear, and kept close within his Entrenchments. Upon the Approach of the Enemy, they saw the *Romans* wholly taken up in defending their Ramparts; and some *Samnites*, who marched quite round them, found their Camp so little, that they from thence inferred, their Enemies could be but weak. This therefore they thought a proper time to revenge their first Defeat, and said one to another, *Let us go, and fill up the Ditches of the Roman Camp, and make a Breach in their Lines, and force them.* Which they had certainly attempted, if the Officers had not restrained the Rashness and Impetuosity of the Soldiers. But they chose to act a Part, which was almost as disadvantageous to them, as this would have been. They resolved to continue in their own Camp, which was in sight of that of the *Romans*, in hopes that the latter would soon want Provisions; since they could have no more there, than what every Soldier had brought with him. They did not consider, that the *Romans* were making War in a Friend's Country, which was both fruitful in itself, and where it was the Interest of the Natives to support them. So that the *Samnites* themselves first wanted Necessaries. They were forced to send out large Detachments to get Provisions, and convoy them to their Camp. Infomuch, that almost all their Troops were dispersed about in the Country, and but a small Guard left to defend their Entrenchments. Upon which, *Valerius* thought this a proper time to attack them; and therefore, after a short Exhortation, marched his *Romans* directly to the Enemy's Camp. When he came to it, he found it so ill guarded, that upon the first Onset of the *Romans*, all Opposition gave way, and it was taken. More *Samnites* were killed in their Tents, than on the Ramparts, and in Defence of their Posts. But the *Consul* did not stop here. Being now Master of the Camp, he left two *Legions* to guard it, and marched with the rest of his Army, to give chase to the Enemies, who were rambling about the Country. Accordingly, the *Roman* Cavalry pressed hard upon them, made a great Slaughter of them, and drove the rest from different Places, into a Ring which the *Romans* surrounded, and in which they caught the struggling *Samnites*, as in a Net. It is affirmed, that the *Roman* Soldiers brought their General above 40000 of the Enemy's Bucklers. Not that so great a Number of *Samnites* had been slain in the Battle; many of them had thrown away their Arms, that they might not incumber them in their Flight. Two hundred and twenty Standards were also taken from the *Samnites*; and then the Enemy's Camp was given up to be plundered by the *Roman* Soldiers, whom the General had forbidden pillaging it, till his Return. Thus *Valerius* returned to *Rome*, with great Glory, after two complete Victories; and the Successes of so noble a Campaign, gave a new Lustre to the Glory of the *Roman* State, both among the neighbouring Nations, and beyond the Seas. The *Falisci*, Inhabitants of *Hetruria*, had already made a Truce with the *Romans*, which they now turned into a Treaty of Alliance.

¹⁶ Near the River of *Clanis*, now the *Clanio*. There are only some Ruins of it remaining, in the *Campania*, stood the ancient City of *Suessula*. Place, where *Castello di Sessola* now stands.

iance; and their whole *Lucumony* became *Roman*. The *Latins*, who had taken up Arms, with design to employ them against the Republick, and shake off her Yoke, if she had been worsted in this War with the *Samnites*, no sooner received the News of the Victories of *Cornelius* and *Valerius*, but they turned their Hostilities against the *17 Peligni*, a *Samnite* Nation; as it were, to assist the *Romans*, whom they had really intended to betray. And lastly the *Carthaginians*, to shew their Affection for the *Romans*, with whom they were then in Amity, sent to compliment them on their Success, and made a Present of a Crown of Gold, of 20 Pounds Weight, to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of Thanksgiving for their Victories.

Thus was *Campania* left in Peace, and an Entrance opened into *Samnium*. The two *Consuls* had gloriously executed the two Expeditions the Republick had sent them upon; only with this difference, that *Valerius* had no Partner in the Glory of his two Victories; whereas *Cornelius* was indebted to the Counsels and Bravery of *Decius*, for his. But notwithstanding this, the Honours of a Triumph were decreed both *Consuls*. *Decius* was not permitted to enjoy these Honours, though it was he, properly speaking, who had conquered the *Samnites* in the narrow Passes of Mount *Gaurus*; because, this Glory was granted only to Generals, and he was no more than a *Legionary Tribune*. But it may nevertheless be observed, that tho' he did not ride in a triumphal Chariot, all the Acclamations of the People ran in his favour. The Jest, the Soldiers were permitted to make in the time of a Triumph, even upon the triumphant Victors themselves, all tended to magnify *Decius*, at *Cornelius's* Cost. *Decius* himself walked in Procession, with three Crowns on his Head, and attracted the Eyes, and gained the Applauses of all the Spectators. *Cornelius's* Triumph was on *The Ninth of the Calends of October*. His Collegue *Valerius*, whose Glory was now entire, had triumphed the day before.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCX.
M. VALERIUS
CORVUS, COR-
NELIUS COS-
SUS, Consuls.

Fast. Capit.

THE rest of this glorious Year, was spent in receiving the Congratulations of the neighbouring Nations, and the Thanks of the *Campani*. The *Capuani*, among others, desired the *Consuls* to send some *Roman* Troops, into Winter-Quarters among them, to defend them from the Incursions and Pillages of their Enemies. The austere Republick did not yet know how contagious the Air of *Capua* was, and how apt to corrupt the Virtue of the bravest *Romans*. The *Censors* for the year being, ordered ¹⁸ a *Census* to be taken of the *Roman* People: But what the Names of those Magistrates were, neither the Historians, nor the *Capitoline Marbles*, inform us. Time has worn them out of the latter; tho' if we may be permitted to guess, we should suppose them to have been ¹⁹ *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *M. Popilius Lenas*. But however that be, it is certain the Number of the *Romans*, who were able to bear Arms, amounted to 160000. The Ceremony closed

¹⁷ The Name of the *Peligni* is often disfigured in the Greek Authors. These are the People *Diodorus Siculus* calls sometimes *Παλινοί*, and sometimes *Παλινός*; and *Appian* calls them *Maglini*, *Μαγλῖνοι*. *Justin* is of Opinion, that this Nation came originally from *Illyricum*, and passed from thence into Italy, under the Command of *Volsinus Lucullus*, their Head. And this Man, adds he, had two grandsons, *Pacinus*, and *Pelicius*, who gave their Names, one to the *Pacimates*, and the other to the *Peligni*. *Peligni ex Illyrico orti. Inde enim prodi, ductu Volsini regis, cui cognomen fuit Lucullo, partem Italiae occuparunt. Hujus fuerunt Nepotes Pacinus, a quo Pacimates; & Pelicius, a quo Peligni.* It is no easy Matter to guess who these *Pacimates* were. *Ovid. Fast. B. 3.* thinks the *Peligni* were originally *Sabines*; & *tibi cum Proavis miles Peligneabinis convenit*. This People inhabited a Part of the *Hither Abruzzo*, between the Rivers of *Pescara* and *Sangro*. So that their Territory was bounded, to the North, by the Country of the *Vestini*; to the East, by those of the *Marrucini*, and *Frentani*; to the South, by that of the *Samnites*; and to the West, by that of the *Marsi*.

¹⁸ *Livy*, according to his usual Inaccuracy in his account of the *Census's*, omits that which was

made in the Year 410. But it is nevertheless certain, from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that between this time and the Year 435, there was more than one *Census* and *Lustrum*. These *Consular Annals* mention a 25th *Lustrum*, in the Year 435. *Eusebius* speaks of the *Lustrum* and *Census* here mentioned in the Text. He says, in his *Chronicon*, that in the first Year of the 110th *Olympiad*, there was a new *Census* taken at *Rome*, in which were reckoned up 160000 Citizens old enough to bear Arms. Now this first Year of the 110th *Olympiad* coincides, according to *Diodorus the Sicilian*, with the Consulship of *Marcus Valerius*, and *Aulus Cornelius*. This *Census* was the 22d from their original Institution by King *Servius Tullius*.

¹⁹ The *Censorship* was generally granted only to such Persons as were considerable for their former Employments, and their Virtue. Among the chief of these, were *Marcus Fabius Ambustus*, and *Marcus Popilius Lenas*, at this time. What favours our Conjecture, with respect to *Marcus Fabius*, is *Pliny's* saying, *B. 7. c. 11.* that he was *Prince of the Senate*. For it was very uncommon, according to *Livy*, to fill this Post with any but such as had already been *Censors*.

Year of with a *Lustrum*, which was the twenty second since their first Institution by King
 R O M E *Servius*.

CCCCXI.
 C. MARCIUS
 RUTILUS, Q.
 SERVILIUS A-
 HALA, Con-
 suls.

S. VI. WHEN *Rome* had sent some Troops into Winter-Quarters in *Campania* two new *Consuls* entered upon their Office. The one was a *Plebeian*, named C. *Marcus Rutilus*, who was now raised to this Dignity, the fourth time; the other, Q. *Servilius Ahala*, a *Patrician*, and probably the Son of the famous Dictator *Servilius Ahala*; and he was now created *Consul*, the first time. The new Generals put themselves at the Head of two separate Armies, and chose their different Provinces by Lot. It was *Marcus's* Fate to march into *Campania*, to carry on the War, which *Valerius* had happily begun against the *Samnites*; whilst *Servilius* continued encamped near *Rome*, to be in a readiness to march wherever there should be Occasion. When *Marcus* arrived at *Capua*, he found a great Alteration in the *Romans* who had spent the Winter there. Discipline was neglected, their Austerity of Manners was changed into Effeminacy, and their Sobriety into Intemperance. The Charms of the Climate, and the Air which they breathed in Idleness, had so far bewitched them, that they did not care so much as to hear their own Country mentioned. They had entered into a Plot among one another, to drive the *Campani* out of their native Country, seize it for themselves, and settle there. *Capua* especially, seemed a most enchanting Place to them, and when they were in their Winter-Quarters, they often discoursed in this manner. *The Samnites formerly destroyed the Hetrurians, who were the first Founders of Capua, settled here, and became a distinct Nation, under the Name of Campani. Why then should we be afraid to treat them, as their Forefathers treated the Hetrurians? What! shall a debauched People, who are not able to defend themselves, enjoy the finest Country in the World; whilst their Deliverers are labouring to cultivate an ungrateful Soil round Rome, which will not furnish them with Necessaries? Shall Cowards inhabit a delightful City, in an Air which is always pure; whilst brave Men are forced to breath an unwholesome Air in Rome, which is often infected with the Plague, and other Distempers? Don't the Conquerors, who have driven the Samnites out of these Places, with great Labour, and at the Expence of their Blood, better deserve to dwell here, than a Parcel of idle Fellows, who were forced to surrender themselves up into our Hands, in order to maintain themselves in the Possession of their Delights? Shall we, who are fatigued with so many Wars, leave a wealthy Country, to return to an ungrateful City, where we are worn out with military Services, and ruined by Usuries?* The Conspiracy of the Troops, who were dissatisfied with their Creditors, and charmed with the Plenty they found in *Capua*, was already formed, when the *Consul* arrived. It had not indeed broken out; but the *Legionary Tribunes* informed the General of it. *Marcus* was a wise Commander; and as he had often been at the Head of an Army, the Troops had a Veneration for him; and Experience had taught him the most proper means to work upon their Minds. He made use of the gentlest Methods possible, to prevail on the Conspirators to drop their Design. Instead of opposing their Desires with Heat, he indulged them in the Hopes of putting their Scheme in execution, some time, or other; and allowed them to think, they might seize *Campania* the next Year, and return thither again, into Winter-Quarters. This Report, and these Hopes, were spread from *Capua*, to all the other Places in *Campania*, where the *Romans* were quartered: And thus the sedulous *Marcus* put a stop to the Sedition, by vain Hopes; and as soon as he had taken the Field, he took other Measures to put an end to it. He immediately determined to send the most factious of his Soldiers, out of *Campania*, under several Pretences; and the Inaction of the *Samnites* facilitated his Design. He first sent away some, because they had served as long as the Laws required; and others he dismissed, on account of their Distempers, and Infirmities. Some he ordered home, under Pretence that their Presence was necessary in their Families, after they had been so long, in Winter-Quarters, in a foreign Country. Others he sent upon Business to *Rome*, where the *Prætor* detained them; or to his Colleague's Army, where *Servilius* amused them, and

20 *Diodorus of Sicily* has altered both the *Præ-nomen* and Name of *Marcus Rutilus*, whom he calls *Marcus Rutilus*. Those who think this 411th Year of *Rome* to have been the third Consulship of

Quintus Servilius, are mistaken. They confound him with his Father *Servilius Ahala*; who had been twice *Consul*, and *Dictator*.

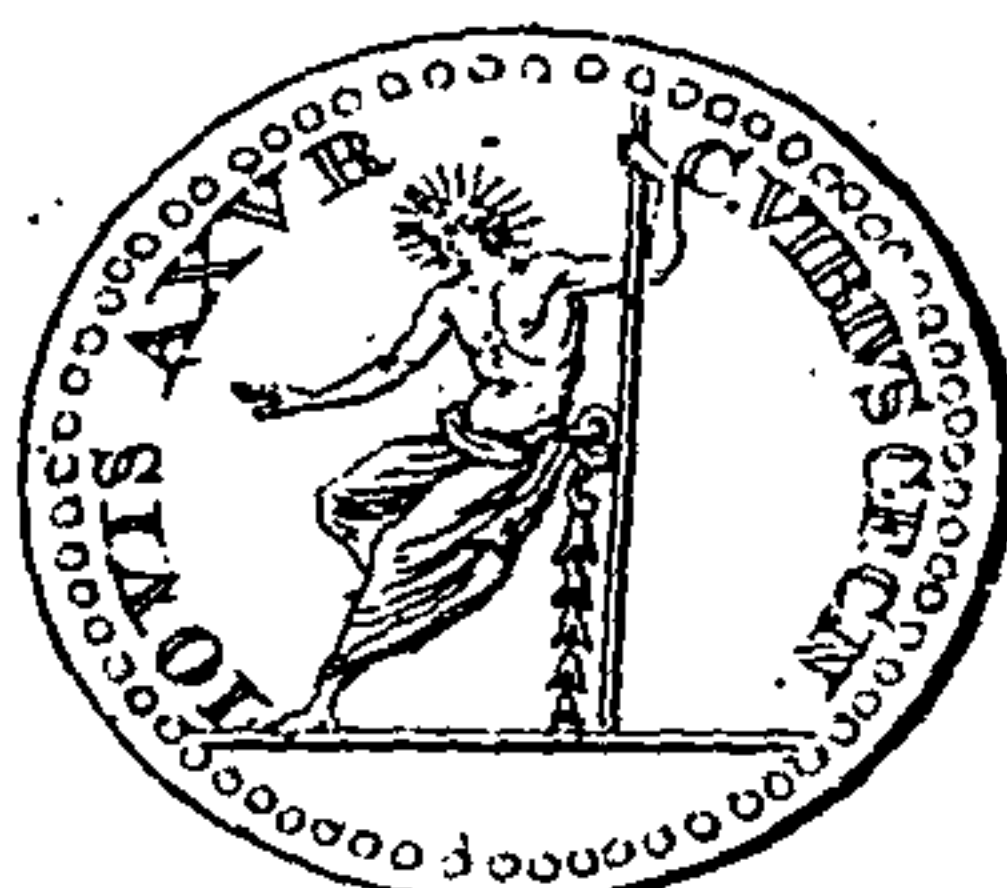
continually started fresh Obstacles, to prevent their Return. *Marcus* began with sending them away one by one; but afterwards, he disbanded whole *Cohorts* together: however, no one Soldier was dismissed with Disgrace. Thus *Marcus* continued to practise these innocent Artifices for some time, without Discovery. Several of the factious Soldiers returned home of their own accords, and none complained of their Dismission. But at last, the Troops made some Observations, which discovered to them the *Consul's* Intentions. They took notice, That he sent no Soldiers from his Camp, but such as had wintered in *Campania*; That none of those, who had been sent to *Rome*, returned; and That none but the most seditious had been sent away. This filled the Criminals, who yet remained in the Army, with Astonishment and Dread. They fancied that their Companions had been tried and condemned at *Rome*; and their Fears made them take it for granted, that they had nothing to expect, but the utmost Rigour of the Laws, and the most cruel Punishments. Upon which, they discovered their Suspicions to one another, and complained among themselves, that they were deprived of their Leaders, and the Main-springs of their Enterprize were broken: and then the next thing that occurred to them, was Desertion. One *Cohort* especially, was so bent upon it, that they marched away from *Marcus's* Camp, and posted themselves near ²¹ *Anxur*, in ²² *Lautula*, which was the Name the *Romans* gave a narrow Passage, which lay between the Sea, on one side, and high Mountains on the other. To

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXI.

C. MARCIUS
RUTILUS, Q.
SERVILIUS A-
HALA, Con-
suls.



Silver.



Silver.

²¹ This was the Name the ancient *Volsi* gave the City of *Terracina*, which stood on the Borders of the *Pomptin* Marshes. *Terracina Oppidum, lingua Volscorum Anxur dictum, Pliny, B. 3. Horace* tells us, *B. 1. Sat. 5.* That it was situated on a Rock.

—*Sabinus*
Impositum Saxi, late candentibus Anxur.

The King of the Gods had a Temple there; to which the neighbouring People came, and there paid him a particular Kind of Worship. In it there was a Statue erected to this God, under the Name of *JUPITER ANXUR*, or *JOVIS ANXUR*; as we find it on a Medal of the *Vibian* Family, on which this God is represented under the Figure of a beardless young man, with a radiated Crown upon his Head. This was the Representation the Pagans gave of him. Hence came the Epithet of *ANXUR*, according to the Grammarians, who love to give us their Conjectures, about the Etymologies of Words, whether they be good, or bad. They fancy, as *Servius* in particular does, that the Word *ANXUR* is derived from two Greek Words *ἀνὸς ἔρπον*, or *ἀνὸς ἔρπον*, *sine novacula*, i. e. without a Razor, because the Statue of *JUPITER ANXUR*, is that of a very young Man. We need not have Recourse to forced Derivations; this Epithet of *Jupiter*, was certainly taken from the Place where he was worshiped. His Temple here, say some ancient Authors, was built by a Colony of *Spartans*, who came out of *Greece* into Italy, to settle there. The City was built, according to *Solinus*, on the Sea-Shore: And *Liwy, B. 27. Tacitus, Hist. B. 3.* tells us *Anxur*, or *Terracina*, was a Port. Its Situation gave it the Name *Trachina*, according to *Strabo*, from the Greek word *τρῆξις*, because the Rock which defended it on all Sides made it difficult of Access. *Martial* tells us, that in this Neighbourhood there formerly

were some hot mineral Waters, which he compares with those of *Baia*, *B. 6. Ep. 2.* To which *Virgilius* adds, *B. 8.* that there was a Fountain near this Place, called *Fons Neptunius*; the Waters of which were mortal, and had all the Malignity of the most subtle Poison. This probably was the same that Father *Kircher* calls *Fons Charonius*, which had such a Quality. At a little Distance from *Anxur* there was, according to *Virgil, Aeneid 7.* a Wood consecrated to *Juno Feronia*.

—*Quis Jupiter Anxurus arvis*
Præsidet, & viridi gaudens Feronia luco.

This Wood was watered by a Spring, which *Horace* mentions in this Line.

Ora manusque tua lavimus Feronia lymphæ.

The Temple of this Goddess, which is said to have been built and consecrated by the *Greeks*, was a common Place of Worship, both for the *Sabines* and the *Latins*. *Liwy* boasts much of the Riches of this Temple, *B. 13.* An old Inscription, taken from an ancient Monument by *Gruter*, tells us, that this Goddess had her peculiar *Flamines*, or Priestesses. The Inscription is this.

CAMURENÆ
C. F.
CELERINÆ
FLAM. FERON.

The *Petronian* Family furnishes us with a Medal, on which is represented the Head of the Goddess *Feronia*, with this Inscription, *TURPILLIANUS III. VIR FERON.* *Turpillianus* was the Surname of one *Petronius*, who struck this Medal, and who was adopted into the *Petronian* Family, from the *Turpilian*.

²² A little above *Terracina*, near the River *Ufens*, now the *Anfento*, there was a Neck of Land, or narrow

Year of this Place, all those the *Consul* dismissed, under various Pretences, resorted; and
 R O M E their Number gradually increased, (doubtless by Desertions) till at last the Male-
 CCCCXI. contents were numerous enough to make a moderate Army. But still they wanted
 C. MARCIUS a Leader to conduct them, and regulate their Motions. The separated Soldiers
 RUTILUS, Q. therefore assembled, and deliberated about the Choice of a General, and could
 SERVILIUS A- not rely enough on any Officer among them, to chuse him. On the other hand,
 HALA, Con- it was not safe to fetch a Leader from *Rome*, to command them. No *Patrician*
 suls. would put himself at the Head of a *Plebeian* Faction, whose chief Matter of Dis-
 content was the Oppression of the Rich. And it would be difficult to prevail on
 any *Plebeian* of Distinction, to run the Hazards of an Attempt, which Anger only
 had given Birth to. Their Uncertainty therefore lasted two Days, and was not re-
 moved till the Parties returned, which they had sent into the Country, in quest of
 Provisions. Then a Soldier, who had been in one of these Parties, removed their
 Difficulties, and put an end to their Irresolution. *I have been informed, in my In-
 cursions, says he, that one T. Quinctius, a great Soldier, has left the Roman Ar-
 mies, and retired to his Estate in the Territory of Tusculum, where he is now culti-
 vating his Lands, far from the Noise and Hurry of publick Affairs. A Wound he
 formerly received in the Foot, made him lame, and forced him to lay aside the Pro-
 fession of a Soldier. This is exactly such a General as we want.* The bare Name
 of *Quinctius* was enough to recal the Remembrance of his Valour; and they all
 pitched upon him, resolving to put him at their Head. They much doubted, whe-
 ther the virtuous *Patrician* would not refuse to take upon him the Command of a
 Company of Rebels; but they resolved to compel him, and make use of Force,
 Liv. B.7. c.42. and Threats, to get him from his Solitude. Some ancient Annals indeed say, this
 General was not one *Quinctius*, but one *Manlius*. And perhaps the Story of the
 famous *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, who was also taken from the Plough, to go and
 conquer the *Volsci*, and the *Sabines*, made the Name of *Quinctius* to be here
 preferred to that of *Manlius*. But however that be, a Detachment of the Revol-
 ters set out for *Tusculum*: and when they came to the Farm *Quinctius* was im-
 proving, the Night was far advanced. They entered the rural Habitation of the
 illustrious *Roman*, without difficulty, and found him fast asleep. The Noise waked
 him, and he heard the armed Men, who surrounded him, say these Words. *There
 is no Medium, Quinctius, you must either go with us, and command us, or fall by
 our Hands. Take your Choice, either to die, or to be a General.* At which words,
 they immediately carried him off, and brought him to their Camp. When he ar-
 rived there, he was proclaimed Commander in-chief, saluted as such, and honoured
 with all the Ensigns of that Office. *Quinctius* himself, who yet doubted whether
 all this was real, or a Dream, submitted to the Violence he could not resist: but
 this great Man still retained a faithful Affection to his Republick, under the Ap-
 pearances of a Rebel. He was rather commanded by the Mutineers, than they by
 him; and was ordered by them, to lead them to *Rome*.

Year of §. VII. THEIR Approach to the City, so terrified it, that, according to the most
 R O M E universal Tradition, the Republick had recourse to the usual Remedy, in great
 CCCCXI. Emergencies. The *Consuls* nominated the famous *Valerius Corvus*, *Dictator*; and
 M. VALERIUS L. *Æmilius Mamercinus* was his General of Horse. Whether the *Dictator* raised a
 CORVUS, Dic- new Army, or took upon himself the Command of that, which the *Consul* *Ser-*
 Fast. Capit. vilius kept encamped near *Rome*, is uncertain. But the Rebels marched out of their
 Liv. B.7. c.39. Defiles, and were already advanced within eight Miles of *Rome*, in the Road, since
 Auth. of the called *The Appian Way*, when the *Dictator Valerius* met them. Upon his Approach,
 Men, c. 26. the bare Sight of a *Roman* Army, and of *Legions* of their own Countrymen, carry-
 ing the same Standards, and the same Arms as themselves, a little abated the Rage of

narrow Passage between the Sea, on one hand, and Mountains on the other; and this is what was called *Lautula*. It was in the Road to *Fundi*. *Varro*, B. 4. de Ling. Lat. derives this Latin Word *Lautula*, from the Verb *lavare*. This Name was also given to that Part of the City of *Rome*, which led to the Temple of *Janus*, because there was a Spring of hot Waters there, in which the *Romans* might bathe or wash themselves. *Lautula a lavando, quod ibi ad Janum Geminum aque calidae fuerunt.* *Festus* speaks

likewise of a Place out of *Rome*, which bore the same Name. *Lautula, locus extra urbem, quo quia aqua fluebat, lavandi usum exercebant.* The *Lautula*, near *Terracina*, was probably so called, either because it was washed with Rivulets, which ran from the neighbouring Springs, or was overflowed with the Torrents which fell down from the neighbouring Mountains; or lastly, because it lay bordering upon the Sea, and the *Pomptin* Marshes.

these furious Men was somewhat abated. The Love of their Country, made some Impressions on the Minds of Men, who were not yet accustomed to spill the Blood of their Relations, in Civil Wars. The *Roman* Valour had hitherto been only employed against Strangers. The greatest length the *Romans* had yet run, in their Revolts against their Country, was to march out of the City, without attacking it, or offering any Violence to it: And the Rebel Army, and the *Dictator's*, were at present so far from coming to Blows immediately, that they both shewed an Inclination to a Treaty. Both the Leaders and Soldiers seemed disposed to put an end to their Dissentions, by a Conference. *Quinctius* was acting in an hostile manner, against his Will; and after he had left off to bear Arms, in Defence of the Republick, had submitted to the Fury of the Mutineers with Regret. *Valerius Corvus*, the *Dictator*, was fierce in Battel, but mild and popular in the Government of an Army. He had always distinguished himself by a tender Love for his Soldiers. Besides, these Deserters, who were now joined together in a Body, had fought under him the Year before, and he was partly indebted to them for his Victories: he therefore endeavoured to bring them back to their Duty, by gentle Methods. He advanced into the middle Space between the two Armies, and harangued them in the following manner. Both Armies were equally attentive to him, and the Revolters, as well as the faithful Soldiers, seemed to have an equal Respect for his Person.

THE Prayer I made to the Gods, our common Guardians and Protectors, when I left Rome, was not, says he, that I might conquer you by Force of Arms, but to reconcile you to your Country. I did not ask for Victory, but the Honour of bringing you back to your Duty. Foreigners will give me Opportunities enough to signalize myself in War. The Glory I would this Day gain, is that of procuring your Peace. This I have asked of the Gods, and this you have it in your Power to grant me. Cast your Eyes round about you, on the Country you come to lay desolate, and the Enemy you are to fight with. Are we Volsci, or Samnites? Are not the Legions who appear against you, your own Fellow-Citizens? Has not the General who opposes your Attempts, formerly led you on to Victory? Are not the Plains and Hills you are going to stain with Blood, a Part of the Roman Territory? Yes; I am that *Valerius Corvus*, who never took advantage of the Nobleness of his Extraction to oppress you; but have made use of it, to procure you numberless Favours. Can you reproach me with having ever made too severe Laws against you? or done any thing in the Senate, in prejudice to your Interests? Did I not undertake the most painful Offices, when at the Head of the Troops? Or did I then ever shun Danger in Battel? Yet my Birth, and my Employment, might perhaps have given me Opportunity to have swayed in the Senate, and to have made myself formidable to the People. Tho' a Consul at three and twenty, did I assume so much upon the distinguishing Honours which were shewn me, as to affront any with injurious Speeches, or by an haughty and imperious Carriage? Such then, as my Behaviour was, when Legionary Tribune, and Consul; such would I willingly have it to be, in my Dictatorship. This Sovereign Authority has not puffed me up with Pride. The Army I command shall meet with the same tender Regards from me; and it shall be your own Faults, if you yourselves, I say even you, who (must I say it?) are here my declared Enemies, don't experience them. I will not draw a Sword against you, till you have first drawn yours. Will you then dare to be the Aggressors? If you are resolved to give Battel, you shall be the first to give the Signal for it. And if you do that, you will do more than your Forefathers did, either when they separated from the rest of Rome, and posted themselves on the Mons Sacer; or when they retired to the Hill Aventinus. Will you wait, as *Coriolanus* did, till your Mothers and Wives come and throw themselves in Tears at your Feet? This Sight was affecting enough to stop the Fury of the Volsci; and will you, who are Romans, begin an impious War? As for *Quinctius*, whether he has willingly taken upon him an unlawful Command, or it was by Violence forced upon him; let him at least disappear, and not shew himself in the first Ranks. It would be more for his Honour to fly, than hazard an unlawful Battel. But if he be sincerely inclined to Peace; if he has nothing more in view, than obtaining an Accommodation, let him appear at the Head of his Troops, and be their Interpreter! Make your Demands, *Quinctius*; ask any Conditions which are reasonable, and they shall be granted you.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXI.

M. VALERIUS
CORVUS, Dic-
tator.

Liv. B. 7. c. 40.

Year of you. But what say I? Would it not be better, even to grant you unreasonable ones, than to shed your Blood?

CCCCXI.

M VALERIUS
CORVUS, Dictator.

At these words, *Quinctius* began, and turning about to the Rebels, spoke thus. Romans, if you expect that I should be of any Service to you, you must give me leave to tell you, that it must be in gaining you an advantageous Peace, rather than in conducting a Battel, which I detest. The Dictator, who addresses himself to you, is neither a Volscian, nor a Samnite. He is a Roman, whose Affection and Integrity you cannot suspect. You have fought under him; and ought to know his good Dispositions towards you. You have already conquered under his Command; don't then run the hazard of being conquered by him. The Republick might have sent other Generals against you; and in this, you ought to admire her Condescension. Valerius is the Man pitched upon; I say Valerius, who has told you, you are his Children; and that he has the Affection of a Father for you. The Dictatorship, in other hands, might have proved fatal to you. This the Republick well knew, and chose rather to offer you Peace, than subdue you by a cruel Victory. What then remains for you to do! Believe me, Anger and Revenge are evil Counsellors. Let us wholly throw ourselves into the Hands of an illustrious Roman, whose Probity we are all acquainted with; and leave it to him, to manage our Cause, and support our Pretensions for us! Which Words were followed by a shout of Approbation from the whole rebellious Army: And upon this unanimous Consent, *Quinctius* approached the Dictator, and desired him to take under his Protection these unhappy Citizens, whom Discontent and Vexation had drawn together. Do for them, says he to him, what a continual Affection for the People has always led you to do, in favour of the Plebeians. I absolutely resign the Interests of my Army into your Hands. As for my own, I want no Assistance to be able to give sufficient Proofs of my Innocence. My Business is therefore, to provide for the Safety of these Soldiers. Let not the Senate²³ condemn them, since the People of Rome were formerly forgiven, after two Separations. This Discourse of *Quinctius* was equally applauded by both Armies. The Dictator gave the whole Body of the Rebels room to hope for every thing they could think reasonable, upon their Return to their Duty; and then, immediately mounted his Horse, and returned to Rome, with all speed. After the Senate had heard him, they passed a Decree, which was sent to the People, for their Confirmation. The *Comitia* were therefore assembled in an unusual Place, called the *Peletin* Wood, where the seditious *Manlius* had formerly been condemned. And there, the Decree of the Senate was changed into a legal Act of Grace. Nor was this all; the Dictator desired the People assembled, that they never would reproach their newly reconciled Countrymen with their Revolt, either seriously, or in raillery. And then, some other military Laws were made, at the request of the mutinous Soldiers. The first was, That for the future, no Man's Name should ever be blotted out of the military Roll, or any Soldier dismissed; but by his own Consent, and at his own Request. This was directly levelled at the Consul *Marcus*, who had indeed sent away too many Soldiers from his Army; but with very good Intentions. The second Law enacted, That no Man who was a Legionary Tribune one Year, should be a Centurion the next. The Revolters insisted on the passing of this Law, purely to revenge themselves on one *P. Salinius*, a severe Officer, and a strict Observer of Discipline. He had been a Legionary Tribune, and a Centurion, alternately, for several Years together; had always opposed the seditious Councils of the Revolters, and had left *Lautula*, to avoid joining in the Conspiracy. The Senate therefore, refused at first to consent to a Law, which was wholly dictated by the Revenge of the Rebels, against an Officer, who strictly adhered to his Duty; but at *Salinius's*

Zonaras, B. 7.
c. 25.
Liv. B. 7. c. 41.

²³ We don't well know, what Sort of Punishments these Roman Magistrates used to inflict on Deserters, at this time. It is probable, they were generally condemned to die, as they afterwards were. This History will furnish us with frequent Instances of the Severity of the Generals, not only against Deserters, but against those who in any manner transgressed the military Laws. This Exactness in punishing the least Faults in the Soldiers, restrained their Licentiousness, maintained Discipline in the Legions, and

kept them to their Duty. The several Punishments inflicted on the cowardly, forced the most fearful to keep their Ranks, and behave themselves with Courage in Battel. Thus they, who were not animated with the Love of Glory, and the Rewards bestowed on the Brave, were kept to their Duty by the Fear of Punishment. This Rigour, in the Observance of Order and Discipline, in the Roman Armies, did not a little contribute towards the making them invincible.

own Request, the Bill passed. This generous *Roman* desired the *Conscript Fathers* to have more regard to the Welfare of the Publick, and the Re-establishment of Concord among the Citizens, than to his Honour. And the Deserters made another Demand, as extravagant as this. Not one Horseman in the *Roman Army* had joined the Revolters; and they therefore insisted, that the Pay of the Cavalry should be reduced. It was then three times as much as the Foot received. And lastly, it is probable, that the Law the People so much desired, and which was the Soldiers Pretence for their Revolt, was then passed, at their Request. All Usury was abolished in *Rome*, and every Roman forbidden to lend Money upon Interest. Some Historians likewise add, That two other Laws were then passed, in favour of the People, whose Interests were espoused by the Revolters; and That they were passed, at the Request of *Genucius* the Tribune of the People. The first was, That no one should have any Office a second time, which he had enjoyed within ten Years before; or possess two different Offices in the same Year. The second was, That the two Consuls might both be chosen out of the Plebeians. And if the Plebeian Faction did then gain these two Articles, which seem not indeed to have passed into Laws, till afterward; it is very evident, that the Rebel-Army must have been exceeding formidable.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXI.
M. VALERIUS
CORVUS, Dic-
tator.

Zonaras, B. 7.
c. 25.

Liv. B. 7. c. 42.

THUS the Indulgence of the *Fathers*, and of the *Comitia*, re-established Tranquillity, in *Rome*; but the Credit of the *Romans* was a little lessened among the neighbouring Nations. They began to be less afraid of a Republick, which could no otherwise reduce her own Troops to Order, and appease them, than by granting them Impunity; and which, had likewise made the formidable Nation of the *Samnites*, its Enemy. The *Latins* had for some time shewn less Affection for the *Romans*, than formerly; and were wavering in their Alliance. And soon after, they openly declared against *Rome*; but not till the *Privernates*, a *Volscian* Nation, had committed the first Hostilities. The latter entered with an Army into the Territory of *Norba*, and *Setia*, two Cities bordering upon their Frontiers, in which the Republick had planted Colonies.

S. VIII. THIS was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when *C. Plautius Hypsæus*, and ²⁴ *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, were chosen *Consuls*; the former, the second; the latter, the first time. They were entered upon their Office, when the *Setini* and *Norban* sent Deputies to *Rome*, to inform the Senate of the Revolt of the *Privernates*, and the Devastations these Allies committed, in their Lands. At the same time, a Report was spread, that the *Volsci*, excited and conducted by the *Antistates*, had assembled their Troops, in order to make war upon the *Romans*; and had posted themselves in the Neighbourhood of *Satricum*. But nevertheless, the *Romans* resolved to carry on the Reduction of the *Samnites*; and therefore found it necessary to raise two Armies. The *Consuls* chose their Provinces by Lot; and *Plautius* had the Command of the *Legions*, which were to act against the *Volsci*; whilst *Æmilius* went to subdue the *Samnites*. *Plautius* took the Field first, and began with attacking the *Privernates*. It was no difficult matter to overcome them; one Battel was sufficient to rout so weak an Enemy. The City of *Privernum* was taken by the victorious ²⁵ General, who restored it to the Inhabitants, after

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²⁴ The *Consular Fasti* give *Lucius Æmilius* not only the Surname of *Mamercinus*, but also that of *Privernas*: perhaps, because his Family came originally from this City; or because, he triumphed over the *Privernates*, in his second Consulship, in the Year 424. The *Greek Tables* give the *Consuls* for this Year, no other Surnames, but those of *Venox*, and *Mamercinus*. But it is nevertheless certain, as we shall shew hereafter, that *Plautius* had not the surname of *Venox* given him, till several Years after this. We must not confound *Caius Plautius*, who was *Consul* in this Year 412, with another *Plautius Proculus*, who was *Consul* in the Year 395, and triumphed over the *Hernici*. The *Plautius* here spoken of, was surnamed *Hypsæus*. Indeed *Livy*, and other Authors, don't give him this Surname. But since both History and Medals agree in it, this is a manifest Proof, that the *Consul* for this Year 412, was the same *Caius Plautius Hypsæus*, who had been

already advanced to this high Station, in the Year 406. We need no other Proof of it than this. *Livy* tells us, B. 7. that *Privernum* was taken by *Caius Plautius*. Now the Person here spoken of, was called only *Hypsæus*, by his Posterity, in the Medals they struck to perpetuate the Memory of this Conquest. *Pulvinus Ursinus* indeed, and *Monsieur Patin* after him, think we are to interpret these Medals of one *Plautius*, who was *Consul* in the Year 436, and who signalized his Consulship, by the taking of this same City, which had then shaken off the *Roman Yoke*. But the *Fasti Capitolini* give the latter no other Surname, but that of *Decianus*. Whereas, in the Inscriptions on the Medals we speak of, the Conqueror is called *Hypsæus*, and not *Decianus*. And it is therefore more natural to say, that the Coiner designed to signify the Conquest of *Privernum*, by *Caius Plautius*, in the Beginning of this Year 412.

²⁵ The Medal above, without doubt represents the

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after he had placed a strong *Roman* Garrison in it. But for the Subsistence of this Garrison, the *Consul* took away two thirds of the Estates of the Inhabitants, and gave them to the *Romans*. This done, *Plautius* immediately marched to punish the Insolence of the *Antiates*; and no sooner was in sight of them, but he gave them Battel. It was very bloody on both Sides, and would have been more so, if a sudden Storm had not parted the two Armies, before either of them gave way.

HOWEVER, this Action, in which neither Side could boast of any Advantage, only enraged the *Romans*. Their Love of Victory had made them forget the Fatigues of the Day before; and they got ready, to renew the Fight, early the next Morning. But the *Volsci* did not think themselves in a Condition to hazard a second Battel. They reckoned up the Number of the Men they had lost in the first, and found it so great, that it abated their Courage. They decamped in the Night following the first Action, with as much Precipitation as if they had been defeated; and fled to their own City of *Antium* for Refuge. Their Retreat had all the Appearance of a precipitate Flight. The *Volsci* left all their Wounded to the Mercy of the *Romans*; and the Conqueror found a vast Number of Arms and Bucklers in the deserted Camp, and on the Field of Battel; tho' he received no Advantage by it. The pious *Consul* dedicated all this Spoil to the Goddesses ²⁶ *Lua*; that is, as I suppose, to *Cybele* the Wife of *Saturn*. She was called *Lua*, because as Goddess of the Earth, *Expiations* were due to her, on account of the Blood which had stained it. After therefore *Plautius* had burned what these Fugitives had left, in Honour to the Goddesses, he penetrated into the Country of the *Antiates*; plundered it; and laid it waste, quite to the Sea-shore.

Aul. Gel. B. 13.
c. 21.

§. IX. ON the other hand, *Æmilius* had, in the mean time, spread Terror in the Provinces of the *Samnites*. Their Territory was called ²⁷ *Ager Sabellus*, because they were originally *Sabines*: and these People, who were so fierce formerly, were now so terrified, that they appeared no more in the Field. They were so weakned with the Overthrows *Valerius* and *Cornelius* had given them, that they



the Triumph, the Honour of which *Caius Plantius Hypsæus* deserved, by the Reduction of *Privernum*. *Livy*, and the *Fasti Capitolini* indeed, say nothing of it. But their Silence is no decisive Proof. It is well known, that the *Latin* Historian is not very exact in mentioning all Events, and the Circumstances that attended them. And no Body is ignorant, that the *Capitoline Marbles* have suffered by Time. We find no Mention made in them of several Facts, which we are therefore forced to search for elsewhere. But what Time has spared in them, makes us regret what is wanting. The Inscription of the Medal is this. CYP SÆUS CONSUL PRIVERNUM CEPIT. i. e. The Consul *Cypseus* took *Privernum*.

²⁶ Thus the *Romans* put the Stamp of Superstition on all their Actions. Hence the infinite Number of Divinities which they made at Pleasure, upon every Occasion. It was then customary for the Pagans to purify themselves, after a Battel, from the Pollutions they thought they had contracted, by shedding human Blood. When *Æneas* returned from a Battel with the *Greeks*, he durst not touch or take up his *Penates*, or Household-Gods, till he had washed himself in running Water. Till he had done this, he left the Care of them to his Father *Anchises*.

Tu, Genitor, cape sacra manu, Patriosque Penates.
Me bello a tanto digressum, & caede recenti

2

Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo.
Ablueram—————

Without this, it was not lawful for them to return to their common Business. And this Opinion made them imagine there was a Goddess called *Lua*, who presided over these Expiations and Purifications, whose Name was taken from the Ceremony, *luendo*, i. e. from purifying. The Soldiers offered an expiatory Sacrifice to her, by burning the Arms and Spoils taken from the Enemy. This Homage was paid to her, as well as to the Military Divinities, *Mars*, *Vulcan*, and *Pallas*. Some give the Goddess *Lua*, the Name of *Laca*, and *Lacia*: either because, she had a particular kind of Worship paid to her in *Latium*; or because, she passed for the Wife of *Saturn*, who fled into that Country. She was worshipped at *Rome*, under the Title of *Lua Mater*. Which has made the Mythologists think her the same with *Rhea*, *Ops*, *Cybele*, or *Terra*, who was called *Magna Mater*. According to *Aul. Gellius*, B. 10. c. 21. The Worship of *Lua Mater*, was performed with particular Rites, mentioned in the *Pontifical Books*.

²⁷ The Name of *Sabines*, was common to the People of *Sabinia*, and the *Samnites*, who separated themselves from them, and afterwards made a distinct People. For this Reason, the Country of the latter is often called *Ager Sabellus*.

suffice

suffered the *Roman* Army to destroy and plunder wherever they came, and to burn what they could not carry away, without any Opposition. Nay, the Devastation *Æmilius* spread among them, brought them to Reason, at least for a time. They sent an Embassy to the *Consul*, desiring a Peace; and he referring them to the Senate, when the Ambassadors had obtained an Audience of the *Conscript Fathers*, they desired two things: First, That they might be received into Favour, by the Republick; and Secondly, That they might have leave to make War with the *Sidicini*.

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WE became your *Allies and Friends*, said the Ambassadors to the Senate, *not like the Campani, in a time of great Adversity; but when Prosperity and Distance might have kept us independent of you. We were allied to you, before we declared War with the Sidicini, our old Enemies, who never entered into any Alliance with you. There never was any manner of Tie between them and the Romans, either in time of Peace, or War; in which they differ both from us, who had recourse to you before we feared you; and from the Capuani, who sought your Friendship, when they wanted your Protection. Abandon to us therefore, Conscript Fathers, a Nation, which is no way dependent upon you, and which you have no reason to protect. Titus Æmilius, the Prætor, and a Relation of the Consul, who had been ravaging the Territory of the Samnites, presented the Ambassadors of Samnium to the Senate, in the Absence of the two Consuls; and he seems to have prevailed on the Fathers, to grant their Request. At least, the Decree the Senate made, was agreeable to their Desires. Samnites, said the Fathers to them; it was not the Fault of the Romans, that your Treaties were not inviolably observed. You broke through them yourselves. And as you now seek to renew them, let it be done; we have no Objections to make to it. Your Repentance renders you worthy of our Friendship. As for the Sidicini, we don't oppose your treating them as Enemies. Rome has no Right to command you to make War, and Peace, as she pleases.*

Lic. B. S. C. I.

THIS was great Moderation in the Republick; nevertheless, she rejoiced to see her Neighbours so reduced, as not to dare to undertake any Enterprizes, without her Consent. The Romans were sensible of the Superiority, their first Successes gave them over the *Samnites*. And as soon as the Ambassadors of *Samnium* were returned, the *Consul* had thoughts of withdrawing his Army from thence. It had been stipulated, that the *Samnites* should give the *Roman* Troops a Year's Pay, and furnish them with Provisions during the three Months Truce, which had been granted them, to carry on their Negotiations at *Rome*. All which was payed, and a Peace settled.

THEN the *Samnites* turned those Arms against the *Sidicini*, which they might have made use of against the *Romans*. They knew the Weakness of their new enemies, and promised themselves a complete Victory over them. And accordingly, they reduced the *Sidicini* to great Extremities; but then, they likewise had recourse to *Rome*, in their Distress. They surrendered themselves up to the *Romans*, and desired them to accept the Present they made them, of their Lands and liberty. They, no doubt, took it for granted, that by imitating the Example of the *Campani*, they should, like them, gain the Protection of *Rome*, and deliver themselves from their Oppressors. The Republick would have gained a double advantage by accepting their Offers. It would have acquired a new Province, and secured the Fidelity of the *Campani*, who were the Allies of the *Sidicini*, and had been their first Protectors. But the Senate had given their word to the *Samnites*, perhaps a little too rashly; and therefore refused the Donation of the *Sidicini*, as coming too late, and left them to the Fury of their Enemies. Perhaps indeed, the Republick might not think herself in a Condition to maintain a cruel War with the *Samnites*, and reduce the *Latins* to their Duty, at the same time. These restless Allies had taken up Arms again, and had entered into an Association with some Clans in their Neighbourhood. The *Campani* themselves likewise, were so desirous of revenging the Indignities done the *Sidicini* by the Senate, that they forgot both the Services the Republick had done them, and their own Engagements with her; and siding with the *Latins*, they followed their Example, even in Rebellion.

THE *Latins* formed a great Army out of the united *Campani, Aurunci, and Sidicini*; and placed one of their own Countrymen, at the Head of it. But they

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did not first enter the *Roman* Territory; they began with committing Hostilities in the Country of the *Samnites*. They did not indeed make any great Progress there. The *Samnites* would not hazard a general Battel. So that all the Advantages the *Latins* and their Confederates reaped from the Campaign, were only those, of having the better in some little Skirmishes, and of ravaging the Lands of their Enemies. And at last, this great Body of Troops were tired out with lingring, without effecting any thing considerable; and retired from *Samnium*.

IN this short Interval of Peace therefore, the *Samnites* sent a Deputation to *Rome*, to learn the real Dispositions of the Senate towards them. They had reason to suspect them. The *Romans* had not indeed openly declared against them; but the *Latins*, who were the Allies, and the *Campani*, who were become the new Subjects of *Rome*, had laid their Country waste. And in order therefore to clear up such well-grounded Doubts, the *Samnite* Ambassadors, when admitted into the Senate, spoke thus. *Is it not enough for you, Romans, to have put a stop to our Victories over the Sidicini and Campani, unless you likewise suffer us to be oppressed by these cowardly Nations? If the Latins and Campani are subject to your Dominion, why don't you forbid them molesting us in an hostile manner? If they are Rebels, and make war upon us, contrary to your Orders, why don't you punish them for their Insolence?* And these Interrogations of the Ambassadors embarrassed the Senate. Not that they approved of the Hostilities of the *Latins*, against the *Samnites*: but they were afraid to own, that *Rome* was no longer Mistress of the *Latins*, and that they had shaken off the Yoke of the Republick. And therefore they returned an ambiguous Answer. It is probable, that the Consul *Plautius*, who was then returned to *Rome*, addressed himself to the Ambassadors, in the Name of the Senate: and his Reply was this. *Two Nations have made war upon you, the Campani, and the Latins. The former surrendered themselves up implicitly into our Hands, and are our Subjects. So that, whether they will or no, we will force them not to molest you. But as for the Latins, our Treaty of Alliance with them, does not oblige them to enter into no War without our Consent; and therefore we can promise nothing in relation to them.*

THIS Answer therefore left the *Samnites* in a melancholy Uncertainty. They did not know what to think of the Proceedings of the Republick. Could *Rome* have any other View in not making War with them herself, than only to amuse them; since she stirred up her Allies against them? They therefore delayed forming any settled Judgment about it, till *Rome* should discover her Intentions by her Actions. On the other hand, the Consul's Answer seemed too imperious to the *Campani*; and did not satisfy the *Latins*, who were strongly inclined to revolt. So that the only Effects the Easiness of the *Romans* produced, were to heighten the Animosities of the one, and increase the Pride of the other; they now resolved, not to make War any longer on the *Samnites*, but on the *Romans* themselves. Nevertheless, that the Republick might not suspect their Design, they in appearance made Preparations only against the *Samnites*. The Diets of their Cantons were frequently assembled, and nothing spoken in publick, but of raising Levies against the *Samnites*; tho' their Chiefs were privately conspiring against *Rome*. The *Campani* themselves entered into these Plots against their Deliverers. Nevertheless, several of the most sensible of them were of opinion, That they ought to begin with exterminating the *Samnites*, and easing themselves of this Burden, before they attacked the *Romans*; and That after this, they would find it more easy to fall upon *Rome*, and surprize her.

HOWEVER, these Councils could not be kept so private, but that some secret Friends to the Republick informed her of the Plot which was forming against her: And therefore the Senate thought it proper to prevent the Enemy, and to bring on the Election of *Consuls* for the ensuing Year, before the usual time; because, in all probability, this War would be a long one. This was a wise Design; but the Superstition of the *Romans* suspended the Execution of it. The Senate, and People, or rather the *Pontifices* and *Augurs*, declared, That this would prove a fatal Step to the Republick; and That the *Consuls* who were deposed before their time, could not lawfully preside in the *Comitia*, for a new Election. Nevertheless, the *Romans* removed this religious Scruple, as well as they could. The Republick was reduced to an *Interregnum*, and two Presidents were named, to govern

it successively; each taking his turn to rule five Days at a time. *Valerius Corvus* was one, and *M. Fabius* the other. When the latter was in Office, the People were assembled in the *Campus Martius*; and it being of importance to chuse two great Men, to sit at the Helm, in so tempestuous a Season, the *Centuries* pitched upon the famous *Manlius Torquatus*, and the illustrious *Decius Mus*, who had saved a *Roman Army* three Years before, in the narrow Passes of Mount *Gaurus*. The former was a *Patrician*, the latter only a *Plebeian* by Descent; and the Republick hoped for all possible Success, and promised herself nothing but a continued Series of Prosperity, in their Administration.

§. X. THIS was the third time ²⁸ *Torquatus* had obtained the *Consulship*; so that Experience in Government had perfected his natural Dispositions for Heroism. Nothing was laid to his Charge, but an Excess of Severity to his Troops, and an inflexible Rigour in requiring Service. But *Decius Mus* had more Humanity; and both Collegues were equally famous for great Piety towards the Gods, and a tender Love for their Country. The former seemed better qualified to conduct a great Army; the latter more proper to command a flying Camp. In short, the one was a great General, the other a brave Officer. And no *Consulship* for a great while had been more fruitful in great Events, than this. ²⁹ *Alexander* King of the *Epirots*, and Brother to *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander the Great*, came into *Italy*, at this time. The ³⁰ *Tarentini* had invited him hither, to assist them against the ³¹ *Brutii*: and the King of *Epirus* closed with this Proposal, with as much readiness,

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Justin. B. 12.
c. 2.
Liv. B. 8. c. 3.

²⁸ This was the third *Consulship* of *Titus Manlius*, surnamed *Imperiosus*, and *Torquatus*; tho' several Annalists have neglected to tell us so. In several Editions of *Florus* and *Orosius*, *Decius's* Surname is not *Mus*, but *Murena*; which is probably the Mistake of the Copyists.

²⁹ *Alexander* was the eighteenth King of *Epirus*, from *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*. His Father was *Leoptolemus*, who had been forced to divide the Kingdom with his Brother *Arybbas*. *Olympias*, his eldest Sister, was the Wife of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*. *Cleopatra*, who was born of that Marriage, married the King of *Epirus* his Uncle. The latter, with the Assistance of his Brother-in-law, had deprived *Arybbas* of that Part of the Kingdom which he possessed by Force. *Archedymas*, King of *Lacedæmon*, having been killed as he was fighting for the *Tarentini*, against the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, the former called *Alexander* to their Assistance. He therefore went into *Italy*, a Year or two, after *Alexander the Great* began his Reign in *Macedon*. This Expedition was at first very successful. The People of *Asia* accepted the Peace which was offered them. After this, he subdued the Cities of *Lucania*, and of the *Brutii*. He made an Alliance with the *Metapontini*, and *Romans*, but was at last killed near the River *Acheron*; agreeably to the Prediction of an Oracle of *Delphos*, about the 7th Year of the Reign of his Nephew *Alexander the Great*. He thought he had evaded the Completion of the Oracle, by leaving *Epirus*, where there was a River of the same Name. For this Reason, he engaged in a foreign War, without considering, that he was, at the same time, endeavouring to fulfil the Prediction of the God. In short, he in fact met with his Fate on the Banks of this formidable River, which he deemed to avoid. *Diodorus*, *Justin*, and *Strabo*, all speak of this King of *Epirus*.

³⁰ *Tarentum*, called by the *Greeks* *Tápuc*, was formerly the Capital of the ancient *Messapia*, which is now a Part of the Province of *Otranto*, South of the *Apennines*. If we may believe *Servius*, *Taras* the Son of *Neptune*, was the first Founder of it. When the *Partheniætes*, originally of *Lacedæmon*, formed a Colony, which passed the Sea, and landed on the Southern Coasts of *Italy*, under the Conduct of *Phalanthus*. He enlarged *Tarentum*, but continued to it its old Name, which some say it had from *Taras*, the Son of *Hercules*, its Founder. *Virgil* alludes to this Tradition, in this Line, *Æneid* 3.

Hinc sinus Herculei si vera est fama Tarenti.

And *Horace*, B. 2. Ode 6.

—Et regnata petam *Laconi* rura *Phalanto*:

Solinus agrees with this, when he ascribes the founding of *Tarentum* to the *Heraclidæ*. Others derive the Name of this City, from the Word *Tare*, which *Phalanthus* found inscribed on an ancient Sepulchre in this Neighbourhood. *Strabo* tells us, that before *Phalanthus* arrived, this City was inhabited by *Cretans*. But however that be, (for we don't pretend to vouch for the fabulous Stories of ancient Authors, about *Tarentum*;) it is certain, it was a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*. For this Reason, *Ovid* and *Horace* call it *Lacedæmonium Tarentum*. *Virgil* calls its Territory *Oebalia*, which was also the Name of the Territory of *Lacedæmon*. But I omit saying any thing of the Name of *Satyrion*, or *Saturium*, which some Authors give it, either on account of the Fruitfulness of its Fields, or because *Tarentus*, the Grandson of *Minos* King of *Crete*, by his Mother *Saturia*, was saved from Shipwreck, and carried by Dolphins to the Shore of the Gulph of *Tarentum*. They who love to amuse themselves with these trifling Tales, may have Recourse to *Aaron's* Commentary on these Lines of *Horace*, B. 1. Sat. 6.

*Non ego me claro natum patre; non ego circum
Me Satureiano vestrari rura Caballo,
Sed quod eram, narro.*

Tarentum was formerly famous for its Riches, and its advantageous Situation, which facilitated its Commerce with *Istria*, *Illyricum*, *Epirus*, *Achaia*, *Africa*, and *Sicily*. *Strabo*, B. 6. boasts of the Largeness and Convenience of its Port. And this old Geographer speaks, in the same Place, of several fine Monuments which adorned this City, and among the rest, of a famous *Colossus* of *Jupiter*, as big as that at *Rhodes*. *Tarentum* grew so powerful as to become formidable to its Neighbours; but we shall hereafter see its Inhabitants enervated with Effeminacy, and all Sorts of Debaucheries, and sink under the *Roman Arms*.

³¹ The Term *Brutii*, signified, in the Language of the *Samnites*, according to *Strabo*, B. 7. a Gang of Rebels and Defectors. Such, says he, were the People we are here speaking of, who shook off the Yoke of the *Lucani*, whose Herds they kept. With the

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readiness, as if he had agreed with his Nephew *Alexander of Macedon*, to go and conquer the West, whilst the latter was undertaking the Conquest of the East. The King of *Epirus* hoped to have ³² found as great an Harvest of *Glory*, in *Sicily*, *Italy*, and *Africa*, as his Nephew would reap in *Persia*, and the rest of *Asia*. But this Monarch was not so successful in his Schemes, as the King of *Macedon*. He indeed made some Conquests over the ³³ *Lucani*, and *Brutii*, when he first came into *Italy*; but he found it necessary to gain the Friendship of the most formidable Nations in *Italy*. The *Romans*, among others, entered into an Alliance with him. It was not their Interest to declare for the *Brutii*, and oppose the King of *Epirus*. Besides, it was of infinitely more importance to them, to suppress the Revolt of the *Latins*, than to drive the *Greeks* back from *Italy*.

THE two *Consuls* therefore made it their whole Business, either to prevent the Revolt of the Allies, or to punish it, if they could not prevent it. The first Step they took, was, to cite ten of the chief Leaders of the *Latins*, to *Rome*, to give an account of the Preparations they were making, for the War with the *Samnites*. *Rome* pretended not to know, that the main Design of the Confederates was to take Arms against her. The *Latins* had then chosen themselves two *Prætors*, i. e. two Presidents in their Diets, who were likewise to be the Managers of the War, they were going to undertake. Their Names were *L. Annius*, and *L. Numicius*; and it is probable, they were both originally *Latins*, tho' Natives of two *Roman Colonies*. The one was an Inhabitant of *Setia*, the other of *Circeum*. The former seems to have been more proper for the Cabinet, the latter, for the Field. These two Rebels had already stirred up the Cities of *Segnia* and *Velitra*, against the Republick, and many other *Roman Colonies*. They likewise endeavoured to prevail on the *Volsci* to take up Arms; but don't seem to have succeeded in that Attempt. The two *Latin Prætors* therefore were both cited by Name, to appear before the Senate of *Rome*. The Confederates were not ignorant, what Interrogatories would be put to the *Latin* Envoys: and for that reason, their *Prætors* assembled a general Diet, to which Deputies were sent from all the Nations in Confederacy with them. And the *Prætors* declared to the Diet, that they had been summoned to appear at *Rome*; pointed out the Heads upon which they presumed their Examination would turn; and asked what Answer they should make to the Senate. The Members of the Diet were divided in their Opinions; and after *Annius* had declared his, he resumed the Discourse. and spoke thus.

Liv. B. 8. c. 4.

FOR my part, I think we ought to come to some Determination, to act either for, or against, the Romans; rather than to deliberate about the Answer we are to make them. We shall easily find Words to express our Meaning, when we have once resolved either to bear the Yoke, or shake it off. If we pay a regard to their Friendship, and betray the *Sidicini*, we must not only receive Law from the Romans, but from the *Samnites* too. We must then answer the Romans, that they shall be obeyed, as soon as they signify their Pleasure to us; and that we will take up, or lay down our Arms, as they think proper. If, on the contrary, the Love of Liberty gains the Ascendant in our Breasts, we must reason thus. The Alliance entered into with the Romans, is truly social; and all Society implies an Equality of Privileges in the Persons who compose it. We are indeed become the *Kinsmen*

the Assistance of *Dion*, who was at War with *Dionysius the Tyrant*, they made themselves Masters of this little Province in *Italy*; which is bounded, to the North, by the Rivers *Laus*, and *Sybaris*, now called by the Natives, the *Laino*, and the *Cochile*; to the East and South, by the *Sicilian Sea*; and to the West, by the *Tyrrhenian Sea*. That is, the *Brutii* inhabited all The Lower *Calabria*, and a small Part of The Upper. *Ennius*, as quoted by *Festus*, calls these People *Bilingues*, because they spoke both the Languages of the *Osce*, and *Greeks*.

³² Experience soon undeceived *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and all his Hopes vanished, as soon as he came to try his Strength with the Southern Nations of *Italy*. And therefore he used to say, according to *Aulus Gellius*, B. 17. c. 21. that the Country he proposed to conquer was *ἀνδρῶν ἡ χώρα*; i. e. inhabited by Men, whereas the Provinces his Nephew *Alexander the Great* went to subdue, were

γυναικῶν ἡ χώρα, i. e. inhabited by Women only. It was thus he stiled the *Asiatick Nations*, which the *Macedonians* had subdued.

³³ The *Lucani* were, according to *Strabo*, B. 6. originally *Samnites*, who were themselves a Branch of the *Sabines*. They separated from their Countrymen, according to *Pliny*, B. 3. under the Command of one *Lucius*, their Leader, and moved Southward. They invaded the Country which is bounded by the River *Silarus*, or the *Silaro*, towards the North by the *Vasento*, formerly *Casuentum*, towards the *Piscentini*; by the *Bradano*, towards *Apulia*; by the Rivers *Laino* and *Cochile*, to the South; by the Gulph of *Tarentum*, to the East; and by the *Tyrrhenian Sea*, to the West. The *Lucani* first drove the *Oenotrii* out of this Country, and then made themselves Masters of it. It is at present a Part of The *Hither Principality*, and Upper *Calabria*.

and Relations of the Romans. We formerly did them the Honour to intermarry with them; and it is confessed, we now glory in their granting us the same Alliances. But then, if the Troops we furnish their Armies with, are as ³⁴ numerous as their Legions; if their Consuls cannot carry on their Wars without our Soldiers, why are not we upon an equal Foot with them, in all other things? Why don't we chuse one of the Consuls to command their Armies? Since half their Troops come from us, why don't we share the Command of those Troops with them? And tho' we should acknowledge Rome to be the Head of Latium, yet this Claim ought not to seem exorbitant; because, it was by our Sufferance, that she gained the Ascendant over us. If ever we had a favourable Opportunity of demanding an equal Share of Power with her, and recovering our Liberty, this is the time; when both our own Valour, and the Protection of the Gods, prompt us to it. We have already tried the Patience of the Romans, by refusing to assist them with our Troops; as usual. Who knows how much they are provoked, at being deprived of a Possession they have enjoyed ³⁵ above two hundred Years? And yet they have been forced to assemble their Resentments at this Refusal. That imperious Rome, which formerly would not suffer us to defend our own Frontiers, has borne our making War with the Peligni, in our own Names, with Patience. She has seen us join with the Sidicini, take the Campani under our Protection, and declare War with the Samnites her Allies, without stirring? Whence proceeds all this Moderation? It is plain the proud Republick is afraid of us. She fears our Forces, and distrusts her own. I am very credibly informed, she has declared to the Samnites, that the Latins were no longer her Subjects. She seems therefore to have given up the Dominion she had usurped over Latium. Reassume then, Latins, reassume the Liberty she tacitly grants you. This is the Answer you ought to give the Romans. And no one else among you, has Courage enough to carry them this Message, I will charge myself with it. I promise you, that when I come to Rome, I will not only declare to the Republick, in the Presence of the Senate and People of Rome, but even in the Sight of Jupiter Capitolinus himself; That if she will have us to continue her Allies, she must consent to have one of her Consuls chosen from among us, and to fill her Senate with half Latins, and half Romans.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXIII.

MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
DECIVS MVS,
Consuls.

MANLIUS's Authority and Promises made an Impression on the Assembly: and they gave a shout by way of Applause, which passed for an unanimous Consent. He was commissioned to speak, and act, as he thought proper, for the Glory and Interests of the Latin Nation. And accordingly, he took a Journey to Rome, attended with nine other Deputies, of whom he was the chief. The Roman Senate had then no fixed Place of Assembly. They sometimes sat in one ³⁶ Temple, sometimes in another, as Occurrences, and the Nature of Affairs, required. They gave Audience to the Deputies from Latium, in the Capitol, i. e. the most august Place in Rome. T. Manlius spoke first, as Consul; and it is probable, there was more Dignity than Eloquence in his Discourse. It may be remembered, that he was born with an Impediment in his Speech, which was the reason his Father confined him to the Country, in his Youth. He forbade the Latins making War with the Samnites, in the Name of all the Conscrip Fathers. Then Annus assumed the Discourse, and replied, not with the Confidence of an Ambassador, whom the Laws of Nations protect from Insults, but with all the Pride of a Conqueror, who had just made himself Master of the Capitol. MANLIUS, says he, and you, Roman Senators, should have chosen another man, to give us Orders in this absolute manner. The Latins are now at the highest

³⁴ The Cities in Alliance with the Romans seem to have been obliged, at this time, to furnish the Republick with as many Foot-Soldiers as there were in the Legions. As for the Horse, we have already observed, that they were obliged to furnish twice as many as the Romans had in their Armies.

³⁵ It is impossible to make out this 200 Years, which Livy here reckons between this time, and the Confederacy between the Romans and Latins, in the 10 Years of the Reign of Tarquin the Proud. This Prince ascended the Throne about the Year 219. that from that time to this, was about 194 Years. there is therefore a Mistake in the Historian's Calculation.

but it will not be thought a great one, if we consider it as coming from Annus, whom Livy makes speak more like an Orator, than a Chronologist.

³⁶ All the Places where the Senators assembled, must necessarily have been consecrated by the Augurs; otherwise, their Decrees would not have had the Force of Laws. For this Reason, Cicero, in his Oration for Milo, calls the Place appointed for the assembling of the Conscrip Fathers, *Templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, Mentis, Consilii Publici*; that is, The Temple of Holiness, Majesty and Counsel.

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CCCCXIII.
MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
DECIUS MUS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 8. c. 5.

Pitch of their Glory. Thanks to the Gods, our Arms are successful, our Troops numerous, and our Allies formidable. The Sidicini, the Campani, and many of your Colonies, have declared for us. Your Government is become burdensome to them. Do we then expect to make you absolutely renounce the Power, which you have usurped over us? No; we will allow something to your Pretensions, on account of our Relation to you, and the many Alliances we have made with Rome. And we will still observe the ancient Treaties, provided you will establish them upon equal Terms; as the Gods have made our Strength equal to yours. Consent, That one of your Consuls shall be chosen out of the Romans, and the other, out of the Latins. Order your Senate-House to be filled with half Romans, and half Latins; and then we shall make but one People, and one Republick. Rome shall still continue to be the Seat of this formidable Empire; and since it is necessary that one of the two Parties should give name to these united Nations, we will all call ourselves Romans.

MANLIUS thought the Insolence of *Annius* intolerable: and the Roman had as much Spirit and Fire as the *Latin*. He was heard to say, *That if the Senators were mad enough to receive Law from a Citizen of Setia, he would arm himself; return to the Senate Sword in Hand; and kill every Latin, he found in it.* And then turning to the Statue of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, *O thou King of the Gods, said he, and you Divinities, who are the Guardians of Justice and Equity, can you bear Annius's Words, without Indignation! Shall the tutelary God of Rome be so far brought into Captivity to another Nation, as to suffer a Latin Consul, and Latin Senators, to sit in his Temple? Is this the Effect of the Treaties, which King Tullus formerly made with the Albans, and which Tarquin afterwards renewed with your Ancestors? Have you, Latins, really forgot your Defeat near the Lake Regillus, and the Alliance we then forced you to accept of, with Rome? You are equally proud, and ungrateful; you neither remember your own Misfortunes, nor our Favours.*

To these Reproaches, and the Invocation of the Gods, whom *Manlius* often called upon, to bear witness to the Unfaithfulness of the *Latins*, it is said that *Annius* made no Reply, but with Tears of Rage, both against the *Romans*, and their Gods. As he was transported with great Wrath, and affrighted at the Menaces of the Consul, he withdrew out of the Temple of *Jupiter*, with Precipitation. He went out of the Porch with the Air of one raving, and in his Hurry and Confusion, fell from the top of the Steps of the Temple, and struck his Head with great Force against the lowest Step. Some Historians say, he lay senseless; and others go so far as to say that he died of his Fall, and that his Death was followed by a great Clap of Thunder, and a violent Storm. But the most superstitious of the *Roman* Writers, do themselves look on this last Circumstance to be fabulous. In all probability, it was invented on purpose, to give Men the greater Horror of the Violation of Promises confirmed by Oaths and Sacrifices.

WHILST *Annius* was lying upon the Ground, the Consul *Manlius* went out of the Temple, to dismiss the *Latin* Ambassadors: and at this Sight, he burst out loudly into the following Exclamation, that he was heard both by the Senate and People. *Happy Omen for the War we are going to begin! Can we any longer doubt, whether there be a God that governs the World, or whether we have any reason to dedicate this Temple to Jupiter? Why do we delay taking up Arms at this Moment, after so happy an Augury, so plain a Declaration of the Will of the Gods? I will lay the Latin Troops as low, as you here see one of their Commanders, even under my Feet.* Which Words inspired all who heard him, with great Ardor for fighting. The People were so enraged against the *Latins*, that all the Power of the Magistrates was little enough, to prevent their offering Violence to the Ambassadors. But at length they were conducted safe out of the City, and the Laws of Nations religiously observed. After this, the Senate instantly decreed a War with the *Latins*; and the 37 People in *Comitia* ratified and confirmed it, by their Suffrages. Then the Consuls ordered Levies to be made, and formed two Armies.

37 The important Affairs of the Republick were before the Tribunal of the People, who determined at this time first brought before the Senate, and then them without Appeal.

consisting entirely of *Romans*; because, they were now going to engage with their own Allies, and their usual Companions in Victory.

§. XI. The *Consuls* marched through the Territories of the 38 *Marfi*, entered the Country of the *Peligni* that Way, and came and encamped in *Campania*, at the Foot of Mount 39 *Vesuvius*. They joined their Armies, and encamped together in the same Place. The Confederate Troops were already encamped, near the *Romans*; and both Parties had thoughts of coming to a Battel: and all are said to have been at rest, and the two *Consuls*, *Decius* and *Manlius*, both sleeping in their own Tents, the Night before the Engagement, when they both dreamt the same Dream. There appeared to them a Man of a gigantick Stature, and majestic Look, and spoke these Words to each of them. *It is decreed, that the General of one Army, and the other Army itself* 40, *shall be devoted to the Dii Manes. That Army therefore, whose General* 41 *shall sacrifice himself to the Gods of Hell, and the Goddess Terra, shall have a certain Victory.*

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R O M E
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MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
DECIUS MUS,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 8. c. 6.

WHEN it was Day, the two *Consuls* communicated their Dreams to each other, and the Conformity between them, convinced them, that it was not a nocturnal Illusion. Or perhaps, *Manlius* and *Decius* may have had Courage enough to feign an Apparition, which must cost one or t'other of them his Life, purely to animate the Courage of their Soldiers. The Magnanimity of the *Romans* was doubtless great enough, to enter into such a Scheme. But be it as it will, the *Consuls* ordered expiatory Sacrifices, to avert the Anger of the Gods; and it is pretended, That the *Aruspices* made such Discoveries, in the Entrails of the Victims, as confirmed the General's Dreams; and That the *Consuls* disclosed their Dreams to nobody, till after the Diviners had, in effect, said the same thing, as the Apparition. But immediately after the Ceremony, the *Consuls* called a Council of War, and divulged their Dream, with the Answer of the *Aruspices*. They likewise declared, That *Manlius* would command the Right Wing, and *Decius* the Left, in the ensuing Battel; and agreed, That He, whose Troops first gave way, should devote himself, to save his Country, and rush into the midst of his Enemies, in expectation of certain Death. This was a necessary Precaution; it was very proper to forewarn the Army of the designed Death of one of the Generals, lest it should have discouraged them in the Heat of the Battel.

In the same Council of War, consisting of the *Consuls*, Lieutenant Generals, and *Legionary Tribunes*, it was likewise determined, that it was absolutely necessary, That the old Discipline should be strictly observed in the present War; and every Officer and Soldier be forbidden to fight the Enemy, without express Orders, or out of his Rank, upon pain of Death. This was done, because the Enemy, they were now to engage with, spoke the same Language as the *Romans*; had always been mixed with them in former Wars; observed the same Way of fighting;

38 According to *Gellianus*, an old Author, whom *Pliny the Naturalist* quotes, B. 3. c. 12. the *Marfi* came originally from *Lydia*. A Company of *Lydians*, says he, came into this Country, under the Command of *Marsyas* their Leader. They built, in this Province, the City of *Archippe*, which was swallowed up by the Lake *Fucinus*, made all on a sudden, in the same Place where the City stood. *Gellianus* Auctor est Lacu Fucino haustum Marforum oppidum Archippen, conditum a Marsya duce Lydorum. And *Solinus*, the Abridger of *Pliny*, says the same thing, c. 8. Quis ignorat conditam Archippen a Marsya rege Lydorum, quod oppidum hiatu terrae haustum dissolutum est in Lacum Fucinum. *Virgil*, *Æneid*, B. 7. speaks of one *Archippus*, who governed the Nation of the *Marfi*. But *Silius* pretends they were originally *Phrygians*. And we think the Fables some old Writers have told about these People, whom they derive from a Son of *Circe*, unworthy of a Place in this History. We rather incline to believe, with some others, that the *Marfi* were formerly a Part of the *Sabines*. *Festus* is of this Opinion, when he gives us to understand that they spoke the same Language. At least, he says, the Name of the *Hernici* was borrowed from the Rocks they inhabited: and *Servius* and *Festus* agree, that *Herna* signified the same thing in the Language

of the *Marfi* and *Sabines*, as *Saxa* does in *Latin*. Their first Leader is said to have been one *Marrus*, who founded *Marrubium*, their Capital. Their Country is at present a Part of *The Further Abruzzo*, near the Lake *Gelano*, formerly called the Lake *Fucinus*.

39 It is needless to say any thing here of Mount *Vesuvio*, in *Campania*, at a little Distance from *Naples*. This Mountain is universally known; both ancient and modern Authors have in all Ages given Accounts of the Torrents of Fire it has vomited out, and the Desolation it has produced, in all the Country round about it.

40 By the *Dii Manes*, the Ancients meant the Gods of Hell. They were thought the Authors of all the Calamities which sometimes laid the Republick desolate. And therefore nothing was wanting to appease these mischievous Divinities. But they likewise comprehended the Souls of the deceased, under the general Name of the Gods *Manes*. The usual Inscription upon Tombs was this. DII MANIBUS DIIS INFERIS MANIBUS.

41 The chief Motive to this Consecration, or devoting themselves to Death, was, the appealing the Wrath of the Gods, especially the infernal Powers, who were thought such revengeful Deities, as could not be appeased by [human] Sacrifices.

and

Year of and posted their Officers, and drew up their Army, in the same manner. It was
 R O M E therefore of great Consequence, to observe a strict Discipline; to avoid Frauds and
 CCCCXIII. Tricks; and to preserve the *Romans*, from falling into the Snares, the *Latins*
 MANLIUS might lay for them; and being surprized by them. But the unfortunate *Manlius*
 TORQUATUS, did not then foresee, that the Orders they were going to make, would prove fatal
 DECIUS MUS, to his Family, and cause the Death of his Son.
 Consuls.

Zonaras, B. 7.
 c. 26.

Liv. B. 8. c. 7.

YOUNG *Manlius* marched out of the *Roman* Camp, at the Head of a Detachment of Horse, to observe the Camp and Countenance of the Enemy. He had no Intention to fight, and insolently break through the General's Orders. It was merely a Point of Honour that made him disobey them; and his Crime did not so much proceed from a Spirit of Disobedience, as from Valour, and a sort of Constraint. His Squadron advanced so near the *Latins*, as to be within reach of their Darts: and the Advanced-Guard of the Enemy, which wholly consisted of *Tusculan* Horse, happened unfortunately to be within reach of the *Roman* Detachment. It was commanded by one *Geminus Metius*. He was a Man of a great Family, and known Valour, among the *Latins*: And as all the Men of Figure on both Sides, were known to each other, by having long fought together, and lived in the same Army; *Metius* soon knew the Consul's Son. Then the two Commanders of the two Squadrons drew near one another; and *Metius*, who was the Aggressor, accosted young *Manlius* thus. *Are not you the Consul's Son? Is not your Name also Torquatus? Did not your Father gain this Title in a Duel with a Gaul? And dares not the Son enter the Lists with a Latin, as the Father did with a Barbarian? If, Romans, you are afraid of us, why do you assume an Ascendant over us? Why would you domineer over us? Are these all the Forces you intend to send against us? Do you pretend to subdue us with one Squadron of Horse? Why don't your Consuls come and appear in the Plain? They will appear there in due time,* replied *Manlius*, *and Jupiter, and all the Gods who revenge the Breach of Treaties, with them. You have already experienced the Force of our Arms, near the Lake Regillus; and will perhaps again repent of contending with your Conquerors.* At which Words, the fierce *Metius* spur'd his Horse, rested his Lance, and said, *Let us then, before the general Action, try whether the Latin or Roman Horse shall be victorious, by a single Combat:* And this provoked the young *Roman*.

His Rage, or the Shame of refusing so insolent a Challenge, made him forget the General's Orders. Besides, he thought Death inevitable, whether he fought, or not; and therefore the Love of Glory prevailed. When the two Combatants were ready to engage, those about them drew back on either side, and left the Field open for the two Champions. They rode full speed at one another; and *Manlius's* Lance only glanced upon his Adversary's Helmet, above his Horse's Head, which screen'd his Rider. Then the two Combatants wheeled about, to return to the Charge; and upon the second Onset, *Manlius* struck *Metius's* Horse directly between the Ears with his Lance. The Violence of the Blow made the Horse rise; and the Suddenness of the Shock threw *Metius* to the Ground. He endeavoured to raise himself with his Buckler and Lance; but *Manlius* gave him so violent a Thrust in the Throat with his Lance, that he drove the Point of it out at his Side, and left him dead upon the Place. The Rules in single Combats, which were scarce ever after observed, were then in use; and the Conqueror was permitted to carry off the Spoils of his conquered Enemy, without Opposition. Young *Manlius* loaded himself with them, and returned to the Army, full of Glory for his Victory, but uncertain of the Success he should have, with the Consuls. He passed triumphantly through the midst of the Camp, and coming directly to his Father's Tent, accosted him thus. *I have, Sir, followed your Example. I was challenged, like you, by a proud Enemy; and here I lay his Spoils at your Feet.* But the Father, at these Words, turned his Back upon his Son, ordered the Troops to be immediately assembled, and in their Presence, made him this Reply. *As you are both victorious and disobedient, you both deserve to be rewarded, and to die. And I am determined you shall not fail of either. You shall be crown'd as a Conqueror, and punished as a Rebel. What! Son, could you despise both the Authority of a Father, and of a Consul? Could you break through that Discipline, to the strict Observance of which, Rome has hitherto all along owed her Preservation?* Hard is the

Liv. B. 8. c. 7.

the Necessity you reduce me to, when you force me either to forget that I am a Father, or that I am a Judge. But neither your Grief, nor my own, shall prevail over the Fidelity I owe my Country. We shall be a melancholy Example to Posterity; but a wholesome Precedent for the Roman Youth! In you, I lose a Son, endeared to me by the tender Affection of a Father, and that Endearment heightened by your late Glory. What Tortures then must rend my Heart! But alas! since I must either preserve the Authority of the Government, by a rigorous Act of Justice, or weaken it by your Impunity; die as bravely as you have conquered. If you have one Drop of your Father's Blood in your Veins, you will not refuse to die. It is your great Felicity, to be able to repair that Discipline with the Loss of your Life, which you weakened through an Excess of Valour.

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MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
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AFTER the Consul had said this, he first crowned his Son as a Victor, and then ordered the *Lictors* to tie him to a Stake. This the whole Army thought a barbarous Order. When the Executioner lifted up his Ax, to strike off the young Conqueror's Head, every Man's Blood chilled in his Veins; and if the Army did not immediately revolt upon it, it was not so much owing to their Respect for their Generals, as their Surprise. Every Man felt the Stroke, as if it had fallen upon his own Head; and when, after this cruel Execution, they recovered themselves from their Astonishment, the Silence of the Troops turned into Invectives, and imprecations. However, the Soldiers comforted themselves as well as they could, by paying all possible regard to young *Manlius*, at his Funeral. They covered him with the Spoils he had taken from his Enemy, and burnt them with him on a Funeral-pile, they raised without the Camp. Never was Officer more magnificently interred in an Army; never was Soldier more sincerely lamented. The Father was the only Man, who seemed unmoved at the Loss of his Son. Whether through Magnanimity, or Pride, or the Love of his Country; he shewed the *Romans*, by every moving Instance, That, in Armies, Obedience is better than Victory.

Zonaras, B. 7.
ch. 26.

Livy, *ibid.*

§. XII. It is scarce to be imagined, how tractable *Manlius's* Severity made his Army, and how much their Docility contributed to the Victory he gained a few days after. It had never been more necessary, to keep the *Romans* within the strictest Bounds of Duty, than at this time. The War they were making with the *Latins*, was in a manner a Civil War. There were the same Arms, on both Sides; the same Dispositions of Infantry and Cavalry; the same Order of Battel in fighting; the same Discipline observed in Encampments; and in short, there was a perfect Equality between them and their Enemies, in every thing, but the Courage of the Soldiers, and the Experience of the Generals. And therefore, in order to shew the Discipline and Management of the *Latin* Soldiery, it is sufficient to explain the Dispositions of the *Romans*; such as it was, at this time. For it had already undergone several Alterations, and underwent more afterwards.

Flor. B. 1. c. 14.

THE Order of Battel, in which the *Roman* Army was drawn up before an Engagement, in *Manlius's* time, was as follows. But we shall here say nothing of the disposition of the Allies, because the present War was with Allies. The Army commanded by *Manlius* and *Decius*, consisted only of *Legionaries*; that is, of Troops raised in the City, and the *Country-Tribes*, which strictly speaking, constituted the district of *Rome*. The *Romans* were drawn up in Battalia, in three Lines, as early as in King *Servius Tullius's* time. These three Lines consisted of three Sorts of Soldiers, who differed in Age, Circumstances, and Birth. In ancient times, the first Line consisted of those who were called ⁴² *Principes*, because they fought at the Head of the *Legions*, and began Attacks. They were generally the richest of the *Roman* Youth. But this Order was now changed; the *Principes* were put in the second Line; and those placed in their room, who were called ⁴³ *Hastati*, from a part, called *Hasta*, which they carried in their Hands, and with which they could

Liv. B. 8. c. 8.

⁴² Varro, B. 4. de Ling. Lat. says this was formerly the Disposition of the *Roman* Armies. The *Principes*, says he, were originally placed in the first rank, and fought at the Head of the Army. PRINCES a principio, gladiis pugnabant, & post, comitata re militari, minus illustres sumuntur. This order was often changed. The same Author adds, that the *Romans* afterwards gave the Name and Post to the *Principes*, to Soldiers of an inferior Rank.

⁴³ In *Polybius's* time, the *Hastati* fought with Swords. But they were likewise armed with the Javelins called *Pila*, which we have already described, Vol. I. p. 232. Note 2. The *Hastati* were chosen out of the youngest Men in the Army. There were 1200 of these in a *Legion* of 4000 Men. As the *Legions* were made larger, the Number of the *Hastati* was increased in Proportion.

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MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
DECIUS MUS,
Consuls.
Polybius, Ve-
getius, &c.

Just. Lips. de
Mil. Rom. B.
4. ch. 1.

reach the Enemy, at a distance. These had place, at first, in the second Line. In the third, were the 44 *Triarii*, (*quasi, Tertiarii*, i. e. *The thirds*) because they were in the *third* Line, in time of Battel. Yet this Order was sometimes changed afterwards; and the *Principes* placed again in the first Line. These Lines in the *Roman* Armies, were anciently all entire, and not broken by any open Spaces. The first Line, for instance, was carried on, without any Breaks, to distinguish the *Cohorts*, or *Ordines*, and the *Centuries*, and *Manipuli*, from one another; nor was there any void Space left between the first, second, and third Lines; the three all following close after one another. And in short, the whole *Roman* Army was so well closed, and united together, that it looked like a 45 *Macedonian Phalanx*. But at the time of this War with the *Latins*, it was not so. The *Romans* had already invented another Disposition. They divided the first Line from the second, and the second from the third, by two *Streets*, if we may call them by that Name. That which divided the *Hastati* from the *Principes*, was fifty Foot wide; that which separated the *Principes* from the *Triarii*, an hundred. And as Spaces were left between the Lines, so likewise between the different Corps, of which each Line consisted. These Corps, called *Manipuli*, which resembled our Regiments, were divided from one another, by Spaces of thirty Foot wide each; so that, in a Line of ten *Manipuli*, there were nine of these Spaces. But these Openings between the *Manipuli* were not so disposed, as that the Enemy could pass from the Front of the Army to the Rear, through them. The *Manipuli* of the three Lines were so placed, that those of the second Line stopped up the Ways, from the first to the third. The Use of these Spaces, was to facilitate the Retreat of the first or second Lines, when they were pressed hard upon by the Enemy. They retired through these Passages, which were left open for that Purpose, still facing the Enemy; and then the Line behind it, took the Place of that which had retired. And lastly, when the two first Lines had both been obliged to retreat, the *Triarii*, who then became the first Line, closed all their Ranks, and left none of these Spaces for their *Manipuli* to retire through. These were forced to resolve, to die or conquer, without any hopes of a Retreat. So that the great Dependence of the *Romans* in Battel, was on these *Triarii*. They were the most considerable Corps in the *Roman* Armies, and consisted of the oldest Soldiers, and the chief Nobility in *Rome*. And it may be justly said, That the whole Secret of the *Roman* Art of War, lay in the disposing of their Armies in this manner, and leaving these Spaces open in the first, and second Lines; and That, by this Device alone, *Rome* made herself Mistress of the whole World.

In *Manlius's* time, each Line of the Army consisted of fifteen *Manipuli*; and in each *Manipulus*, of the first Line, were twenty Men 46, light armed, i. e. in my opinion, who wore only little round Bucklers, whilst the rest of the *Manipulus* wore oblong square ones, which were bent inward, like half Cylinders. In the Space 47 between the *Principes* and *Triarii*, the *Consuls* and Lieutenant General took their Posts, each in the Wing he commanded. Near them, were the *Roma*

44 We shall hereafter see the *Triarii* armed with the *Pilum*; whence they were sometimes called *Pilani Milites*.

45 The *Macedonian Phalanx*, was of the Shape of a great square Battalion. Its Ranks were so close, that they seemed to move like one single Body. This is the Idea, *Quintus Curtius* gives us of it, B. 3. *Phalangem vocant peditum stabile agmen. Vir viro arma armis conferta sunt. Appian*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, ascribe the Invention of it to *Philip of Macedon*. The *Phalanx* generally consisted of 8000 Foot. They were very formidable, when drawn up in this Form. It was difficult to cut thro' or break them, as long as the Soldiers continued close and united to one another, without leaving the least Space between the Files and Ranks. Nevertheless, this Way of fighting was subject to several Inconveniencies, especially if the Ground was uneven, or covered with Hedges, Trenches, and Ditches. The *Phalanx* could not, in that case, long preserve that Union or Consistence, in which its whole Strength consisted.

46 *Livy* arms them with a Pike, and very light Javelins, such as the *Gauls* used, and which the An-

cients call *Gasa*. *Leves autem, qui hastam tantum Gasaque gererent. Livy*, B. 8.

47 The *Principes* made the second Line, according to *Livy*, and consisted of fifteen *Manipuli*, as well as the first. But nevertheless, if what both ancient and modern Authors tell us, be true, viz. that there were but ten *Manipuli*, in each Corps of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, we must correct *Livy's* Text, who says there were fifteen in each. *Principes Hastati erant, Manipuli quindecim. Just. Lipsius*, and *Gronovius*, read *decem* instead of *quindecim*, agreeably to these Lines of *Ovid*,

—Hastatos instituitque decem
Et totidem Princeps, totidem Pilanus habebat
Corpora.

The Soldiers in the two first Lines were called *Anti-Pilani*, according to *Livy*, B. 8. *Hoc triginta Manipulorum agmen Ante-pilanos vocabant*; because they were before the *Triarii*, who were in the third Line, and wore the *Pilum*. This was a Sort of Half-Pike, not unlike that used by our Officers.

Eagles; but the rest of the Ensigns were placed in the Centre of each *Manipulus*. Behind the Generals were the *Triarii*; who, whilst the first two Lines were fighting, kept their Posts, with their right Knees on the Ground, their great square Bucklers on their Shoulders, and resting themselves on their long Halberts, the Heads of which were upwards, and made a sort of Pallisade before them. It was then customary in *Rome*, to raise only four *Legions*; and tho' each of these generally consisted only of 4200 Foot, and 300 Horse; yet it appears, that in this War, 4⁸ every *Legion* consisted of 5000 Foot. As for the Horse, they were always placed in the Wings of the Army, and were not numerous among the *Romans*, at this time. There were but 1200 Horse in an Army of 20000 Men.

49 SUCH was the Disposition of the Army, the two *Consuls*, *Manlius* and *Decius*, led against the *Latins*; and the Order of the Enemy's Army was exactly the same as that of the *Consuls*. The *Latin* Standards answered to those of the *Romans*. The *Latins* were drawn up in three Lines; the first of which consisted of their *Hastati*, the second of their *Principes*, the third of their *Triarii*. And lastly, their *Centurions* were placed over-against the *Roman Centurions*; so that if they fought in that Order, the several Officers of each Army would have engaged with one another. In short, the Order was so exactly alike on both Sides, that as the *Roman Triarii* had a Body of chosen Men at the Head of them, the Commander of whom was called *Primo-pilus*; so the *Latin Triarii*, had their chosen Body, and their *Primo-pilus*. The *Roman* was neither so tall, nor looked so strong as the *Latin*; but to make amends, had both more Skill and more Courage. However, not thinking himself able to cope with his Adversary, he, as the *Consuls* had given Permission, chose himself a *Sub-Centurion*, to assist him: And it happened, in the Dispute, that this young Officer engaged the *Latin Centurion*, and overcame him.

THESE two great Bodies of *Romans* and *Latins*, which were so equal, and so uniform in their way of fighting, were drawn up in the Plains, at the Foot of Mount *Vesuvius*, in the Road to ⁵⁰ the Town of *Veseris*. But before the *Consuls* marched out of their Camp, they took care to offer Sacrifices, and consult the Entrails of the Victims. It is well known, that ⁵¹ the *Haruspices* were of opinion, that the surest Presages of what would happen, were to be taken from the Livers of the sacrificed

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Liv. B. 8. c. 8.

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48 *Livy* says that there were not less than 5000 Men in a *Legion*. *Scribebantur autem quatuor fere Legiones, quinis millibus peditum, equitibus in singulis legiones trecentis.* B. 8.

49 The Nature of the Facts we must treat of hereafter will oblige us to give the Reader a very particular and complete Account of the *Roman Art of War*; the different Orders, in which their Men were drawn up in Battalia; their Camps; &c. and therefore, to avoid Repetitions, we refer the Reader to our Observations on this Subject, in the Sequel of this History.

50 The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men* takes the Town of *Veseris*, for a River. *Latinos ad Veserim fluvium Decii Collegæ devotione suavit.* And *Livy*, B. 10. *Cicero*, *De Offic.* l. 3. and *Val. Max.* B. 6. speak so ambiguously of it, that it is not easy to say, whether it was a City, Town, or River. *Cluver* thinks *Livy* means by it a City. His Reason for it, is this, That in the District, where this Battle was fought between the *Romans* and *Latins*, there are not known to be any other Rivers, but the *Fornello*, or the *Fiume della Madonna*, and the *Sarno*. These are the modern Names of the Rivers the Ancients call *Sebethus*, and *Aruns*. We shall therefore, till such time as we can get better Information about it, take *Veseris* for a City, or Town.

51 This is the Name the *Romans* gave a Sort of Diviners, who were some of the most considerable in *Rome*, next to the *Augurs*. Their Business was to foretel what would happen, by inspecting the Entrails of Animals. *Romulus* established three; that is, one for each of the three Tribes, into which he divided his new Colony. Afterwards, the Senate ordered, by a Decree made on purpose, that twelve *Patrician* Children should be brought up in

the twelve *Lucumones* in *Hetruria*, at the publick Expence; in order to their being instructed in this Sort of Divination, which was brought from thence to *Rome*. In After-times, the Number of the *Haruspices* increased, in Proportion as that of the Pagan Divinities did; and they were formed into a College, whose Decrees were long had in Esteem. *Cicero* describes their Office, B. 2. *de Legib.* thus. PRODIGIA, PORTENTA, AD HETRUSCOS ET HARUSPICES, SI SENATUS JUSSERIT, DEFERUNTO. HETRURIAEQUE PRINCIPES DISCIPLINAM DOCENTO. QUIBUS DIVIS CREVERINT PROCURANTO. IDEMQUE FULGURA ATQUE OBSTITA PIANTO. Their chief Business was to assist at the Sacrifices, to observe the Cries and Motions of the Victim, before, at, and after, the time its Throat was cut. Hence the *Latins* called them *Extispices*, and the *Greeks* *θύρας ἱεροσκοποὺς ἢ ἡπατοσκοποὺς*, because the Liver was the chief Thing they considered. They likewise examined in what manner the Fire burned, and consumed the Victim; and observed the Smell, and the Smoke, of the Incense. In short, all the Circumstances that preceded, attended, or followed the Sacrifice, were so many lucky, or unlucky Signs, upon which they made the Success of the most important Enterprises to depend. It also belonged to the *Haruspices*, as well as the *Augurs*, to observe Lightning, and to purify the Places and Persons which had been struck with it. For this Reason *Cato*, and *Nonnius Marcellus*, give them the Name of *Fulguratores*. *Virgil* ascribes these Offices to them, in the Person of *Asylas*, *Aeneid* 10.

*Tertius ille hominum divumque interpretas, Asylas;
Cui pecudum fibrae, cæli cui sidera parent,
Et linguae volucrum, & præsagi fulminis ignes.*

They were consulted, about the Nature of Prodiges,

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crificed Beasts. These Livers they usually divided into two Parts: one of which they said, foretold what would happen to the Enemy; the other, what would befall the *Romans*. And it is not only said, that by that Side of the Liver, which was now to shew what would be the Fate of the *Latins*, it appeared that they were threatned with some great Misfortune, whilst the Side of the *Romans* promised them a favourable Event: but likewise, that the Entrails, which were consulted in relation to the Generals, seemed to presage nothing but what was fortunate to *Manlius*. And this filled his Collegue with Joy. He from thence inferred, that if either of them was to devote himself to Death in the Battel, he should be the Man. Whilst on the other hand, *Manlius* could not help envying *Decius* the Happiness he would probably have, of falling a Victim to the publick Good. So great an Emulation was there, at that time, among the *Romans*, who should do his Country the most important Services, tho' at the Expence of his Life!

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gies, the Sense of Oracles, and whatever related to the Worship of the Gods, or the Ceremonies of Religion. Sometimes they were called into the Senate, to give their Opinions; and the *Fathers* regulated their Decrees, according to their Answers. That great Regard was shewn to their Decisions, is evident from the following ancient Inscription.

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But there was another Sort of *Haruspices*, who made it their Business to foretell future things, and calculate Nativities, for Money; by Chiromancy, Lots, and Astrology. *Ennius*, whom *Tully* quotes in his Book *De Divin.* declaims warmly against these Cheats, who imposed upon the Credulity of the Simple. His Words are these. *Non habeo denique nauci Marsum Augurum, non vicanos Haruspices, non de circo Astrologos, non iliacos conjectores, non interpretes somniorum; non enim sunt ii, aut Scientia aut arte divini, sed supersticiosi vates, impudentesque Harioli, aut inertes, aut insani, aut quibus egestas imperat: qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam; quibus divitias pollicentur, ab iis drachmam ipsi petunt. De his divitiis sibi deducunt drachmam, reddunt cetera.* *Ennius* calls these professed Impostors *Vicanos Haruspices*, because they ran about the Villages, where they found their Impostures turn to more Account. As much respected as the *Haruspices* were in Rome, Persons of the best Sense openly derided an Art, which was made venerable only by popular Errors and Superstition. *Cicero* says, *De Divin.* that *Hannibal* reproached King *Prusias*, with having more Dependence upon the Entrails of a Calf, than upon the Experience and Valour of his Officers. Nevertheless, this chimerical Art had its Rites, Ceremonies, and Mysteries; which were contained in certain Rituals which *Cicero* mentions. *Antistius Labeo* compiled them together, digested them into fifteen Books, and added a Commentary to them.

⁵² Their Love for their Country, which was the

Characteristick of the ancient *Romans*, never more eminently appeared, than when they voluntarily devoted themselves to certain Death, for her sake. Whether they borrowed the Ceremonies and Custom of these *Devotements*, from the *Greeks*, or it was the Effect of the Citizens own Superstition, or extravagant Zeal for the Interest of their Republick; the *Roman* History affords us many Instances of this generous Contempt of Life. We have already observed, that the most considerable of the Senators signalized themselves, by thus devoting themselves to Death, after the unfortunate Battel of the *Allia*, and the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. The same Motive likewise prevailed on young *Cornelius*, to ride headlong into the Gulph, upon the Answer of the *Haruspices*, (according to *Varro*, B. 4. *de Ling. Lat.*) that the Sovereign of the *Dii Mani* required, that the most valiant Man among the *Romans* should be sacrificed to him. *Esse responsum, Deum Manium Postulionem postulare, hoc est, circum fortissimum postulare.* The Name of *Postulio* was given to the Victim appointed to be sacrificed to the infernal Gods. These *Devotements*, which were thought the highest Acts of Heroism, were made from time to time; even after the Love of Glory and their Country ceased to be the predominant Passion of the *Romans*. In the History of the Empire, which will follow that of the Republick, we shall find Courtiers devoting themselves to die, by solemn Vows; out of a firm Persuasion, that they shall, at the Expence of their Lives, purchase of the Gods, either a long Chain of Prosperity, or a Recovery from a Fit of Sickness, for their Masters. The only End proposed in these *Devotements*, was to appease the Wrath of the infernal Gods. It was a received Tradition among the Pagans, That these relentless Gods were not to be moved by the Vows or Prayers of the Living.

Nesciaque humanis precibus mansuescere corda.
Georg. 4.

They were little affected with the Sacrifice of Beasts; and nothing was thought sufficient to appease them, but the shedding of human Blood. So that, in all publick Frights, and Misfortunes, and whenever they were under the Terrors of a Battel, wherein they gave every thing up for lost; the disturbed Imaginations of the *Romans* immediately represented to them all the Powers of Hell,

Enemy's Army with him, to the *Dii Manes*. These *Devotements* were not unusual among the *Romans*; but it seldom happened, that a General of an Army, or even a private Person, voluntarily devoted himself. For this reason, the

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Hell, as armed against the Republick. Whilst under the Troubles which these Pannicks produced; they thought every thing conspired to ruin their Country. And their Religion furnished them with no other Remedy to prevent these Misfortunes, but that of glutting the Rage of these sanguinary Gods, by turning the Scourges with which Rome was threatened, upon the Head of one of their Citizens. In Conformity to which Principles, there was not wanting one among them, who gloried in surrendering himself up to the Fury of these *Dii Manes*; in full Persuasion, that he should, by this means, not only appease the Anger of these revengeful Divinities, but engage them to arm against the Enemies of his Country.

§3 The Magistrates often devoted dangerous Citizens to Death, of their own Authority; and then it was lawful for any one to kill them. These Vows were most common, before the taking of besieged Cities. And the Besiegers were also very careful, not to be wanting in another Ceremony, by way of precaution, which the Ancients call *Evocation*. They thought, they could not effectually deliver up a City to the Severity of the infernal Powers, till it was first deprived of the Protection of its tutelary Gods. *Macrobius's* Description of this preparatory Act, *Saturn. B. 3.* is this. When the *Romans*, says he, had reduced any Place to Extremity, they endeavoured, by Prayers, and magical Terms, to prevail on the tutelar Deities of the Place, to leave the Temples which were consecrated to them, and come and settle at *Rome*. They promised them subjects more zealous for their Glory, a more respectful Kind of Worship, Temples, Games, and sacrifices. His Words are these. *Constat omnes res in alicujus Dei esse tutela, moremque Romanum arcanum, & multis ignotum fuisse, ut cum cederent urbem hostium, eamque jam capi posse conarent, certo carmine evocarent tutelares Deos; sed aut aliter urbem capi posse non crederent; aut possent, nefas aestimarent, deos habere captivos.* Without this Precaution, they thought it impossible to force a besieged City, as long as it continued under the Protection of its Gods. Besides, the *Romans* were of Opinion, that they could not offer a greater injury to these Gods, than as it were to tear them from the Places which were consecrated to them. So bold an Enterprize as this, would have been thought an unparalleled Act of Impiety and Wickedness, and most contrary to the Respect due to things sacred. The Form of this *Evocation*, as the Author collected it, out of a Book of *Sammonius Serenus*, entituled, *Of Secret Things*, was as follows. The latter pretends to have found it in an old Piece, which he ascribes to one *Facius*. It was the particular Form used at the taking of *Carthage*. But if the Name only be changed, it will suit any of the Cities the *Romans* conquered. *If there be any God, or Goddess, who defendest the People and City of Carthage, and Thou Divinity especially, who hast honoured them with thy protection, I entreat You, with the most profound Veneration, to abandon this City, desert the Temples consecrated to You, reject the Worship they pay You, fill the Citizens with a Spirit of Delusion, Fear, Confusion, and Terror. Vouchsafe to become ours. Remove to Rome, and take up your Dwelling there: Leave of our Temples and Mysteries. Be propitious to the Roman People, my Self, and my Army. I, in gratitude for it, solemnly vow, That I will, in that City, erect Temples, and celebrate Games to your Honours.* The original Words, of this ancient, and therefore venerable Form, are these: *Si Deus, si est, cui populus civitasque Carthaginensis, est in*

tutela; teque maxime ille, qui urbis hujus populi que tutelam recepisti, precor, venerorque, veniamque a vobis peto, ut vos, populum, civitatemque Carthaginensem deseratis; loca, templa, sacra, urbemque eorum, relinquatis; absque his abeatis; eique populo, civitatique, metum, formidinem, oblivionem, insidiat; proditque Romam, ad me, meosque veniat; nostraque vobis loca, templa, sacra, urbs, acceptior, probatiorque sit; mihi que, populoque Romano, militibusque meis, prapostui sitis; ut sciamus intelligamusque. Si ita feceritis, voveo vobis templa, ludosque, facturum. According to *Verrius Flaccus*, whom *Pliny* quotes, *B. 28. c. 2.* the Form of *Evocation* was contained in the Ritual of the *Pontifices*, and was there to be read in his time. The Ceremony concluded with offering Sacrifices. At these, the *Haruspices* always presided, and judged by inspecting the Entrails of the Victims, whether the Prayers made to the tutelary Gods of the invested City were heard. The *Romans* were so fully persuaded of the Efficacy of these *Evocations*, that they always thought it Matter of indispensable Duty to keep the Name of the tutelar God of *Rome*, and even the *Latin* Name of the City itself, profound Secrets. They were afraid the Enemy, if once informed of these Secrets, would make use of the same Practices against them, which they had so often tried with Success. Hence the impenetrable Mystery of the sacred Depositum, which was kept in the Temple of *Vesta*, as the most valuable Pledge of the perpetual Duration of the Power of *Rome*. Only the *Pontifices* and *Vestals* knew what it was. *Pliny* says, *B. 3. c. 5.* that one *Valerius Soranus*, was punished with Death, for having discovered the mysterious Name of *Rome*: And the Truth of this Fact is also confirmed by *Solinus*, *B. 1.* It was probably the same Person *Servius* speaks of, when he says, *On the first Georgick*, that one of the *Tribunes of the People* was condemned to be crucified for this Reason. But the Ceremony of the *Evocation*, was only a Prelude to that of the *Devotements* practised by the *Romans*, in order to destroy the besieged Cities. *Macrobius* states the Form of this Imprecation thus. *Dis Pater, Vejovis, Manes, sive vos, quo alio Nomine fas est nominare, ut omnes, illam Urbem Carthaginem Exercitumque, quam me sentis dicere, Fuga, Formidine, Terroreque compleatis; quique adversum Legiones, Exercitumque nostrum, Arma, Telaque ferent; uti Vos, eum Exercitum, eos Hostes, eosque Homines, Urbes, Agrosque eorum, qui in his Locis, Regionibusque, Agris, Urbibusque habitant, abducatis; Lumine supero privetis; Exercitumque Hostium, Urbes, Agrosque, eorumque, quos me sentio dicere; uti Vos eas Urbes, Agrosque, Capita, Aetatque eorum devotas, consecratasque habeatis, illis Legibus, quibus quandoque sunt maxime Hostes devoti; eosque ego vicarios pro me, Fide, Magistratuque meo, pro populo Romano, Exercitibus, Legionibusque nostris do, devoveo; ut me meamque Fidem, Imperiumque, Legiones, Exercitumque nostrum, qui in rebus gerendis sunt, bene salvas siritis esse. Si hac ita faxitis, ut ego sciam, sentiam, intelligamque, tunc quivis hoc Votum faxit, ubi ubi faxit, recte factum esto, ovibus Atris viribus, Tellus Mater, teque Jupiter obsecro. &c.* That is, O Father Pluto, thou implacable Jupiter, and all the infernal Gods, by what Names soever we may invoke You, fill *Carthage*, and the Army, upon which I implore your Vengeance, with Consternation and Terror. Disperse our Enemies, I conjure You, and deprive them of the Light of the Sun. Pour out all your Fury upon their Cities, Fields, and all that dwell in them. Let not those who fight against our Legions be able to escape your Corrections. Permit me to deliver them over absolutely,

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But there was another Sort of *Haruspices*, who made it their Business to foretell future things, and calculate Nativities, for Money; by Chiromancy, Lots, and Astrology. *Ennius*, whom *Tully* quotes in his Book *De Divin.* declaims warmly against these Cheats, who imposed upon the Credulity of the Simple. His Words are these. *Non habeo denique nauci Marsum Augurum, non vicanos Haruspices, non de circo Astrologos, non iliacos conjectores, non interpretes somniorum; non enim sunt ii, aut Scientia aut arte divini, sed superstitionis vates, impudentesque Harioli, aut inertes, aut insani, aut quibus egestas imperat: qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam; quibus divitias pollicentur, ab iis drachmam ipsi petunt. De his divitiis sibi deducunt drachmam, reddunt cetera.* *Ennius* calls these professed Impostors *Vicanos Haruspices*, because they ran about the Villages, where they found their Impostures turn to more Account. As much respected as the *Haruspices* were in *Rome*, Persons of the best Sense openly derided an Art, which was made venerable only by popular Errors and Superstition. *Cicero* says, *De Divin.* that *Hannibal* reproached King *Prusias*, with having more Dependence upon the Entrails of a Calf, than upon the Experience and Valour of his Officers. Nevertheless, this chimerical Art had its Rites, Ceremonies, and Mysteries; which were contained in certain Rituals which *Cicero* mentions. *Antistius Labeo* compiled them together, digested them into fifteen Books, and added a Commentary to them.

⁵² Their Love for their Country, which was the

Characteristick of the ancient *Romans*, never more eminently appeared, than when they voluntarily devoted themselves to certain Death, for her sake. Whether they borrowed the Ceremonies and Custom of these *Devotements*, from the *Greeks*, or it was the Effect of the Citizens own Superstition, or extravagant Zeal for the Interest of the Republick; the *Roman* History affords us many instances of this generous Contempt of Life. We have already observed, that the most considerable the Senators signalized themselves, by thus devoting themselves to Death, after the unfortunate Battel the *Allia*, and the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. The same Motive likewise prevailed on young *Decius*, to ride headlong into the Gulph, upon the Answer of the *Haruspices*, (according to *Varro*, *de Ling. Lat.*) that the Sovereign of the *Dii* required, that the most valiant Man among the *Romans* should be sacrificed to him. *Esse respondit Deum Manium Postulionem postulare, hoc est, fortissimum postulare.* The Name of *Postulionem* given to the Victim appointed to be sacrificed to the infernal Gods. These *Devotements*, which were thought the highest Acts of Heroism, were from time to time; even after the Love of Country and their Country ceased to be the predominant Passion of the *Romans*. In the History of the Empire, which will follow that of the Republick, we find Courtiers devoting themselves to die, by taking Vows; out of a firm Persuasion, that they should purchase the Expence of their Lives, purchase of the either a long Chain of Prosperity, or a Release from a Fit of Sickness, for their Masters. The only End proposed in these *Devotements*, was to appease the Wrath of the infernal Gods. It was received Tradition among the Pagans, That the relentless Gods were not to be moved by the Vows or Prayers of the Living.

Nesciaque humanis precibus mansuescere *Georg.*

They were little affected with the Sacrifice of Blood, and nothing was thought sufficient to appease them, but the shedding of human Blood. So that, in all great Frights, and Misfortunes, and whenever they were under the Terrors of a Battel, wherein they gave up all for lost; the disturbed Imaginations of the *Romans* immediately represented to them all the Possibilities

Enemy's Army with him, to the *Dii Manes*. These *Devotements* were not unusual among the *Romans*; but it seldom happened, that a General of an Army, or even a private Person, voluntarily devoted himself. For this reason, the

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Hell, as armed against the Republick. Whilst under the Troubles which these Pannicks produced, they thought every thing conspired to ruin their Country. And their Religion furnished them with no other Remedy to prevent these Misfortunes, but that of glutting the Rage of these sanguinary Gods, by turning the Scourges with which Rome was threatened, upon the Head of one of their Citizens. In Conformity to which Principles, there was not wanting one among them, who gloried in surrendering himself up to the Fury of these *Dii Manes*; in full Persuasion, that he should, by this means, not only appease the Anger of these revengeful Divinities, but engage them to arm against the Enemies of his Country.

53 The Magistrates often devoted dangerous Citizens to Death, of their own Authority; and then was lawful for any one to kill them. These Vows were most common, before the taking of besieged Cities. And the Besiegers were also very careful, not to be wanting in another Ceremony, by way of precaution, which the Ancients call *Evocation*. They thought, they could not effectually deliver up a City to the Severity of the infernal Powers, till it was first deprived of the Protection of its tutelary Gods. *Macrobius's* Description of this preparatory Rite, *Saturn. B. 3.* is this. When the *Romans*, says he, had reduced any Place to Extremity, they entreated, by Prayers, and magical Terms, to prevail on the tutelar Deities of the Place, to leave the Temples which were consecrated to them, and to come and settle at *Rome*. They promised them rewards more zealous for their Glory, a more useful Kind of Worship, Temples, Games, and Sacrifices. His Words are these. *Constat omnes in alicujus Dei esse tutela, moremque Romanum arcanum, & multis ignotum fuisse, ut cum essent urbem hostium, eamque jam capi posse con- certo carmine evocarent tutelares Deos; ut aliter urbem capi posse non crederent; aut essent, nefas aestimarent, deos habere captivos.* Without this Precaution, they thought it impossible to take a besieged City, as long as it continued under the Protection of its Gods. Besides, the *Romans* were of Opinion, that they could not offer a greater Sacrifice to these Gods, than as it were to tear them from the Places which were consecrated to them. To do so, would be an Enterprize as this, would have been to perform an unparallel'd Act of Impiety and Wickedness, and most contrary to the Respect due to the sacred. The Form of this *Evocation*, as *Macrobius* collected it, out of a Book of *Sammonianus*, entitled, *Of Secret Things*, was as follows. The latter pretends to have found it in an ancient Record, which he ascribes to one *Facius*. It was the particular Form used at the taking of Carthage. But if the Name only be changed, it might be used at any of the Cities the *Romans* conquered. *Here be any God, or Goddess, who defendest the People and City of Carthage, and Thou Divinity specially, who hast honoured them with thy Religion, I entreat You, with the most profound Vow, to abandon this City, desert the Temples consecrated to You, reject the Worship they pay You, and the Citizens with a Spirit of Delusion, Fear, Confusion, and Terror. Vouchsafe to become ours. Remove us to Rome, and take up your Dwelling there: Destroy our Temples and Mysteries. Be propitious to the Roman People, my Self, and my Army. I, in consideration for it, solemnly vow, That I will, in that Temple, and celebrate Games to your Honour.* The original Words, of this ancient, and venerable Form, are these: *Si Deus, si Deus, cui populus civitasque Carthaginensis, est in*

tutela; teque maxime ille, qui urbis hujus populi- que tutelam recepisti, precor, venerorque, veniamque a vobis peto, ut vos, populum, civitatemque Carthagi- nensem deseratis; loca, templa, sacra, urbemque eor- um, relinquatis; absque his abeat; eique populo, civitati, metum, formidinem, oblivionem, injiciatis; proditque Romanam, ad me, meosque veniat; nostraque vobis loca, templa, sacra, urbs, acceptior, probatiorque sit; mihi, populoque Romano, mili- tibusque meis, prepositis sitis; ut sciamus intelligamusque. Si ita feceritis, voveo vobis templa, ludosque, facturum. According to *Verrinus Flaccus*, whom *Pliny* quotes, *B. 28. c. 2.* the Form of *Evocation* was contained in the Ritual of the *Pontifices*, and was there to be read in his time. The Ceremony con- cluded with offering Sacrifices. At these, the *Haruspices* always presided, and judged by inspecting the Entrails of the Victims, whether the Prayers made to the tutelary Gods of the invested City were heard. The *Romans* were so fully persuaded of the Efficacy of these *Evocations*, that they always thought it Matter of indispensable Duty to keep the Name of the tutelar God of *Rome*, and even the *Latin* Name of the City itself, profound Secrets. They were afraid the Enemy, if once informed of these Secrets, would make use of the same Practices against them, which they had so often tried with Suc- cess. Hence the impenetrable Mystery of the sacred Depositum, which was kept in the Temple of *Vesta*, as the most valuable Pledge of the perpetual Dura- tion of the Power of *Rome*. Only the *Pontifices* and *Vestals* knew what it was. *Pliny* says, *B. 3. c. 5.* that one *Valerius Soranus*, was punished with Death, for having discovered the mysterious Name of *Rome*: And the Truth of this Fact is also con- firmed by *Solinus*, *B. 1.* It was probably the same Person *Servius* speaks of, when he says, *On the first Georgick*, that one of the *Tribunes of the People* was condemned to be crucified for this Reason. But the Ceremony of the *Evocation*, was only a Prelude to that of the *Devotements* practised by the *Romans*, in order to destroy the besieged Cities. *Macrobius* states the Form of this Imprecation thus. *Dis Pater, Vejovis, Manes, siue vos, quo alio No- mine fas est nominare, ut omnes, illam Urbem Car- thaginem Exercitumque, quam me sentis dicere, Fu- ga, Formidine, Terroreque compleatis; quique ad- versum Legiones, Exercitumque nostrum, Arma, Te- llaque ferent; uti Vos, cum Exercitum, eos Hostes, eosque Homines, Urbes, Agrosque eorum, qui in his Locis, Regionibusque, Agris, Urbibusque habitant, abducatis; Lumine supero privetis; Exercitumque Hostium, Urbes, Agrosque, eorumque, quos me sentio dicere; uti Vos eas Urbes, Agrosque, Capita, Æta- tesque eorum devotas, consecratasque habeatis, illis Legibus, quibus quandoque sunt maxime Hostes de- voti; eosque ego vicarios pro me, Fide, Magistratuque meo, pro populo Romano, Exercitibus, Legionibusque nostris do, devoveo; ut me meamque Fidem, Im- periumque, Legiones, Exercitumque nostrum, qui in rebus gerundis sunt, bene salvos siritis esse. Si hac ita faxitis, ut ego sciam, sentiam, intelligamque, tunc quisvis hoc Votum faxit, ubi ubi faxit, recte factum esto, ovibus Atris tribus, Tellus Mater, teque Jupiter obstrictor. &c.* That is, O Father Pluto, thou impla- cable Jupiter, and all the infernal Gods, by what Names soever we may invoke You, fill Carthage, and the Army, upon which I implore your Vengeance, with Consternation and Terror. Disperse our Ene- mies, I conjure You, and deprive them of the Light of the Sun. Pour out all your Fury upon their Ci- ties, Fields, and all that dwell in them. Let not those who fight against our Legions be able to escape your Corrections. Permit me to deliver them over absolutely,

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Troops were made to believe, that *Decius's* devoting himself, was done in Obedience to the express Order of the Gods. These Consecrations were generally made by the *Consuls*, who chose out some particular Person in the Army, to be sacrificed to the Gods of Hell. It was necessary the Person chosen should be a *Roman Citizen*; for this chimerical ⁵⁴ Honour was never conferred on Strangers, or Volunteers. If the devoted Soldier lost his Life, the Army applauded him. If he escaped out of the Battle, he was lost, in point of Reputation, and ⁵⁵ became an Object of Horror. He was not allowed the Privilege of offering Sacrifice, either in publick, or private. And as he was thought dead in Law, a Statue of Wood, of at least seven Foot high, was buried in a Field in his room ⁵⁶; and the Place where this Image was buried, was deemed unlucky. No *Consul* ⁵⁷ ever set his Foot upon it. But these *Devotements* took place only, in the first Ages of the Republick. Afterwards, ⁵⁸ as *Rome* increased in Confidence, and Dependence upon her own Grandeur; her Superstition proportionably abated.

DECIUS being therefore obliged in Honour to sacrifice himself for his Country, as soon as he saw his Troops give way; he called with a loud Voice, on *Valerius*, the *Pontifex Maximus*. He was in the Army, and his Attendance was necessary, to dictate the Words of the Consecration, in order to its being done in due Form. First, the *Pontifex Maximus* ordered the *Consul* to lay aside his military Habit, and put on the Robe he wore in the Senate. Then he covered his Head with a Veil; ordered him to hold one Hand extended under his Robe, and as high as his Chin; and put a Lance under his Feet. This was the usual Ceremony on these Occasions. This Lance was much respected afterwards, and the *Romans* were very much ⁵⁹ afraid of letting it fall into the Enemy's Hands. If by any Misfortune, they became Masters of it; this was a melancholy Event, which it was thought necessary to expiate, with a Sacrifice, consisting of a ⁶⁰ Bull, a Boar, and a Ram. When the *Consul* was raised up, upon the Lance, which was placed crossways under him, he repeated these Words, after the *Pontifex*. O Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Romulus, Bellona, and ye Lares! O all ⁶¹ ye nine Gods, which were brought

absolutely, to be the Objects of your Wrath. I devote them to You, I dedicate them to your Service, I substitute them in the room of my self, our Magistrates, our People, our Legions, and in short, I offer them up to You, as Sacrifices for the Safety of the Republick. If Thou, O Goddess Earth, and Thou O Jupiter, will vouchsafe to accept of the Vows I make to You, I promise to sacrifice three black Sheep to your Honour, either my self, or by some other Person, in any Place whatsoever. It is evident, from this Form, that the *Romans* had nothing in View, in these Imprecations, but turning the implacable Fury of the infernal Gods upon the Enemies of *Rome*. The Effect of these *Devotements* which followed the *Evocation*, was thought so certain by the Pagans, that they never made any doubt of taking the besieged City, after this; taking it for granted, That its tutelar Gods had deserted it, in order to find a safer Retreat elsewhere, and That the infernal Powers conspired to destroy it. Agreeably to this, *Virgil*, speaking of the Destruction of *Troy*, says its tutelary Gods had forsaken their Temples:

*Excessere omnes adytis, quisque relictis,
Di quibus imperium hoc staterat.* Æneid 2.

⁵⁴ *Livy* adds, in this Place, that it was not lawful for a *Consul*, *Dictator*, or *Prætor*, to devote himself, when he pronounced the Form of Devotement against the Enemy's Army. *Illud adjiciendum videtur, licere Consuli, Dictatorique & Prætori, cum legiones hostium devoveant, non utique se, sed quem velint ex legione Romana scripta, civem devovere!* Upon which the Question is started, Why then did *Decius* devote himself to Death? But it is answered, that his *Devotement* was thought to be an irrevocable Decree of the Gods, who insisted on his being sacrificed to them.

⁵⁵ He who escaped the Death he sought for, might reinstate himself in his former Rights, by consecrating his Arms to *Vulcan*, or any other Divinity.

This Consecration was attended with a Sacrifice, or Offering, of whatever Kind the Suppliant pleased. He, by this means, purified himself from the Excrations he had uttered against himself, according to the following Law, mentioned by *Livy*. Qui DEVOVERIT, VULCANO ARMA SIVE CUI ALII DEVO DEVOVERE VOLET, SIVE HOSTIA, SIVE QUO ALIO VOLET, JUS ESTO.

⁵⁶ An expiatory Sacrifice was also offered up at the same time. The Design of the Ceremony of burying a wooden Statue, was to fulfil, in Representation at least, the Vow which the Person devoted had not performed.

⁵⁷ The *Consul* was absolutely forbidden entering into this Place, which was deemed execrable; because it was thought impossible for him to do so, without contracting such Pollution as would disqualify him from discharging the Office of a *Consul*.

⁵⁸ *Cicero*, B. 3. *De Nat. Deor.* justly derides that superstitious Credulity, which ascribed such wonderful Effects to these *Devotements*. He could not conceive, how Men of Sense could form to themselves any such Beings as mischievous Gods, who thirsted after human Blood. So that he looked on these voluntary *Devotements*, as no more, at Bottom, than heroic Acts of Valour, or the last Efforts of Generals, who gave up the Victory for lost, and, out of a noble Despair, threw themselves into the Midst of the Enemy's Squadrons, in order to engage their Soldiers to follow them.

⁵⁹ For this Reason, the Lance was guarded with great Care, lest the Enemy should seize it. If they did so, it was thought an unlucky Accident, which foreboded some great Misfortunes to be brought upon them by the Enemy.

⁶⁰ These three Animals were offered up in Sacrifice to the God *Mars*.

⁶¹ These were the Divinities the *Romans* called *Dii Novensiles*. But this old Word *Novensiles*, is very differently interpreted. Some explain it of the new created

brought to Rome by the Sabines! O all ye Heroes who dwell in Heaven, and all ye Gods, who rule over us, and our Enemies! And you especially, who are the Gods of Hell! I honour you, invoke you, and humbly intreat you to prosper the Arms of the Romans, and to transfer all Fear, and Terror, from them to their Enemies. I devote myself to the Dii Manes, and the Goddess Terra, in order to obtain Success for the Roman Arms, and Legions. And with myself, I devote to them all the Army, and Auxiliaries of the Enemy. As soon as Decius had finished this Prayer, he tucked ⁶² up his Robe, and girded it round him. Then, he sent his *Lictors* to inform his Collegue, that his Head was devoted to the Gods, and that he was going to seek Death. After this, he instantly mounted his Horse, rode into the midst of the Enemy's Battalions, like one desperate; and the Surprize made the Romans believe, that he grew considerably taller, all on a sudden, and appeared bigger, and more majestick in his Air, than Men usually are. They immediately took him for some Hero, who was come down from Heaven, on purpose to drive all the Misfortunes of the War from the Roman Army, and turn them upon their Enemies. What cannot Superstition do, in the Heat of a Battel! The Romans and their Enemies were equally surprized at this Sight. The devoted Consul broke through the first Line of the *Latins*, and penetrated into the midst of their Army. Terror and Fear seemed to attend him; wherever his Horse carried him, the Soldiers about him stood motionless, as if they had been thunderstruck. Till at length, having received numberless Wounds, the Victim fell to the Ground: and ⁶³ then the whole Face of Affairs changed in both Armies. The Romans felt the Effects of the Devotement of their Consul. His Blood raised their Courage, and sunk that of the *Latins*. When Decius was dead, the Legions all fell with Fury upon the Latin Troops, and almost all the Parts of the Roman Army engaged. Even the ⁶⁴ *Rorarii*, who were light-armed, and placed behind the Lines, came and joined in the Fight. They were posted in the Spaces of the two first Lines, and ordered

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created Gods; or of those, the Worship of whom had lately been brought to Rome, from some foreign Country. Others pretend, it signified the nine *Muses*. Varro understands it of the nine Divinities *Tatius* brought to Rome from his Country; viz. the Goddesses, *Lara*, *Vesta*, *Minerva*, *Feronia*, *Concord*, *Fidelity*, *Fortune*, *Chance*, and *Health*. Several read *Novensides*, instead of *Novensiles*, intending to signify thereby another Sort of Gods, who presided over Novelties.

⁶² This Robe was tucked up, in the manner of those which the Ancients call *Cincti Gabini*. We have given the Reason of this already, Vol. I. p. 395. Note 26. The Term of the *Gabian Knot*, was borrowed from the *Gabini*, who were surprized by the Enemy as they were sacrificing, and therefore ran hastily to their Arms, to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. And as it was the Custom of this People to offer Sacrifice with their Robes thus tucked up about them, the Roman Magistrates and *Pontifices* continued the Custom of tucking up their Robes in the same manner, when they sacrificed before a Battel.

⁶³ The sudden Changes which followed these Devotements, cannot be surprizing to any, who ever so little consider the Effect the Sight of a great Man, making himself a voluntary Sacrifice for the Welfare of his Country, must have had upon the whole Army. The great Apparatus before the Ceremony, the fierce Countenance of the Hero, the solemn Appearance of the *Pontifex*, who pronounced the Form of the Devotement with him, the Prejudices of the Pagan Religion, which were all roused up on this Occasion, the meritorious Act of the generous Sacrifice himself, and in short, all other Circumstances, conspired to invigorate and rouse the Minds of the most cowardly, and fill them with heroic Sentiments. The Soldiers, animated by this Sight, ran with speed to engage the Enemy, out of a Persuasion, that they were running to certain Victory. The Heroism of him, who delivered himself up to die for them, was an Assurance to them of their Success. He was no longer an ordinary Per-

son; he immediately became a propitious Divinity, whose Standards they followed. The warm Imaginations of the Soldiers, instantly shewed them all the Gods in Arms, fighting for the Roman Legions, and filling their Enemies with Fear and Terror. Even the Death of this precious Victim raised their Hopes; and his Blood was a Pledge of the Protection of the Gods.

⁶⁴ This is their Latin Name, according to *Livy*. They were then reckoned the chief of the light-armed Soldiers. They were called *Rorarii*, according to *Festus*; *Quod ut ante imbrem fere rorare solet, sic illi ante gravem armaturam prodibant*. And Varro gives us the same Etymology of their Name; i. e. Their Skirmishes at the Head of the Army, were generally the Prelude to a Battle, as a Dew is generally the Fore-runner of a great Rain; and therefore they took their Name from the Latin Word *Ros*, which signifies Dew. They differed from another Sort of light-armed Men, whom the Historians call *Accensi*, or *Adcensi*, in this, that the latter fought with Slings. And they were inferior in Rank to the former, and, according to some old Authors, attended the Army only as Volunteers, or Supernumeraries, to fill up the Places of any of the *Legionaries*, who should be slain in Battel: So that they were not enrolled in the Legions. This is the Idea *Festus* gives us of them: *Adcensi dicebantur, qui in locum mortuorum militum subito subrogabantur; dicti ita, quia ad censum adjiciebantur*. For this Reason, they were also sometimes called *Ascriptitii milites*; *quia legioni ascribebantur*, i. e. Additional Soldiers, because they were added to the Legion. It is probable, the *Accensi* were those *Servius Tullius* placed in the fifth Class, according to *Livy*, B. 1. Some very absurdly confound them with the *Rorarii*. They don't consider, that *Livy* plainly distinguishes them from one another, when he says, that each of them had its own military Ensign. *Primum vexillum Triarios ducebat . . . Secundum Rorarios; . . . Tertium Accensos*. *Plautus*, in *Frivol*, shews us there was a Difference between them, in the following Lines,
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to throw their Darts. By this means, the Strength of the first *Manipuli* was considerably increased: but the *Triarii* had not yet engaged. They waited with one Knee on the Ground, to receive the General's Orders to enter upon Action. In the mean time, the *Latins* fought with Ardor, and in some Places had the Advantage of the *Romans*. This was the State of the Army, when *Manlius* received the News of his Colleague's Death: which drew Tears from the brave *Consul's* Eyes, who immediately gave *Decius* the Praises he deserved. And being now left to command alone, he deliberated a little, whether he should order the *Triarii* to engage; but thought it would be better to reserve them to the last Extremity, and therefore commanded the Volunteers to advance into the first Line. Whilst, on the other hand, the *Latins*, who were hard pressed by these fresh Troops, which they took to be the *Roman Triarii*, ordered their own *Triarii* to advance; and then the Action became bloody. The Enemy had already fought so long, that they had broken or blunted their Weapons; but nevertheless, gained the Advantage over the *Romans* a second time, and repulsed them. Insomuch, that the *Latins* thought themselves already victorious, and took it for granted, that they had broken thro' the last Line of the Enemy; when the *Consul* gave the Word of Command to his *Triarii*, who continued hid under their Bucklers, and upon their Knees. Rise, Fellow-Soldiers, said he to them, and defeat Men who are already tired with fighting. Remember Rome; Remember your own Valour; Remember your Wives and Children: and don't forget, that a Consul has lost his Life, in order to gain you the Victory. Then the ⁶⁵ Line of the *Triarii* appeared all on a sudden, as if they had started out of the Ground. Their Arms were shining, and their Strength not exhausted. The *Manipuli* of the two first Lines of the *Romans*, filled up the Spaces between their *Triarii*, in order to renew the Fight. One may imagine, that never was Battel fought with more Obstinacy, since the *Triarii* on both Sides engaged: But at last, Victory declared in favour of the *Romans*. Their fresh *Triarii* gave a Shout, which itself put the *Latins* who opposed them, in some Disorder. Then the *Romans* marched up close to their Enemies, and their *Triarii* found no difficulty in knocking down those of the *Latins*. After which, they walked over them, penetrated into the *Manipuli* of the other Lines of the *Latins*, whom they found fatigued, and in a manner without any Arms; and in short, made so great a Slaughter of them, with very little Loss, that scarce a fourth Part of their Army was left alive. The *Samnites*, for whose sake this Battel was fought, had no share in it. They continued drawn up in Battalia, a great way from the *Roman* Army, at the Foot of Mount *Vesuvius*, and only served to keep the Enemy a little in Fear. So that all the Honour of this noble Action belonged to the two *Consuls*. One of them increased the Confidence of the superstitious *Romans*, by devoting himself to Death: but the Circumstances of his Death are differently related by the Historians. The greatest Part of them, make him fall in the midst of the *Latin* Squadrons: whilst others say, he was sacrificed by the Hands of a *Roman*, who attended him. But both *Latins* and *Romans* agree in giving us the same account of *Manlius*. It is unanimously confessed, that the *Latins* would have conquered, had he been their General; and consequently, that *Rome* entirely owed her Victory to his being *Consul*, at that time. Which is the most glorious Acknowledgment that can be made, of his Valour, Wisdom, and Experience in War. If unhappy, on the one hand, in having been obliged to sacrifice his own Son, in order to preserve Discipline among his Troops; he was as happy, on the other, in having gained his Country this important Victory. He would much more willingly have shed his own Blood for her sake, than have seen his Colleague shed his.

§. XIV. AFTER the Battel was over, the *Latins* fled for Refuge ⁶⁶ to *Minturnæ*,
a

—————Ubi Rorarii
Fistis? en sunt. Ubi sunt Accensi?
Ecce—————

In After-times, the light-armed Soldiers were all indifferently called *Velites*, and *Perentarii*, as we shall observe hereafter, when we come to give a particular Account of the military Art of the ancient *Romans*.

⁶⁵ The *Triarii* were, according to *Dion. Hal.*

B. 5, & 8. a Sort of *Corps de reserve*. They were generally set to guard the Camp, and were the last Refuge of the *Roman* Armies, in great Emergencies, when the Victory began to turn against them, and the first Lines were grown weak, and scarce able to withstand the Attacks of the Enemy.

⁶⁶ This City afterwards became very famous, as will appear in the Sequel of this History, for the Defeat of *Marius*, who hid himself in the Marshes of *Minturnæ*. Some Geographers very improperly, place

a little above the Mouth of the *Liris*. Their Camp was taken, and plundered, and a great many of those, who retired to *Minturnæ*, were trod to death in the Crowd. Many of the *Campani* especially, perished that Way. As for the *Romans*, tho' it was almost Night, their first Care was to find out the Body of the brave *Decius*. The Darkness indeed hindered the Soldiers from paying him Funeral Honours, on the Day he had made memorable for his Piety: but the next day, they found him covered with Heaps of Dead, and wounded in a thousand Places; and his Colleague performed Obsequies for him, worthy of his Rank, and Valour.

WHILST the *Latins* were flying in Disorder, the Inhabitants of *Lavinium* marched from thence, with a Reinforcement for them. They took it for granted, a Battel would not be fought so speedily. But before they were all got out of their Gates, News was brought them of the Defeat of their Allies. Upon this, their Leaders immediately turned about, and their Troops followed them. And it is said, that *Millonius*, who commanded them, and was like a *Prætor* in their District, foresaw the Storm, which threatned all *Latium*. Our March, said he to those about him, *has not been long, but we shall pay dearly for it*. Nevertheless, the *Latins* had not yet lost all Hopes of shaking off the *Roman* Yoke. The Bulk of their tattered Army was assembled at *Minturnæ*, and the rest followed in small Parties, and cantoned themselves on the Banks of the *Liris*, near Mount *Massicus*, and the District of *Falernum*, in a little Village called ⁶⁷ *Vescia*, not far from *Minturnæ*. There, *Numicius*, who seems to have been the sole Commander of the *Latin* Army, assembled his Soldiers, and addressed himself to them in this manner. *Our Troops have indeed suffered a great deal, in the Battel, out of which we have escaped: but our Enemies have suffered as much. The Victory has, in appearance, declared for them; but, in reality, they ought to look upon themselves as conquered. One of their Consuls has caused his own Son to be put to death, the other has in effect killed himself. How many Romans have we left dead on the Plain? We bravely broke through their first and second Lines, and continued the Slaughter even beyond the Roman Eagles. Their Triarii indeed a little repaired the bad State of their Army; but the Loss is pretty equal, and we have a Remedy, which the Romans have not. They have no Allies to assist them, and are encamped in a Country, which is farther from Rome, than we are from the Volsci, and Latium. Let us therefore assemble the Youth of our Villages, and in the Country of our Allies, before they receive any Reinforcement; return to Capua; and try the Fortune of our Arms, once more. We shall surprize the Romans, and our sudden Return will fill them with Terror.* Accordingly, the Proposal was agreed to, and in order to encourage those who had not been in the Fight, Letters were dispersed all over *Latium*, and the Territory of the *Volsci*, giving an Account of a second Battel, and representing the Flight of the *Latin* Army, as an honourable Retreat. So that these Reports fully spread abroad, brought great Numbers of young Fellows to their Camp, whom an Army was immediately formed, and *Numicius* marched towards *Capua*, without delay. There was in the Road a Village called ⁶⁸ *Trifana*, doubtless because three Gods were worshipped there, in three different Temples; and here *Manlius*, being informed of the Enemy's March, came to meet them. But neither Party gave themselves time to encamp; they threw down their Baggage in heaps, and immediately began the Engagement. The *Latins* made but a weak resistance; their tumultuous Army was routed. *Manlius* entered *Latium*, in order to lay it waste, and met with no Resistance. All the *Latin* Cities surrendered to him at Discretion: as did *Priverum*, in the Territory of the *Volsci*. All *Campania* was brought into Subjection to the *Romans*; and *Capua*, its Capital, returned to the Dominion of its former Masters. Then, the Consul made it his whole

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is it three Miles on the East Side of the *Liris* in the Place where *Trajetto* now stands. *Cluvius* says, that there were remaining in his time some Ruins of old *Minturnæ*; and among the rest, an Aqueduct, Amphitheatre, and the Ruins of several ancient Monuments.

⁶⁷ *Vescia* stood in the Country of the *Aurunci*, on the *Liris*, or *Garigliano*, on this Side Mount *Massicus*, now *Monte Dragone*. It gave its own

Name to a little District, which the *Latin* Authors call *Ager Vescinus*, and which reached from *Minturnæ* to *Mola*. Some, by Mistake, confound the Territory of *Vescia*, with the Country of the *Vesitini*.

⁶⁸ This Village was under the Jurisdiction of the *Aurunci*, and lay beyond the *Liris*, at a little Distance from *Sinuessæ*, an ancient City in *Terra di Lavoro*, near the Place where *Rocca di Mondragone* now stands.

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Business to punish the Guilty, and to make his Victory useful to his Fellow-Citizens. He dispossessed the Inhabitants of *Capua*, *Latium*, and *Privernum*, of their old Estates; and distributed their Lands among the victorious People: and the fine Plains of *Falernum*, quite to the River *Vulturnus*, were also distributed among the *Romans*. But *Rome* had regard to Equity in her Division of the conquered Country. Those, who obtained Lands in *Latium*, were allowed only two Acres each, on account of their Nearness to *Rome*; but if any one had not his whole two Acres in *Latium*, he was allowed some Advantage in the Country of the *Privernates*. The *Romans*, who shared among them the Lands of *Falernum*, were allowed more, because of their distance from *Rome*; they had each three Acres and a Quarter. Nevertheless, the *Latins* and *Campani* were not all deprived of their Estates, without Distinction. The *Laurentini*, in *Latium*, and the *Campanian Knights*, were not concerned in the Revolt; and the *Consuls* ⁶⁹ therefore continued to them all their Privileges. Nay, this was not all the *Romans* did for these faithful *Knights*, who were probably the Flower of the Nobility of the Country; they were made Citizens of *Rome*, but without Right of Suffrage. And that this Grant might be the more authentick, it was engraven on Brass; and this Monument was fixed up, in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. The Number of these *Knights*, who continued so steady in their Fidelity, was 1600: and an Order was made, that they should each be paid annually, and for ever, the Value ⁷⁰ of twenty five *French Livres*, out of the publick Revenues in *Campania*; which in the whole must have been a considerable Sum, at that time.

AFTER this glorious, and advantageous Campaign of the Republick was over, *Manlius* returned to *Rome*. One would have thought, his Virtue, his Valour, and the great Services he had done his Country, must have gained him the Hearts of all; whereas, his extravagant Severity alienated all the Flower of the *Roman* Youth from him. Nevertheless, it is not to be doubted ⁷¹, but he obtained the Honours of a Triumph, notwithstanding *Livy's* Silence. Could they be refused him, after so many signal Conquests? Yet it must be confessed, that never was any Triumph less honoured, or accompanied with fewer Applauses. None but the old Men walked before the Victor; all the Youth abhorred him, as a Parricide, for having condemned his own Son to death; and they conspired together, not to assist at his Procession. Nor did *Manlius* ever recover the Good-will of the Youth; they bore an eternal Hatred to this great Man. Whether his Uneasiness at this, had any ill Effect upon his Health, is indeed unknown; but it is certain he fell sick. And

⁶⁹ *Livy* adds, That the *Romans* renewed their ancient Alliances with the *Laurentini*; and, That the Memory of it was celebrated every Year, on the tenth Day after the *Feria Latinae* ended; which began The fifth of the Calends of May; that is, the 27th of April.

⁷⁰ The different Editions of *Livy* vary, as to the Sum the Republick ordered to be annually paid, to the 1600 *Campanian Knights*, who had not joined with their Countrymen in their Revolt. *Glarean* assures us, That in several MSS. of this Historian, his Words are, *Denarios nummos quadragenos quinos*, and not, *Denarios nummos quadringenos, quinquagenos*; as we read, in most of the printed Copies. If it be true, that only 45 *Denarii* * were paid them, according to the former Reading, *Denarios nummos quadringenos quinos*, this will amount at most to no more than 25 *French Livres*, reckoning each *Denarius*, with *Budens*, to be worth a little more than 10 *Sou's*. But the Sum is more considerable, according to the common Reading, which is, *Denarios nummos Quadringenos, quinquagenos*; that is, 450 *Denarii* †; which amount to 225 *French Livres*, at the Rate of 10 *Sous* for every *Denarius*. But, we are not to infer, from *Livy's* computing this Money by *Denarii*, that therefore these *Denarii* were in use at *Rome*, at this time; since the *Romans* did not begin to use any coined Money, till five Years after the first War with *Carthage*, when *Q. Ogulnius Gallus*, and *Gaius Fabius Pictor*, were *Consuls*. The Design of the Historian therefore, in

reckoning the Pensions of the *Campanian Knights* by *Denarii*, was only to shew the Value of them, according to the Money in use in his own time. At least, it cannot be said, that *Denarii* were current in *Campania*, in the 413th Year of *Rome*. Our future Remarks upon the *Roman* Money, will naturally lead us to treat of the *Roman*, or *Silver Denarius*: And we will at the same time explain what the Ancients mean by the copper, and gold *Denarius*. In the mean time, we have valued the *Denarius*, according to its original Valuation, that is, as equal to the *Attick Drachma*, or 10 *Roman As's*. For this we have *Pliny's* Authority, B. 37. c. 3. *Drachma Attica*, says he, *Denarii argenti habet pondus*. Not that the *Denarius* underwent no Alterations; but this Affair of the ancient Species, requires a more particular Enquiry, which we postpone for the present, and will insert in the subsequent Volumes.

⁷¹ The *Capitoline Marbles* testify, that *Manlius* triumphed, by these Words: T. MANLIUS L. A. N. IMPERIOS. TORQUAT. A. CDXIII. COS. DE LATINEIS, CAMPANEIS, SIDICINEIS, AURUNCIS XV K. JUNIAS; that is, TITUS MANLIUS, Son of LUCIUS, and Grandson of AULUS, sumamed IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, triumphed over the *Latins*, *Campani*, *Sidicini*, and *Aurunci*, The fifteenth of the Calends, or the 18th Day of June, in the Year 413. This is not the only Triumph *Livy* omitted, as we have often observed.

whilst he continued unactive at home, the *Antiates* took Arms, and made an Incursion upon the Lands of the Republick, in the Territories of *Ostia*, *Ardea*, and ⁷² *Solonium*. These Cities were partly in *Latium*, and partly in the Country of the *Rutuli*, who were subject to the *Romans*. It was therefore *Manlius*'s Business to suppress the Insolence of these new Enemies; but he, either out of Vexation, or on account of his Sickness, chose rather to create a *Dictator*, than return to the War. He nominated ⁷³ *L. Papirius Crassus*, who was then *Prætor*, to the *Dictatorship*; and the latter chose another *L. Papirius*, surnamed *Cursor*, to be his General of Horse. There was nothing memorable in their Expedition against the *Antiates*; because the Enemy durst not appear in the Field. The *Dictator* kept his Troops in their Country, for some Months, upon free Quarter; and did not return to the City, till obliged to go, and preside at the Election of new *Consuls* for the next Year.

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§. XV. THE Law, which required that one of the *Consuls* should always be a *Plebeian*, was then pretty strictly observed in *Rome*. As ⁷⁴ *Tib. Æmilius* was now chosen out of the Nobility, so *Q. Publilius* was chosen from among the People, to succeed *Manlius* and *Decius*. And it unfortunately happened, that the *Plebeian* was more expeditious in Conquest, and received greater Honours than the *Patrician*. In short, the *Latins*, tho' vanquished, were not quite crushed; and their Fierceness was increased by their Despair. Several of these unhappy Men, whom *Rome* had deprived of their Estates, were gathered together, some near ⁷⁵ *Ferentinum*, where formerly their Diets assembled; and others, near *Pedum*; where they pitched their Camp close to the City, that they might be able to defend both together. The two *Consuls* chose their Provinces by Lot: and it fell to *Publilius*, to command the Army which was to act against the *Latins*, in the Neighbourhood of *Ferentinum*; and to *Æmilius*, to lead the Troops, which were to lay Siege to *Pedum*, and reduce the Remains of the Rebels. But *Publilius* finished his Expedition much sooner than his Collegue. He made it the Business of but a few Days, to come up with, conquer, and force the Enemy to surrender at Discretion. And upon his return to *Rome*, he obtained a Triumph. It was then customary always to grant it to Generals, after a glorious Campaign; especially if they had defeated the Enemy in a pitched Battel, or their Victory had been followed by the Reduction of any Nation. And whilst *Publilius* was entering *Rome* in State, his Collegue *Æmilius* claimed the same Honour. The Body of *Latins* he was to engage with, had indeed experienced his Valour, in several little Battels; but his Expedition was not ended. His Enemies had received Reinforcements from many Cities in Alliance with them. *Tybur*, *Præneste*, *Velitra*, *Antium*, and *Lavinium*, had all sent them Succours; *Pedum* was yet to be taken; and the Rebels still continued in their Entrenchments. Nevertheless, *Æmilius*, jealous of the Glory of a Collegue, who was inferior to him in Birth, came to *Rome*, in order to solicit the Senate with Earnestness, to decree him a Triumph. But this immoderate Desire of an Honour, which did not legally belong to him, was displeasing to the *Conscript Fathers*. They declared to *Æmilius*, That he should not have any Triumph, till he had forced *Pedum* to surrender, or taken it by Assault. How dif-

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⁷² *Cicero* says, B. 1. *De Divin.* that the District of *Solonium*, was Part of the Territory of *Lanuvium*. In *Solonio, qui est campus agri Lanuvini*. It was but twelve Miles, i. e. about four French Leagues, from *Rome*. But it was but eight Miles from thence, by the Cross-ways, according to *Festus*. It was near, *Ostia*, *Antium*, and *Ardea*. It was watered by the Fountain *Futurna*, now *Rivo di Patrica*, and the River *Numicus*, or the *Numico*, in the Neighbourhood of *S. Abrocolo*, *Torre Maggiore*, and *Carqueto*. *Marinus* and *Tully* had Country-houses there.

⁷³ The *Fasti Capitolini*, *Livy*, and *Tully*, all say, that *L. Papirius Crassus*, who was then *Prætor*, was made *Dictator*. The latter says it expressly, in a Letter to *Pænus*. But there is two Years Difference, between the Year of *Rome* in which he places this *Dictatorship*, and that in which the *Fasti* place it.

⁷⁴ In the old Editions of *Livy*, *Æmilius* has the *Prænomen* of *Titus*, instead of that of *Tiberius*. This Mistake ought to be corrected by the *Fasti Capitolini*; and the rather, because he is not the first of the *Æmilian* Family, who had that *Prænomen*. This *Consul*'s Surname is *Mamercinus*, which some Annalists have changed into *Mamercus*.

⁷⁵ Tho' *Livy*'s Words are, *in campis Feneſtanis*, and in some Editions *Seneſtanis*, we have nevertheless thought it best to translate them thus, *in the Neighbourhood of Ferentinum*. It is difficult to guess what that Territory was, of which neither Historians nor Geographers say one Word. And we have therefore presumed, that the Copyists have made a Mistake, and that the Historian's Meaning was, That the *Latins* were beaten, in the Fields belonging to *Ferentinum*. This was indeed the Rendezvous of that Nation, as has been often observed.

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ferent were the preceding *Consuls* from the present ones! *Manlius* and *Decius* had nothing at heart, but the Interest of the Publick. The one had sacrificed his own Life to it, the other that of his Son. But *Æmilius* had nothing in view, but the promoting his own Glory; *Publilius's* whole Aim was, to aggrandize his Party. So true is it, that these *Romans*, who are so much magnified, had not all the same Love of Virtue: as will be very evident, from what follows.

ÆMILIUS, tho' a *Patrician*, suffered his Resentment against the Senate to stifle the Affection he ought to have had for the Nobility; and his Colleague inflamed his Passion. He loved the *Plebeian* Faction; and knew how to take Advantage of *Æmilius's* Rage, and turn it to the Advancement of his own Party. So that the two *Consuls* both pursued the same Point; and assisted one another in humbling the *Patricians*. The most furious *Tribunes of the People* never inveighed more bitterly against the Authority of the Nobility, than *Æmilius* now did. The usual Subject of his seditious Harangues, was the unequal Distribution the Senate had made of the Lands in *Latium*, and the Territory of *Falernum*. He insisted, that the Nobility had a much greater Share of them, than the People: and these Discourses of the enraged *Consul* began to create a great deal of Disorder. The Senate therefore, under pretence of carrying on the War with the *Latin* Rebels, made haste, to prevent ill Consequences; and ordered *Æmilius* to nominate a *Dictator*. He was then first *Consul*; the *Fasces*, which the *Consuls* had alternately, each a Month, were at his House. And being ordered to nominate a *Dictator*, he seized this favourable Opportunity of revenging himself on the Senate and Nobility, and chose his Colleague *Publilius*, who was a *Plebeian*. *Publilius* made one ⁷⁶ *Brutus Sæva* his General of Horse, who was not lineally descended from the first *Consul Brutus*, but was of the same Family, and a *Plebeian*. So that the *Plebeian* Party was now as powerful as ever. It is to be supposed therefore, that *Publilius*, who was a great Zealot for the popular Faction, would not let slip the Advantages his transient Sovereignty gave him to promote it. And he accordingly made it his whole Business, to establish the Rights of a People on a solid Foundation, and make them equal to those of the Nobility, in every Particular. This he did by three Laws, which he either made himself, or revived, and put in Execution. The first was, *That the Decrees made by the People, at the request of their Tribunes, should be observed by all the Subjects of the Republick in general*. In the first Ages, after the Abolition of the regal Power, there was this difference between the Decrees of the *Roman* Senate, and those of the People; that the former were general Laws, and extended to all; whereas the latter, were obligatory only on the People. And this had always been Matter of Murmur among the *Plebeians*. This Inequality of Power between the Senate and People, had indeed been reformed, in the *Consulship* of *M. Horatius*, in the Year of *Rome* 303: and it was then enacted, That the *Patricians* should obey the Laws of the People, as the People did those of the Senate. But this Regulation seems to have been afterwards neglected, since the *Dictator Publilius* revived it. The second Law he made, set Bounds to the Authority of the Senate, and even subjected it to the Power of the People assembled in *Comitia by Centuries*. Before *Publilius's* time, these *Comitia* drew up Laws; but the Senate had a Power of accepting, or rejecting them, at pleasure. Whereas, that Order was now changed. The *Dictator* ordered, *That the Senate should consent to the Laws, before they were brought into the Comitia; and That the People should put the last Hand to them, by their Approbation*. And lastly, the third Law, *Publilius* made, respected the *Censors*. These Magistrates were become powerful in *Rome*: and this Office had hitherto been confined to the most illustrious of the Nobility; no *Plebeian* having yet enjoyed it. But the *Dictator* declared, that since the *Consulship* was divided between the Nobility and the People; it was much more reasonable, that one of the *Censorships* should al-

⁷⁶ There were always reckoned to have been several *Plebeian* Branches of the *Bruti*, in *Rome*, who all descended from the same Stock. *Lucius Brutus*, who was the first *Tribune of the People*, made the Branch from which he sprung, famous; as *L. Brutus*, who destroyed the Regal Power, added great Lustre to his. The Surname of *Sæva*,

was probably given to this *Brutus*, whom *Publilius* chose to be his General of Horse, because he was *left-handed*; for that is the Meaning of the Word. It was sometimes understood in a good Sense, and sometimes in a bad one, as has been before observed.

always be lodged in the Hands of a *Plebeian*. And this Law was passed in Form, and a *Plebeian* was constantly joined with a *Patrician* in that Office, for above 200 Years after. Thus *Publius* signalized his Zeal for his own Party. But the Senate lamented the Loss of their Authority, and the *Patricians* publicly declared, That the *Dictator* had done the Republick more Mischief by his Laws, than Service by his Victories.

§. XVI. THE Senators therefore were bent upon revenging themselves on *Æmilius*, who had contributed so much to the Downfall of the *Patricians*, by his Union with the *Plebeians*; and they found an Opportunity to do it, as soon as the new *Consuls* entered upon the Government of *Rome*. These *Consuls* were 77 *L. Furius Camillus*, Grandson of the Great *Camillus*; and *C. Manius*, a *Plebeian*. The *Conscript Fathers* knew how tender *Æmilius* was of his Honour; and therefore attacked him on that Side. In order to shew all the *Romans*, how negligently this *Consul* had discharged his Commission of finishing the War with the *Latins*; the Senate ordered the present *Consuls* to undertake again the same Enterprize *Æmilius* had failed in, and to lay Siege to *Pedum*; since their Predecessor had not dared to attempt it. This was a mortifying Decree to *Æmilius*; and this was not all. Lest *Camillus* and his Collegue should be foiled in an Attempt which the Nobility had at heart; they plentifully furnished these Generals, with Men, Ammunition, Arms, and Machines. The *Consuls* were ordered to open the Campaign with this Siege: And they both commanded at first in the same Army. But they afterwards seem to have separated from one another; and to have commanded each a separate Body. When the *Legions* marched from *Rome*, the *Latins* were reduced to such a Condition, that they neither durst take the Field to carry on the War, nor could they be content to sit still in Peace. To march out with any Troops, was to give the *Romans* a Pretence, to come and chastise them as Rebels. And how could they sit down quietly, when all they had in the World was taken from them? Fear and Despair therefore made them waver between Slavery, and Death; and they chose a middle way. They shut themselves up in their Cities, and assembled no Army; but were resolved to assist their Neighbours, if the *Romans* came to disturb their tranquillity, and take their Towns by Force. These were the Dispositions of the Minds of the People in *Latium*, when *Camillus* came to *Pedum*. Upon the Report of his March, some Troops hurried away from *Tybur* and *Præneste*, to the Relief of *Pedum*, came thither before the Forces of the other *Latin* Cities, and assisted *Camillus*, when he began to invest this City. Nor were these the only People of *Latium*, who hastened to relieve the Town which was going to be besieged. The Inhabitants of *Aricia*, *Lavinium*, *Velitrae*, and *Antium*, all joined together, and took the Road to *Pedum*. But the *Consul Manius*, who covered the Siege with his Army, prevented these *Latin* Troops, went to meet the Reinforcements, and fought them on the Banks of the 79 *Astura*. And the Defeat these Auxiliaries cost *Manius* but a slight Engagement: He attacked them briskly and dispersed them. But *Camillus* did not find it so easy a matter to deal with the *Tiburtini*. These fell upon his Lines, whilst the Garrison of *Pedum* made a sally. Nevertheless, as the *Romans* were attacked on both Sides, they faced out both ways; and on the one hand put the *Tiburtini* into Disorder, who dispersed themselves about the Country; on the other, repulsed the Garrison of *Pedum*, and forced them to retire within their Walls. Nor were they long suffered there. *Camillus* ordered the Town to be stormed the same Day; and his Army being numerous, surrounded the whole City at once; and in short, *Pedum* was taken by Assault.

77 The Names of these *Consuls* are taken from *Triumphal Tables*, on which it is recorded, that *Furius Camillus* was the Son of *Spurius Camillus*, who was the first Man raised to the Dignity of *Dictator*. And consequently, he was the Grandson of the Great *Camillus*, the Deliverer of *Rome*. We think it necessary to observe this, in order to prevent confounding the two *Lucius Camillus's*, which are mentioned in the *Fasti Capitolini*, and taking them for but one Man.

78 *Diodorus Siculus* has changed *Caius Manius's* Name into that of *Manlius*.

79 The River *Astura*, or, as others, *Stura*, watered the *Pomptin* Territory, which is at present a Part of the *Campagna di Roma*. It discharges itself into the *Tuscan* Sea, and retains, to this Day, its old Name, which it communicated to a small Island, near the Mouth of it, six Miles beyond *The Promontory of Antium*, between that City, and *Circum*. *Cicero* had a Country-house there; and was surprised and killed near it, by *Anthony's* Emissaries,

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Fest. Capit.

Eutrop. B. 2.
Liv. *ibid.*

Liv. *ibid.*

THEN the *Consuls* improved the Victory they had gained, over different Nations. They united their *Legions* in one great Body, and with these formidable Forces over-run all *Latium*. Wherever they came, the Cities either surrendered at Discretion, or were obliged to it by Force. And the *Consuls* did not put an end to their Incursions, till there were no more Places to be reduced; or rebellious Nations to be subdued. They placed strong Garrisons every where, and returned to *Rome*, with great Glory, after having finished a War, the *Romans* had so much dreaded; and brought those Neighbours into Subjection to *Rome*, who never did her more Service, in the Character of Allies, than they were compelled to do, and were always ready to desert her in her Distress, either out of Pride, or Jealousy. It is easy to imagine with what Acclamations the two Conquerors were received in *Rome*. Triumphs were decreed them, on different Days, and for different Victories. *L. Camillus* is said to have entered *Rome* in Triumph, on *The Fourth of the Calends of October*, for having conquered the *Pedani*, and *Tiburtes*; and *C. Mænius*, two Days after, for having defeated the *Antiates*, *Lavinienfes*, and *Veliterni*. And as the Victory of the two *Consuls* was complete, and their Conquest important, the *Romans* thought proper to honour them with a lasting and distinguishing Monument. The Republick ordered two Equestrian Statues of Brass, to be erected for them, in the Place where Harangues were made to the People. It had hitherto been a rare thing, to honour Generals, with so durable, and so glorious Marks, of Distinction.

AFTER this, the *Consuls*, having yet some time to continue in their Office, employed it in determining the Fate of the Conquered. *Camillus* had had the greater Hand in the Conquest of *Latium*; and he gave the Senate his Opinion of the Use *Rome* ought to make of the Subjection of the *Latins*. His Speech was this. *The Gods, and the Valour of our Soldiers, have at length put an end to the War we were forced to make with the Latins. Our Enemies were defeated on the Banks of the Astura. Penum is taken, all the Cities in Latium are subdued. Antium, in the Territory of the Volsci, is surrendered at Discretion, and all our Conquests are secured by strong Garrisons. Thus our Work is completed. Nothing now remains, but to consider, how we shall keep this untractable People in Obedience for the future; and whether we shall make a severe Use of our Right of Conquest. The Gods have put it in your Power to determine whether there shall be, for the future, any such Place as Latium in the World, or not. You may secure yourselves from the Latins, either by exterminating, or by pardoning, them. Take your Choice therefore. You may, if you please, abolish the very Name of a People, whom you have so often made use of in your Armies; and make the Land, which has produced so many brave Men to defend it, nothing but a vast Desert: or you may imitate your Ancestors, remove the Conquered to Rome, and by granting them the Privileges of Citizens, incorporate them with us; and make both Nations but one People, and one Republick. How fine an Opportunity now offers itself, Conscript Fathers, for you to raise your Glory, by increasing the Number of your Subjects! And what Government so safe, as that, wherein the People obey with Pleasure; and Gratitude quickens and invigorates the Subjects in the Discharge of their Duty! But whether you chuse Severity, or Lenity, it is necessary to come to a speedy Determination. The People concerned, are wavering between Hope and Fear. Be speedily therefore in determining their Fate; that, since they continue to tremble with Expectation of it, they may either meet their Punishment without Resistance, or embrace the Effects of your Bounty, with Transport. It is our Business to force the Latins to submit to your Will and Pleasure; it is yours, to decree what you think most conducive to the publick Good.*

THUS spake *Camillus*. His Discourse sufficiently shewed, that he inclined to Clemency: and the ablest Men in the Senate, were, in general, of his Opinion. But the Case of all the *Latin* Cities was not the same; some were more criminal than others; and it was therefore thought proper to make a difference, in the manner both of rewarding, and punishing them. It was determined to enquire particularly into all the Reasons the Republick had, to pardon some, chastise others, and reward the most faithful. The Inhabitants of *Lavinium* were made *Roman Citizens*; and were suffered to worship their own Gods, but with the same Conditions.

Condition, that the 3^o Wood and Temple, which they had dedicated to *Juno*, should be in common between them, and the *Romans*. The Inhabitants of *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, obtained likewise the same Favour with those of *Lavinium*, i. e. their Cities were made ⁸¹ *Roman Municipia*, their Soldiers had the Privilege of being incorporated in the *Legions*, shared all the Advantages of the *Roman* Soldiery, and were no longer upon the Foot of ⁸² *Auxiliaries*. As for the *Tusculani*, they had formerly obtained this Favour of the Republick, and it was now confirmed to them. Not that there were none among them, who had joined zealously in the Revolt, but the *Romans* would not condemn a whole Country, for the Faults of only a few Revolters. The Case of the Inhabitants of *Velitræ*, was more offensive to the Senate. This City had been a *Roman Colony* for above a hundred and fifty Years: and had, notwithstanding this, deserted her Metropolis, and joined with the Enemies of *Rome*. Besides, they were an untractable People, and had often revolted from the Republick: and they were therefore treated with Severity. The City of *Velitræ* was razed, its Senate removed into another City, and all its Inhabitants ordered to settle, on the other Side of the *Tyber*. If any of them presumed to pass that River, he

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80 When Idolatry began to spread in the World, the Pagan Deities had no other Temples, but the Tops of Mountains, Hills, and Plains. The Word *Temple*, signified in general, any Place which was consecrated by Acts of Religion. After this, the Silence and Gloominess of Woods, was thought more agreeable to the Recollection, which the Celebration of the Mysteries of Paganism required. The People therefore performed their Ceremonies, and Sacrifices, made their Vows, and Prayers, and, in word, performed all the religious Worship they publicly paid their Gods, in them. These Woods were generally planted upon Eminences; and some think they were not called *Luci*, because very light Places, but for a quite contrary Reason; namely, because they were so thick that the Rays of the Sun could not pierce thro' them. But others say, the Pagans held their Assemblies there in the Night, by Torch-light; and that a sacred Wood, or Grove, was called *Lucus*, from thence. Not long after this, Buildings were erected in Honour to the proper Deities. Nevertheless, several Nations, as the *Indians*, *Greeks*, *Daci*, and *Getae*, retained the old Custom, for several Ages. The *Persians*, who worshipped the Sun, thought it would be disrespectful in them to shut up this pretended itinerant Divinity, within four Walls; *quod majestatem Solis putarent nullis tectorum angustiis coercendam*, says *Strabo*, l. 15. These People, says *Cicero*, *De Legib. B. 2.* thought it unlawful, to confine those superior Beings within so narrow a Space, whose Dominion was boundless as the Universe: *Non esse parietibus includendos Deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patentia libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset, ac domus*. The *Romans* themselves did not begin to build Temples, according to the same *Varro*, as quoted by *St. Aust. de Civ. Dei, B. 4. c. 36.* till after the 170th Year of *Rome*. *Centum septuaginta primis annis ritu Persico, Templis, simulachris, Deorumque statuis, caruerunt*. Which if true, it will necessarily follow, That the Temples of *Janus*, *Jupiter Feretrius*, *Jupiter Stator*, *Quirinus*, &c. erected at *Rome*, in the Time of the first Kings, were not consecrated Places. It is probable, they were then looked on only as venerable Monuments, which preserved the Memory of some signal Action. Thus the Design of erecting the Temple and Statue of *Janus Bifrons*, was only to perpetuate the Memory, of the Union of the *Romans*, and *Sabines*, under the symbolical Figure of two Faces, which were given to one God. And after the *Romans* had dedicated Temples to *Mars*, *Diana*, &c. they still continued to set apart sacred Groves, or Woods, for their religious Worship; which they paid, from time to time, to the Deity which presided in these

gloomy Places. *Cicero* makes it to have been enjoined by a Law, which he says he took out of the old Laws of the *Pontifices*. *CONSTRUCTA A PATRIBUS DELUBRA HABENTO, LUCOS IN AGRIS HABENTO, ET LARUM SEDES*. So that *Rome* had her sacred Woods, even within the City. The Groves of *Venus*, *Juno Lucina*, *Vesta*, &c. were all venerable Places among the *Romans*. We learn, from an old Inscription, that one *Egerius of Tusculum*, dedicated the Grove of *Diana*, in the Forest of *Aricia*. *Cicero, Pro Domo sua*, speaks of two Groves which were planted on the Ground on which *Manlius Capitolinus's* House formerly stood. The Woods of *Alba* had their own Priests. Even most private Families made it a Matter of Religion, to have some Place of Retirement to itself, surrounded with some Trees, where they used, at certain times, to worship their domestick Gods. These Woods were so much revered, that it was thought impious to prune or cut any of the Trees, unless struck with Lightning: And then the Part so stricken was cut off; and the doing it was called *conlucare lucum*. And this Operation was attended with the expiatory Sacrifice of a Swine. *Cato, De re rustica*, gives us the following Account of the Rites used, and the Form of Words pronounced, at this Sacrifice. *Porco piaculo faceto, si Deus, si Dea est, quoque illud sacrum est, uti tibi jus fiet porco piaculo facere, illiusque sacri coercendi ergo. Harumce rerum ergo, sive ego, sive quis jussu meo facerit, uti id recte factum fiet. Ejus rei ergo, te hoc porco piaculo immolando, bonas preces precor, uti sis volens propitius mihi, domo, familiaque mea, liberisque meis. Harumce rerum ergo, macte hoc porco piaculo immolando esto.*

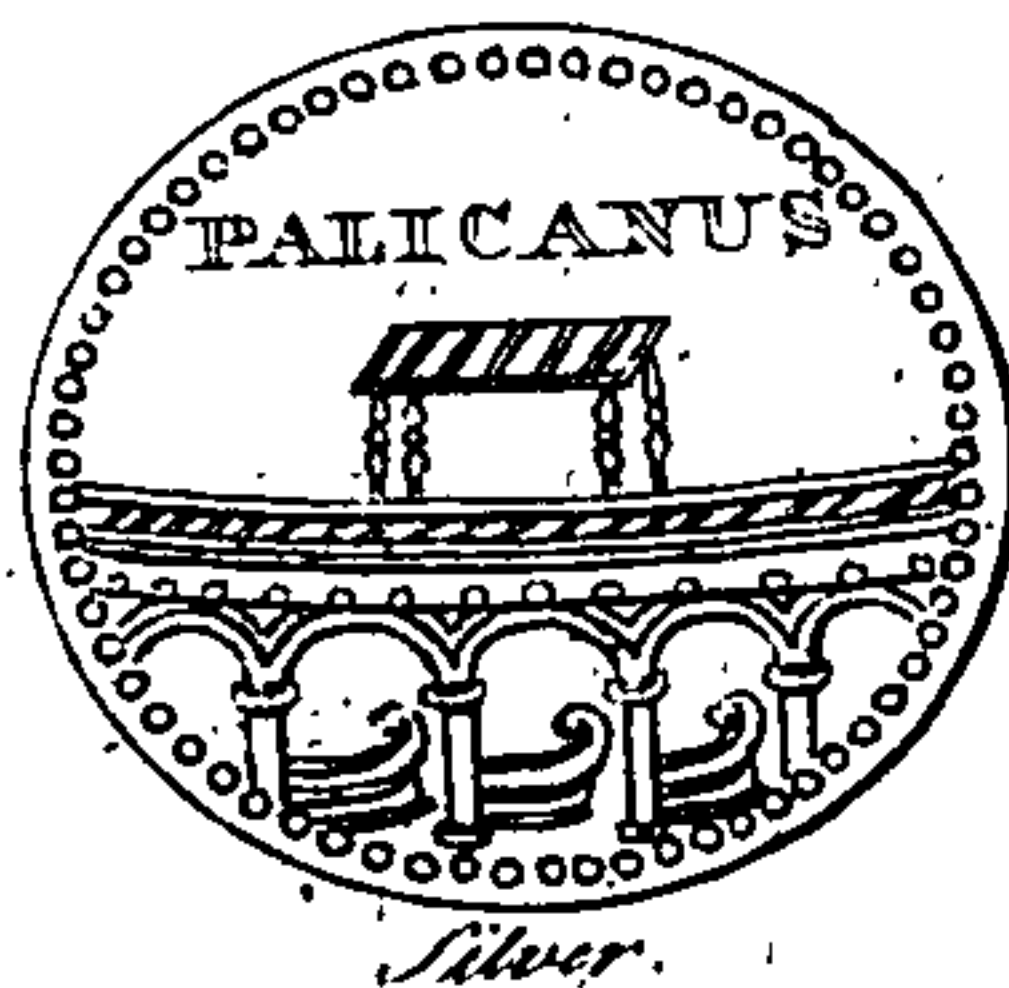
81 The Privileges granted by the *Romans*, to the *Municipia*, or *Municipal* Cities, were more or less, according to the Services they had done the Republick. The Historians have shewn us the Difference, in several Parts of their Histories. The Citizens of some *Municipia*, had only the Title of *Roman Citizens*, without any of the Advantages of being such. Others enjoyed all the Privileges annexed to this Title, without the burdensome Duties of *Roman Citizens*. They could stand Candidates for Offices, were enrolled in the *Tribes*, had a Right of Suffrage, and served in the Army only upon the Foot of *Legionaries*; and had therefore a Right to aspire at military Offices. And at the same time, they enjoyed the free Use of all their own Laws, both with respect to Religion and Polity. We shall give a particular Account of the Rights, Origin, Immunities, and Government of the *Municipia*, in this Volume; and shew the Difference between them and the *Colonies*.

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was obliged ⁸³ to pay 1000 *Asses* of Brass, and he was ⁸⁴ liable to be seized, and kept Prisoner, till Payment was made. The Lands of their Senators were divided among a new *Colony* of *Romans*, who were sent thither; and these new Inhabitants rebuilt it, in the same manner, it was in before. *Antium* was not punished with so much Severity. This City had indeed been a *Roman Colony*, ever since the Year of *Rome* 286, and had often forgotten the Gratitude it owed the Republick. Nevertheless, its old Inhabitants were permitted to live in it together with the new, if they pleased; and to continue in their own Houses. But the Galleys, in the Port of *Antium*, which the Inhabitants called their Fleet, were removed from thence. They had indeed only six Ships of War in all; but six Galleys were at that time thought a great Armament. The *Romans* carried some of them into their own Ports, and burnt the rest. As to the Brass Beaks, with which these Vessels were armed, for fighting, the *Consul Menius* adorned the *Tribune of Harangues* with them, from which the *Consuls* and *Tribunes* made their Speeches to the People: and these Beaks of Ships, which were placed there, by way of Ornament, gave this *Tribune*, which was looked on as the Sanctuary of Justice, the Name of ⁸⁵ *Rostra*. In short, the Right of *Citizenship* was also granted to the whole *Colony* of the *Antiates*, on Condition, they went no more to Sea. As for the Inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Præneste*, the *Romans* deprived them of all their Lands: but the Senate did not pass this severe Sentence upon them, so much on the account of their late Revolt, as of the Assistance they had formerly given the *Gauls*, in Breach of the Fidelity they owed the Republick. And lastly, all the *Latins* in general were forbidden assembling their Diets as usual, making Intermarriages in different Cities, and setting up common Markets and Fairs for Trade. Those of ⁸⁶ *Fundi*, and ⁸⁷ *Formiæ*, had also the Right of *Citizenship* granted them, but not a Right of Suffrage,



⁸² By Auxiliaries, were then meant only the Troops of the Allies. Afterwards, this Word signified the Troops hired by the Republick. But those the Confederates furnished, were not so, as has been already observed.

⁸³ In several Editions of *Livy*, we read, *usque ad mille passuum*, instead of *usque ad mille pondo*; as if the Historian intended to signify, that the *Velitani* were not suffered to come 1000 Paces on this side the *Tyber*, on Pain of being seized.

⁸⁴ The Punishment inflicted on the refractory, is expressed thus; *ut ejus qui eis Tiberim deprehensus esset usque ad mille pondo clarigatio esset*. *Liv. B. 8.* Ancient Authors understand the Word *Clarigatio*, in two different Senses. It signified the Declaration of War the *Feciales* made with a loud Voice, or *clara voce*, in the Name of the Republick; or it signified a certain Form of Words, in which they used to demand Satisfaction of an Enemy, for the Injury done to the Republick. *Pliny, B. 22.* and *Servius, Æneid 9.* understand it, in this Sense. And it also signified, the Right of seizing a Man's Body, by declaring him guilty and convicted of Disobedience to the Laws, or the Commands of the Magistrate.

⁸⁵ The *Rostra*, or *Tribune of Harangues*, was erected in that Part of the *Forum*, which was called *Comitium*, near the Hill *Palatinus*. The *Tribune* from which the Magistrates used to harangue the People, stood upon Pillars, and was of the

Form of an Amphitheatre. We guess so, by the Reverse of one of *Augustus's* Medals, which is, as above; that is, in case this Tribunal was not altered between the time we are here speaking of, and the Reign of that Emperor, which was above three Centuries after it. This Place was called a Temple, because it was consecrated by the *Augurs*. Afterwards, Statues were erected here, in honour to those who had made themselves famous for the Service they had done the Republick.

⁸⁶ The City of *Fundi* stood between *Formiæ* and *Terracina*, and between the *Liris* and the *Ufentia* in the Territory of *Cacubum*, and near *The Appian Way*. It gave Name to a Lake which discharged itself into the Sea. The Lands of *Fundi*, though marshy, were planted with Vines, which produced excellent Wines, which were famous among the Ancients.

⁸⁷ *Formiæ* was founded, according to *Strabo*, by a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*, who at first gave the Name of *ipulus*, from its convenient Port: At *Pliny* and *Festus* approve of this Etymology. The City was in the Country of the *Aurunci*, between *Fundi*, and *Minturnæ*. The Town of *Mola*, was built upon the Ruins of it, after it had been sacked by the *Saracens*. This ancient City gave its Name to the Hills in its Neighbourhood, and to the Country-house which *Cicero* had near it, at a little Distance from *Cajeta*.

either in the *Comitia by Tribes*, or *Centuries*; which was a Privilege ⁸⁸ sometimes granted to the *Municipal Towns*. The Senate did this, to reward the constant Fidelity of these two Nations, who had always given the *Roman Armies* a free Passage through their Lands. As for the Cities of *Campania*, as *Cumæ*, and *Suessula*, they were put upon the same Foot as *Capua*; i. e. all their Lands were given away, and this whole rich Province divided among the *Romans*. Thus a three Years War ended in the Subjection of two fine Countries to the Republick. Thus the *Latins*, from being the Allies of *Rome*, became her Subjects.

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⁸⁸ *Fundi* and *Formiæ*, were therefore some of those *Municipal Towns*, whose Inhabitants had only the Honour of being stiled *Roman Citizens*, but none of the Privileges annexed to that Title.



Roman History.

BOOK XVII.

§. I. **R**OME had never yet been in a better Condition, to attempt the Conquest of all *Italy*, than now. The domestick Seditions which had so long disturbed her Quiet, were perfectly appeased. These Commotions had been, for the most part, excited by the Inequality the Nobility had kept up between the People and themselves. For some time, the *Patricians* had usurped all the Honours and Dignities of the Republick. Hence those violent Shocks which had like to have brought it to Ruin. The *Plebeians* had been, more than once, forced into seditious Separations, compelled to leave their Country, and abandon *Rome* to the Violence of their Oppressors; and they had afterwards consented to return, on Condition they should be treated with more Moderation, and enjoy such a Proportion of Power for the future, as would make their Residence in the City more tolerable. Afterwards, the People made incredible Efforts to bring their Authority to be equal in all Particulars, to that of the Nobility; and had succeeded. The *Plebeians* had now so far gained their Point, that they shared all the Offices in the Republick with the *Patricians*. One of the two *Consuls* was chosen out of the Nobility; the other, out of the People. There were *Plebeian Quæstors*, and *Ædiles*, as well as *Patrician*. The *Censorship* was now very lately divided between the two Parties. Indeed the Senate, generally speaking, consisted of Persons chosen out of the Nobility: But then the People had their *Tribunes*, and their *Comitia*, in

which

1 Indeed, the Senate, generally speaking, consisted of Persons chosen out of the Nobility. But nevertheless, some *Plebeians* were continually admitted into it, especially since they had shared the Honours of the *Curule Magistracies* with the *Patricians*; as we learn from *D. Hal. B. 7.* where he is speaking of the Power the Commons assumed of citing *Coriolanus* to appear before their Tribunal. This was the first time, says that Author, the People usurped the Right of judging a *Patrician*. After this, the *Tribunes of the People* took upon them to summons any Citizen whatsoever, to appear before the *Comitia by Tribes*. As much as the Power of the *Plebeians* was thereby increased, so much did that of the Nobility lose, of its ancient Lustre; especially since the former had been admitted into the Senate, Priesthood, and supreme Dignities in the Republick. But it is difficult to assign the exact Date of this Revolution. We only learn from *Livy, B. 5.* that *P. Licinius Calvus*, who was of *Plebeian* Extraction, was an old Senator, in the Year 354. *Zonaras* affirms, that King *Servius Tullius* made it a matter of Merit with the People, that he had incorporated several *Plebeians* by Descent, in the Senate. According to *Suetonius*, in his *Life of Augustus, ch. 2.* *Tarquin the First* raised the *Octavian* Family to the Senatorial Dignity. To which he adds, that *Servius Tullius* afterwards made it noble. If we have the true Text of *Suetonius*, it will follow from thence, that the Senate did not then consist, only of *Patricians*. *Festus* affirms, that *Brunus*, and *Valerius Poplicola* his Collegue, chose out the most considerable of the *Plebeians*, or, according

to *Livy*, of the *Roman Knights*, to fill up the Vacancies of those Senators, whom *Tarquin the Proud* had sacrificed to his Revenge, or his Suspicions. But *Dion. Hal.* observes on that Occasion, that the two *Consuls* ranked these New-comers among the Nobility, before they raised them to the Dignity of Senators. This was what *Tarquin the First* had done, when to the two hundred Senators of *Romulus* and *Tatius's* Creation, he added another hundred, which he took out of the most considerable *Plebeian* Families. So that these different Promotions did not destroy the old Custom, established by *Romulus*, of admitting none, but the prime Nobility, into the Senate. They ought only to be considered, as Marks of Distinction, which *Servius Tullius*, and *Tarquin the First*, thought fit to bestow on the *Plebeians*. As to the Creation, in *Brunus* and *Valerius Poplicola's* Consulship, the Necessity of the Times, and the Want of *Patrician* Families, forced the two *Consuls* to have recourse to the *Plebeians*, an hundred and sixty four of whom were chosen, to fill up the Places of the Senators, whom *Tarquin the Proud* had destroyed. According to *Festus*, the *Plebeians* were admitted into the Senate from the time that the Republick was governed by *Military Tribunes*. His Words are these. *Præriti Senatores quondam in opprobrio fuerunt, quod Reges sibi legebant, sublegebantque, quos in Consilio Publico haberent, ita post exactos eos, Consulibusque & Tribuni Militum Consulari Potestate, junctissimos sibi quosque Patriciorum, & deinde Patriciorum, legebant.* If we may be allowed to join our Conjectures, concerning an Affair, of which

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which they had the whole Power, by means of the Number of their Suffrages. The late Law, which gave them a Right to confirm or disannul the Decrees of the Senate, was a great Counterpoise to the Power of the *Conscript Fathers*. Nay, the *Plebeian* Party might be said to have had the Advantage over the *Patrician*, had not the *Prætor*, who was the sole Judge of all Civil Affairs, been chosen only out of the latter. So that, all things consider'd, the Ballance hung very even between the two Orders in the Republick; and the Advantages of the one, seem'd to be sufficiently compensated by the Prerogatives of the other. For this Reason both Parties were quiet. There was no Appearance of Discontent, on either Side; nor any Necessity of having Recourse to Factions, in order to guard against reciprocal Invasions. It must be granted, that the Conquests of *Rome* had been often retarded by intestine Broils. But now, a perfect Equality between the two contending Bodies, gave her Tranquillity: And in this Situation of Affairs at home, she was wholly at Liberty, to pursue the Welfare of the Publick.

ABROAD, the Dominion of *Rome* was considerably increased, since the Conquest of *Latium*, and the Reduction of *Campania*. The *Latins* were no longer considered barely as Allies, which were only obliged to furnish the *Roman* Armies with such Succours, as were demanded of them. They were become a kind of conquered Subjects, whose Cities, generally speaking, being now either ² *Colonies* or *Municipia*, were in a manner become one Body with the *Romans*; and paid the same

The Ancients have not given us a full Knowledge; it is probable, the Senatorial Dignity became common to the Nobility and People, when the Republick began to be governed by *Decemviri*; since the *Decemvirate* was divided between them. The Senate was generally filled up with those who had been honoured with the Magistracy. In proof of this, see *Tully's* Oration for *Cluentius*, and that *De ignis*, against *Verres*.

2. The Accounts most Moderns have given us of the Privileges annexed to the *Colonies*, and *Municipia*, are so very different from one another, that they only confound the Reader. The more obscure the Matter is, the more proper it must be, to treat it in a methodical Manner, and with all possible exactness. In order then to come to a right Understanding of the Privileges which the *Roman Colonies* and *Municipia* were entitled to, it is necessary first to know exactly what it was which was anciently called the Right of *Roman Citizenship*. What we have collected from the Historians of old *Rome*, on this Subject, is as follows.

1st. Among the *Roman Citizens* themselves, some of them enjoyed the Right of *Citizenship* without any Reserve; and their State was most advantageous and most honourable: *Atque ii erant optima lege*, in the Language of the *Latin* Authors. Others were honoured with the Title of *Citizens of Rome*, with more or less Limitations; *Et ii non erant optima lege*. The former lived in the City, or Territory of *Rome*, were enrolled in the *Tribes*, might be inducted into the *Legions*, and aspire at Civil and Military Honours. But this was not the Case of the *second-men*. Though they were incorporated in the *Tribe*, they had no Right to stand Candidates for the Dignities of the Republick, as we shall have occasion to observe in another Place.

2^{dly}. The Right of *Roman Citizenship*, most extensively understood, comprehended what the old *Romans* called *Jus publicum*, or *Publick Right*, and *Jus Privatum*, i. e. *Private Right*. The *Publick Right* arose from the Laws and Customs which related to Religion, Government, and Policy. By the Force of these Laws the *Roman Citizens* became subject to the *Census*, and all the Formalities which accompanied it. They were obliged to contribute to the publick Welfare of the State, to the utmost of their Power; and were matriculated into the *Tribes*. They alone were, by way of Distinction, admitted to serve the Republick in the *Roman Legions*. They were admitted to the Honours of the Magistracy, and into the *Comitia*, either by *Curia*,

Tribes, or *Centuries*, and had the Privilege of voting in all the Elections made in them. They partook of the Feasts and Sacrifices which were made in the Name of the People: And were subject to those Civil and Religious Customs which were authorized by the Lawgivers. *Private Right*, or *Jus Privatum*, and *Jus Quiritium*, comprehended all the fundamental Laws which were made in favour of private Persons; all Privileges, Immunities, Preeminencies, and other Advantages annexed to the Quality of *Roman Citizens*. It was a Sort of Code, which regulated for the Citizens, the Matter, Form, and Conditions, of Contracts, Covenants, Wills, Mortgages, Prescriptions, Guardianships, Marriages, Successions, Inheritances, private Property, as well in Immoveables as Moveables, the Authority of Parents over their Children, Families, Adoptions, and in a word, of whatever related to human Society.

3^{dly}. The Title of *Roman Citizen*, and the Privileges inseparable from it, were not confined to the City and Territory of *Rome*. The *Roman Colonies* which the Republick planted in the conquered Cities, with the Consent of Senate and People, preserved the same Right, and enjoyed the same Advantages: but with this Difference, between the Inhabitants of *Rome*, and them, That the latter partook only of *Private Right*, and the Privileges annexed to what the *Civilians* call *Jus Quiritium*. Nor does it appear, that the *Roman Colonies*, at least in the first Ages, and that we are now treating of, were enrolled in the *Tribes*; and consequently, that they preserved their Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia*, and of standing Candidates for the Dignities of *Rome*. But it is past doubt, that each of these *Colonies* was obliged to pay a Tribute to the Republick, and to furnish its Contingent, or a certain Number of regular Troops, according to the Orders of the *Consuls*, or Senate, and the Wants of the State. Whether the Citizens of a *Roman Colony* were incorporated into the *Legions* when they entered into the Service of the Republick, does not sufficiently appear from ancient Story. I am of Opinion, that for the Space of near 600 Years, from the Foundation of the City to the *Julian Law*, of which we shall speak in another Place, the *Legionary Troops* were chosen only out of the 35 *Tribes*, according to the Order of the *Classes* and *Centuries*; excepting only the mean Populace, whom we have already mentioned, more than once, under the Name of *Proletarii*, and *Capite-censi*. It is certain, that in the first Ages of *Rome*, the latter were never admitted into the *Roman Legions*, unless in Cases of extreme

same Regard to the Decrees of the Senate, the Ordinances of the *Comitia*, and the Orders of the *Consuls*, as the *Curie*, and *Tribes of Rome*. So that, the good Understanding

extreme Necessity. These were the People out of which the Republick generally chose the *Colonies* she planted in conquered Countries. She by this means eased herself of the Burden of a great Multitude of indigent and turbulent *Plebeians*. Is it then probable, that this Mob, which, as *Cicero* observes, *Ep. to Attic. B. 10.* was looked on as the Filth and Refuse of *Rome*, should acquire a Privilege in their new Habitation, which they did not enjoy in their native City? And what is here observed of the *Roman Colonies*, with respect to the Soldiery, will hold much stronger, in relation to the Right of voting in the *Comitia*, and standing for Magistracies. It is well known that this Right belonged only to those Citizens, who were incorporated in the *Tribes*. Consequently, the *Roman Colonies* had no Claim to it, till *Julius Caesar*, and after him, *Cneius Pompeius Strabo*, granted the whole Right of *Citizenship* to most of the Nations in *Italy*. Then the *Colonies* were incorporated in the *Tribes*, and obtained the full Right of voting and standing Candidates in the *Comitia*. As to the Form of Government peculiar to the *Colonies*, it is evident, from the Testimony of the *Roman Writers*, that they submitted to the *Roman Laws*; that is, obeyed such as were given them, either by the People, or Senate, or by the *Triumviri*, who were appointed to head them, and to make the Distribution of the Land, to each of those, who followed the Standards of the new *Colony*. These Magistrates, or rather Commissioners appointed by the Republick, were to provide for the good Order of the *Colony*, by fixed Regulations. After this, they chose out some grave Persons, to whom they committed the Care of seeing those Laws observed, which related to Religion, and Polity; So that every *Colony* had its *Duumviri*, *Censors*, *Quæstors*, *Ædiles*, *Pontifices*, and *Priests*, after the *Roman Model*. And in order to make the Removal of the *Roman Colonies* the more supportable to them, Temples and other Edifices were often raised in them, upon the Plans of those in *Rome*. By this means, they in a manner found their own Country in a strange Land. Thus some *Colonies* had their *Capitols*, *Circus's*, and *Amphitheatres*. The New-comers took Pleasure in giving the Names of the Rivers and Hills of their Metropolis, or Mother-City, to those of their new Habitation. They also retained their Mother-Tongue, and the ancient Customs of the Country, from whence they came.

4thly, Among the *Colonies*, which the *Roman Republick* dispersed all over her Dominion, frequent mention is made of the *Latin Colonies*. These consisted either of *Latins*, or of such *Roman Citizens*, as were no sooner removed out of their own Country, but they lost their Privileges, and enjoyed only the Rights of *Latinity*; as we learn from *Tully's Oration for Cæcina*. *In Colonias Latinas sæpe nostri Cives, aut sua Voluntate, aut Legis Multa profecti sunt . . . Cives Romanos si in Colonias Latinas proficiscerentur Romanam Civitatem amittere.* The Privileges of the *Latin Colonies*, and others, who had the Right of *Latinity*, may be reduced to these two Heads. 1. The Citizens of the *Latin Cities* were sometimes permitted to give their Suffrages in the *Comitia*, especially, in relation to the Promulgation or Abolition of a Law; provided neither of the two *Consuls* opposed it, but they on the contrary invited them to it. In this case, they came to *Rome*, and were placed by Lot, in one of the *Tribes*, in which they were to vote. But this Right of Suffrage was only given them for a time, and was, in some Cases, disputed. They were sometimes even forced to leave *Rome*, whither they had come, in order to give their Votes in the Assembly of the People. The *Roman History* gives us several Instances of it. 2. They who had the Right

of *Latinity*, acquired that of *Roman Citizens*, as soon as they had discharged any Magistracy in their own Country. This we learn from *Appian, B. 2.* when he tells us, that *Cæsar* reduced *Comum* to the Condition of the *Latin Cities*; so that the having been invested with any Magistracy there for one Year, was enough, to make any Man a *Roman Citizen*. According to *Strabo*, the *Quæstorship* and *Ædileship* in a *Latin City*, gave those who had been promoted to them, the Right of *Roman Citizens*. This Author says, that the Inhabitants of *Nîma* obtained the Right of *Latinity*: insomuch, adds he, that the having been an *Ædile*, or *Quæstor*, in that City, was enough to create a Man, *ipso facto*, a *Roman Citizen*. And there is therefore more reason to believe, that the *Roman Colonies* enjoyed the same Advantages, that were given to the *Latin ones*, which were inferior to them. Whether the People, who had this Right of *Latinity*, were tributary to *Rome*, History does not inform us. But it is to be presumed, that they were, as to this particular, upon the same Foot as the *Roman Colonies*. At least, it's certain, that, according to the old Conventions, they supplied the Republick with as many Soldiers, in time of War, as she demanded of them.

5thly, The Lands conquered by the Republick, were very frequently given for a Subsistence, to those old Soldiers, who were no longer able to bear Arms, or had served as long as the Laws required. Hence the *Military Colonies*, which differed from those we have mentioned, only in the Choice of the Persons, of whom they consisted.

6thly, As there were two sorts of *Colonies*, so there were two sorts of *Municipia*, which both had the Right of *Roman Citizenship*; with this difference, that one sort were neither included in the *Tribes*, nor suffered to vote in the *Comitia*, and consequently could not be promoted to Magistracies. Nevertheless, it is certain, according to *Syrrius*, that the Citizens of these privileged Cities had a Right to be incorporated in the *Legions*. The other sort of *Municipia* enjoyed all the Advantages annexed to the *Roman Citizenship*, especially with regard to the Right of contracting Marriages after the manner of the *Romans*, and that of standing Candidates for the Dignities of the Republick. Ancient History furnishes us with several Proofs of the first Article. Among others, it informs us, that when the Right of *Citizenship* had been given to the *Latin Cities*, by the *Julian Law*, they laid aside the old Formalities, they used to observe, in Marriages. Moreover, it was no uncommon thing, for *Citizens of Rome* to marry in the *Municipia*. The second Particular is indisputable, since *Titus Annius Milo* was *Dictator at Lanuvium*, at the same time that he stood for the *Consulship* at *Rome*. The Inhabitants of these *Municipia* were only debarred voting in *Comitia by Curia*. This Privilege belonged only to those who resided in *Rome*. To which we must add, that this latter sort of *Municipia*, did not partake of these Privileges, till they had absolutely renounced all their own Customs, and submitted to be entirely governed by the *Roman Laws*. They were then a Part of the *Demesnes* of the Republick, became *Populus Fundus*, as the old *Cicero* speaks; that is, they voluntarily bound themselves to obey the *Roman Law*. The former sort of *Municipia* retained their own Customs, and Laws. The most celebrated *Roman Historians* shew us, that this was the difference between these two sorts of *Municipia*. To convince ourselves, that the former sort enjoyed no more than the bare Title of *Roman Citizens*, as long as they continued to govern themselves by their ancient Customs, we need only read, what *Livy* says, in the 9th Book of his 1st Decad. He says, that the Cities of *Alatrium*, &c.

derstanding between the *Romans* at home, and the Increase of their Power abroad, put them into a Condition of undertaking any thing; and their Bravery made them

rentinum, and *Verulum*, chose rather to preserve the free Exercise of their ancient Customs, than to purchase the Privileges annexed to the Right of *Citizenship*, by submitting to be governed by the *Roman* Laws.

7thly, *Aulus Gellius*, B. 16. ch. 13. describes the former sort of *Municipia*, thus. *The Inhabitants of the Municipia*, says he, *were Roman Citizens. But they governed themselves by their own Laws, and enjoyed only the Title of Roman Citizens, without the Privileges annexed to it. Nor were they subject to any of the Burdens or Contributions, which the Roman People were obliged to furnish; because, they had not made themselves entirely dependent on the Republick.* His Words are; *Municipes ergo sunt Cives Romani ex Municipiis, Legibus suis, & suo Jure utentes, Muneris tantum cum Populo Romano honorarii Participes, a quo munere capeffendo appellati videntur; nullis aliis necessitatibus, neque ulla populi Lege astricti, ni inquam Populus eorum Fundus factus est.* *Aulus Gellius* explains his Thoughts of this Matter, so as to leave no room for Doubt. *Cære*, adds he, *was the first Municipium, which obtained the Right of Roman Citizenship, of which she had only the Title before, without the Right of Suffrage, or Share in Employments at Rome.* He expresses himself thus. *Primos autem Municipes sine Suffragii Jure Cærites esse factos accepimus, concessumque illis, ut Civitatis Romanæ Honorem quidem caperent, sed Negotiis tamen etque Oneribus vacarent.* Whence it is evident, that this first sort of *Municipia*, were not subject to the *Roman* Laws, nor did they enjoy what was called *Jus Quiritium*. *Festus* gives us the same Account of them. *The Citizens of the Municipia*, says he, *who came to Rome, had no Share in the Magistracies there.* His Expression is, *Municipes tant qui ex aliis Civitatibus Romam venissent, quibus non licebat Magistratum capere.* *Servius* the Poet, adds *Festus*, assures us, that at first, the Citizens of the *Municipia* were *Roman Citizens*, with this Condition, that their Governments should continue distinct from that of the *Roman* Republick. Such, according to him, were the *Cumani*, the *Arrani*, and the *Atellani*, who had the Right of *Roman* Citizens, and of being incorporated in the *Legions*, but could not be promoted to Magistracies. *Paul the Civilian*, is likewise of the same Opinion, when he says, *The Inhabitants of the Municipia, who came to Rome, had not, strictly speaking, the Right of Citizenship, though they enjoyed all the Privileges of other Roman Citizens, except that of Suffrage, and that of standing Candidates for the Dignities of the Republick, from which the Municipia were excluded.* Of this Number were the *Inhabitants of Fregene, Formiæ, Cumæ, Acerra, Lanuvium, and Tusculum*, who some Years after, became *Roman* Citizens. His Words are these: *Municipium id genus Hominum dicitur, qui cum Romam venissent, Cives Romani essent, Participes fuerunt omnium rerum ad Munus fungendum, una cum Romanis Civibus, præterquam de Suffragio ferendo, aut Magistratu capiendo; sicut fuerunt Fundani, Formiani, Cumani, Acerrani, Lanuvini, Tusculani, qui, aliquot Annos, Cives Romani effecti sunt.* 8thly, The second sort of *Municipia*, are described by the same *Paul the Civilian*. There is, says he, another sort of *Municipia*, which, with regard to their Government, are united to, and incorporated with, the Republick of Rome. Such were *Aricia, Terracina, and Cære*. He expresses himself thus. *Modo cum id genus Hominum definitur, quorum Civitas universa, in Civitatem Romanam venit; ut in Anagnini, Cærites.* It is surprizing, that *Paul* should put *Cære* in this Number, since its Inhabitants only enjoyed the Title of *Citizenship*, without the Privileges of it. But we must therefore infer from this Passage, that the *Cærites* were made *Citizens of Rome*, at two different times. The first, in Gratitude for the favourable Reception they gave the *Vestals*, when they, at the taking of Rome by the *Gauls*, fled to *Cære*, with the sacred *Deposita*, for which the Publick had a religious Veneration. It is probable, whatever *A. Gellius* may say to the contrary, that the *Cærites* were then made *Roman Citizens*; and had the Right of Suffrage, which was taken away from them in the Year of Rome 400, during the Dictatorship of *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, by way of Punishment, for their having joined with the *Tarquinienses*, against the *Roman* Republick. Afterwards, it is probable, the Right of *Citizenship* was granted them a second time; with this Proviso, that they should not be allowed to give their Suffrages in the *Comitia*. But this we only offer, by way of Conjecture, as the only Interpretation that can be given to the above-cited Passage of *Paul the Civilian*.

9thly, What further proves, that the Right of *Citizenship* was granted to the second Order of *Municipia* before-mentioned, is, that the *Coruncanii*, the *Juventii*, the *Cato's*, the *Muræna's*, the *Voconii*, and the *Scantini*, Natives of the *Municipal* Cities, of *Tusculum, Aricia, and Lanuvium*, obtained the Honours of Magistracies in Rome. Nevertheless, it must be observed, that the Citizens of these *Municipia*, had not the Liberty of voting in the *Comitia* by *Curia*, unless they were Inhabitants of Rome; since those Citizens only, who resided there, were admitted into these Assemblies. They only were Partakers of the Festivals, Sacrifices, and Privileges, which were either common to all the *Curia*, or peculiar to some of them only. But it is at the same time true, that the Inhabitants of every *Municipium* had their own Festivals, and religious Ceremonies, which the *Pontifical* College obliged them to observe very exactly, even when removed to Rome. This we learn from *Festus*. *Municipalia sacra vocantur quæ ab initio habuerunt, ante Civitatem Romanam acceptam, quæ observare eos voluerunt Pontifices, & eo more facere, quo aduissent antiquitus.* These Grants of the Right of *Citizenship*, made *Cicero* say, in his third Book, *De Legibus*, that the Citizens of the *Municipal* Cities, had two Countries, the one native, the other adopted. *Ego omnibus Municipibus duas esse censui Patrias, unam Naturæ, alteram Jure.* For this reason, they could be entered upon the Roll of the *Census*, either at Rome, or in their native City, as they pleased.

10thly, It is difficult to guess, what sort of Government the *Municipal* Cities were under. We only know, that they had their *Knights*, and their *Decurions*, which latter is the Title given to those of whom their *Senates* consisted. History likewise mentions *Dictators, Duumviri, Quartumviri, Aediles, and Quæstors*, which exercised the same Offices in the *Municipia*, as well as *Colonies*, which those Magistrates executed in Rome. And lastly, there were in the *Municipia*, *Decemviri*, who were chosen by the *Decurions*. Their whole Business was, to raise the Taxes, for which they gave Security to the Publick Treasury, according to *Hermogenes*. A great many Medals have transmitted to us the Names of the *Duumviri*, and *Aediles*, who had the same Authority, in the *Colonies*, and *Municipia*, as the *Consuls*, and *Aediles*, had at Rome. On the Reverse of a Medal struck by order of the *Decurions*, or Senate of *New Carthage*, then a *Roman* Colony, we find the Names of the *Duumviri*, *Gaius Petronius*, and *Marcus Antonius*, with the Figure of a Labyrinth; but we cannot discover what was intended by it. C. PETRONIO, M. ANTONIO II. VIR EX. D.D. that is, *Ex Decreto Decurionum.*

them capable of going through with whatever they thought fit to undertake. Scarce any thing could now stop the Course of their Conquests, but real Principles of Equity. Whereas they sometimes only coloured over their ambitious Desires, with the Appearances of Justice.

§. II. IN



curionum. On the Reverse of a Medal of *Tiberius*, we find the Names of *Quintus Varus*, or *Varus*, and *Quintus Pontius Plancus*, *Aediles* of a *Municipium* in *Spain*, which the *Latin* Authors, and ancient Monuments, call *Turiaso*. The Medal which follows, proves, among other things, that two *Censors* were established in the *Colonies*, as well as in the *Municipia*. They were chosen every five Years, that is, at the end of each *Lustrum*. They exercised the Office of *Censors*, with the Title of *DUUMVIRI QUINQUENNALES*. They are called so in the Inscription. *M. POSTUMIO ALBINO, L. PORCIO CAPITONE, DUUMVIRIS QUINQUENNALIBUS*. On the Reverse is the Figure of a *Censor*, dressed in the *Prætexta*. He holds in one Hand, a Vessel appropriated to the holding the *Lustral Water*, in the other a Branch of Olive for the Aspersions, which were made in the Ceremony of the *Lustrum*. These were the Symbols of his Office. This last Medal, on the Face of which is the Head of *Augustus*, was struck at *New Carthage*.

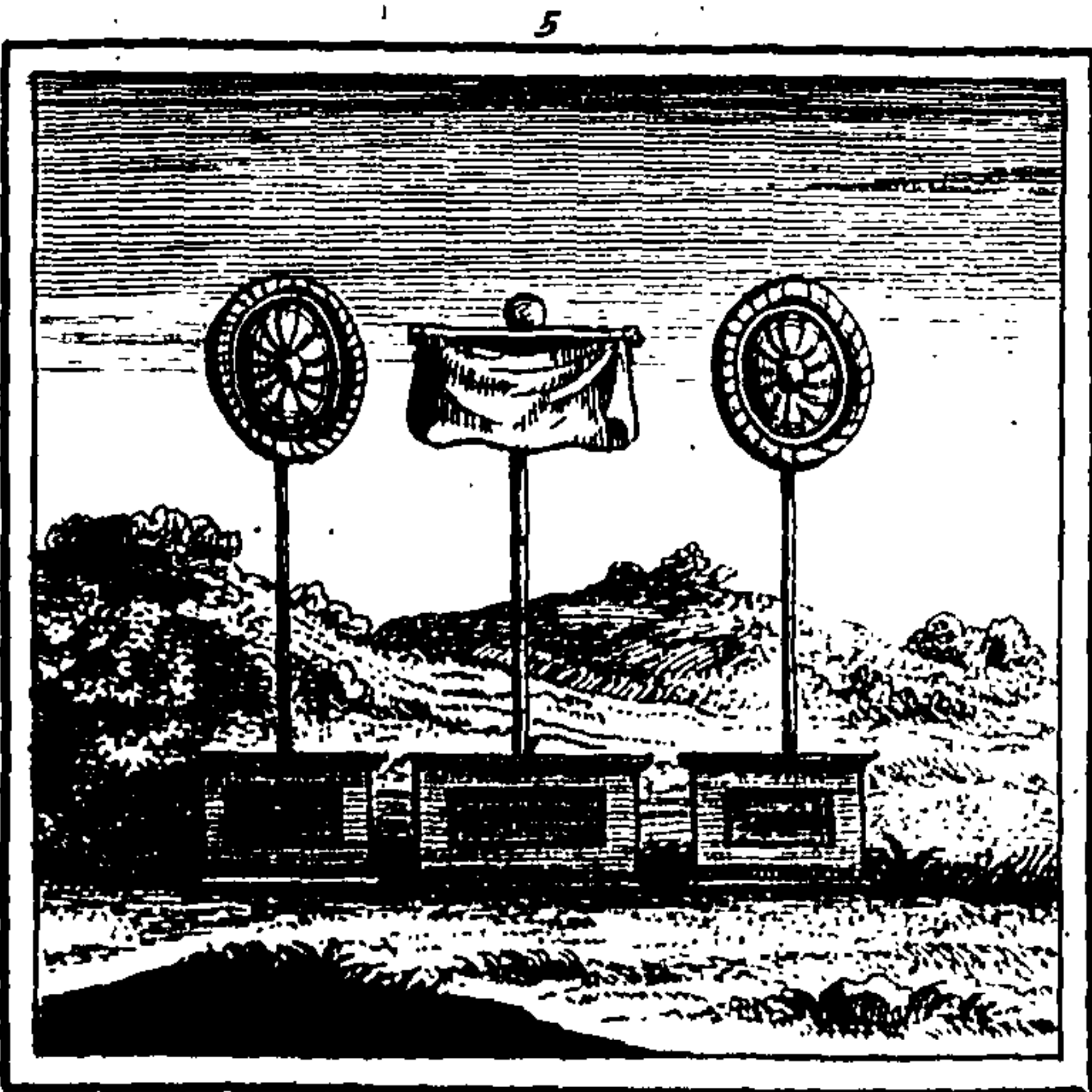
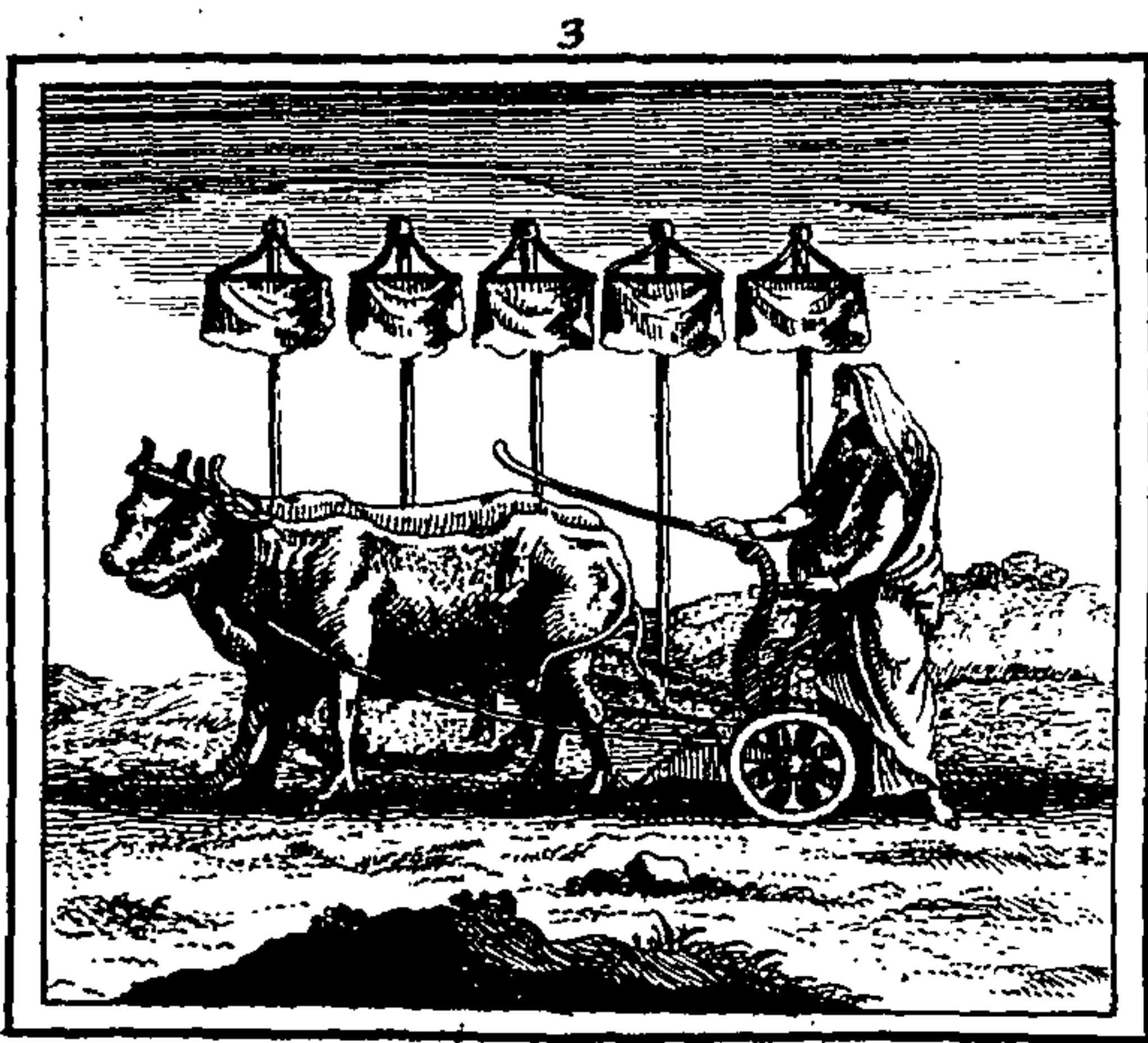
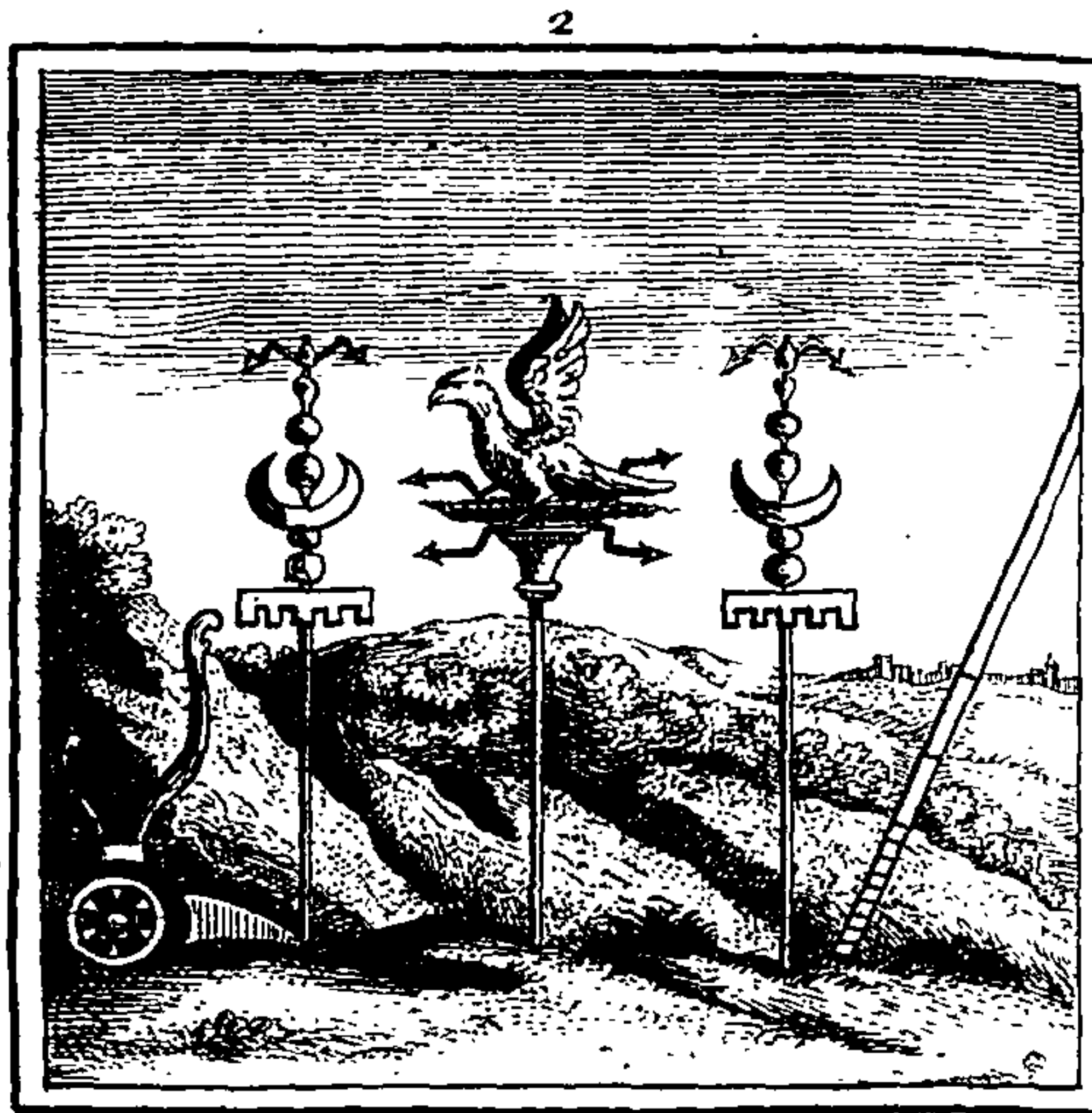
11thly, The Magistrates, in the *Colonies* and *Municipia*, wore an Habit of Distinction, which was the same with the *Prætexta*, or Robe bordered with Purple. The People chose them by a Majority of Voices.

12thly, In the *Colonies*, as well as *Municipia*, the Administration of Justice was lodged in the Hands of the *Duumviri*. These two Magistrates had the same Authority as *Roman Consuls*, and *Prætors*. We have some Traces of this kind of Magistracy, on ancient Medals, which is signified by these Capital Letters, *II VIRI. I. D.* that is, *Duumviri Juri Dicundo*. We likewise find mention made in the ancient Monuments of *Triumviri*, and *Quartumviri*, who held the first Rank in some *Colonies*, as in that of *Osma*, a City of *Spain*; *III. VIR. IN COLON. AUXIM. BIS*; and in that of *Signia*, or *Segni*, *L. VOLUMNIO. L. F. POMP. JULIANO SEVERO IIII. VIRO COL. SIG. PATRONO COLONIAE SUÆ, SENATUS POPULUSQUE SIGNINUS*. We find the Names of four Magistrates on a Medal of *Tiberius*; namely, *Cneius Pompeius*, *Marcus Avonius*, *Titus Antonius*, and *Marcus Julius Serranus*, with the Title of *Quartumviri* of *Clunia*, an ancient City of *Spain*, which *Peolomy* says, *B. 2. ch. 6.* had

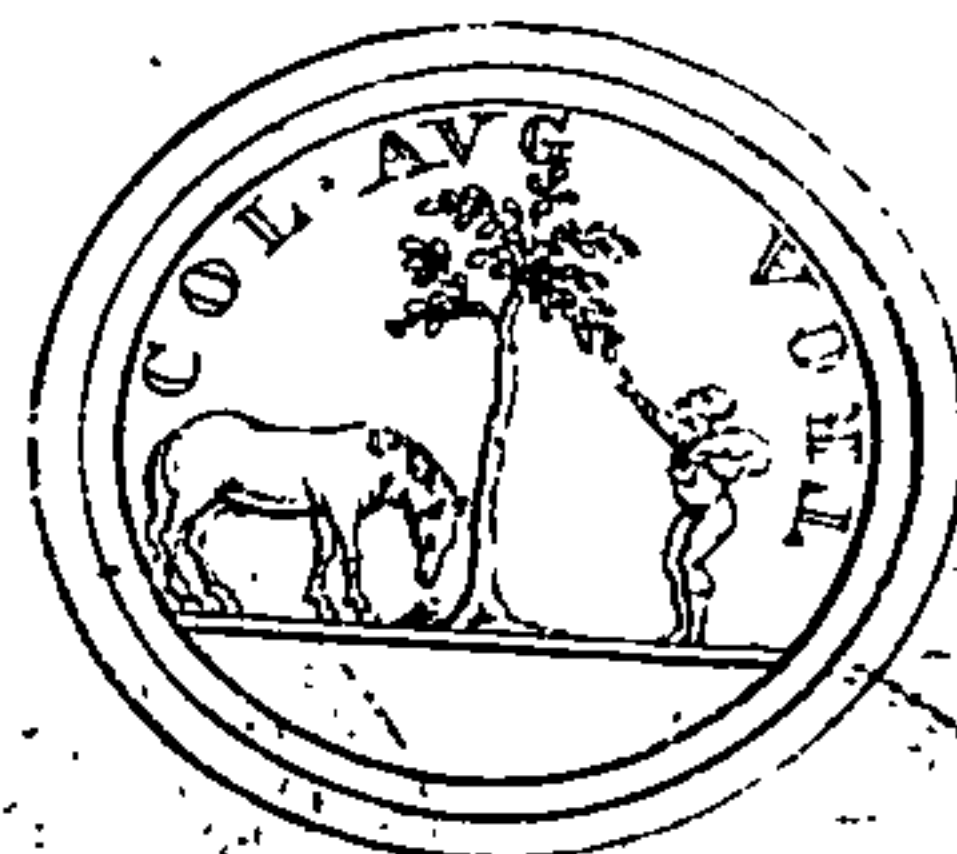
the Title of *Κλουνία Κολωνία*. The Figure of the Ox on the Medal, is the usual Symbol of *Colonies*, as well as of *Municipia*. This appears by the Reverse of an *Augustus*. It bears the Name of *Ergatica*, another City of *Spain*; *MUN. ERGAVICA*. The Design of representing *Colonies* and *Municipia* by this Animal, was to shew the Fruitfulness of the Soil, and to signify, that Cities chiefly depended on Agriculture.

13thly, It may here be asked, which had the Preference, the *Colonies*, or the *Municipia*? about which ancient Authors are divided, according to *A. Gellius*. Some, says he, give *Colonies* the Preheminence. But he, *B. 16. c. 13.* quotes the Emperor *Adrian's* Authority, in favour of the *Municipia*, in a Speech he made to the Senate of the City of *Utica* in *Spain*, which was the Place of his Nativity. The Emperor said he was surprized to see the Inhabitants of that City, and several other *Municipia*, among whom he named those of *Utica*, chusing rather to enjoy the Right of *Roman Colonies*, than to continue to be governed by their own Laws, as formerly. He, on this Occasion, mentions the *Prænestini*, who earnestly desired *Tiberius*, to reduce them from the State of a *Roman Colony*, in which they then were, to that of a *Municipium*, which was granted them as a Favour, in Acknowledgment of that Emperor's having been cured of a mortal Disease, in the Neighbourhood of *Prænestæ*.

14thly, *A. Gellius*, in the same Place, shews us the Difference between the *Colonies* and *Municipia*. The *Colonies*, says he, were much more closely united to the Republic, than the *Municipia*. They were, as it were, Buds of the same Stock, and were, in a manner, but one People with the Romans. And they governed themselves by the Roman Laws. And the *Municipia* which were governed by their own Customs, were more honourable, and to be preferred before them, considering the Dignity of the Roman People, whom they represented in little. Add to this, continues he, that the Rights of the *Municipia* are now so little known, and so much abolished, that they are no where in use. His Words are these. *Coloniarum alia Necessitudo est. Non enim veniunt extrinsecus in Civitatem, nec suis Radicibus*



§. II. IN the Year of Rome 416, C. Sulpicius Longus, and P. Aelius Pætus, Year of were raised to the Consulship. Rome had then no Enemies. All her Neighbours, R O M E whether out of Fear of her Arms, or Affection to her, seemed to be unanimous CCCCXVI. in paying her Respect. Whilst, at the same time, the Nations about her were so C. SULPICIVS unquiet, LONGVS, P. AELIVS PÆTUS, Consuls.



untur, sed ex Civitate quasi propagata sunt, & Jura institutaque Populi Romani, non sui arbitrii habent; quæ tamen Conditio, cum sit magis obnoxia, minus libera, potior tamen est, & præstabilior existimatur, propter Amplitudinem majestatemque Populi Romani, cujus istæ Colonia quasi effigies parva simulachraque esse quædam videntur; & simul quia obscura obliuataque sunt Municipiorum jura, quibus uti jam per ignorantiam non queunt. From these last Words, it is natural to conclude, that there were no Municipia in A. Gellius's time, but that made use of the Roman Law.

16thly, The Number of those who were sent out to plant a Colony, was greater or less, in proportion to the Quantity of the Lands, which were ordered by a Decree of the Senate, and People, to be divided among them; in such a manner, as the Triumviri, Quinqueviri, Septemviri, Decemviri, and sometimes The Twenty Persons, who were commissioned to regulate the Settlement of the new Colony, could direct. This Decree was called an Agrarian Law. After it was passed, they whom Necessity and want forced to leave their Country, offered themselves, that they might have a Share in the Distribution. If the number of the Claimants exceeded that the Law determined, the Magistrates chose those who were to go to the new Colony, by Lot. When the time for their Removal was come, all those who had been enrolled drew up in Battalia under their Standards, and marched on, with Colours flying, and in Order of Battel, after having first performed the Ceremonies of the Auspices, and Lustration. The Conduct of this Troop was committed to one single Person, who was probably chosen out of those, to whom the Senate, or People, had given a Commission to put their Orders in Execution. Plutarch, in his Life of Gracchus, Appian, B. 2. Cicero, against Verres, and in his second Philippick, expressly mention this Custom. We find some Footsteps of it in many Medals. When the Troop came to the place appointed, the first Care of its Leader was to erect Altars, in Honour to the Tutelary Deities of the Colony. He there fixed up his Ensigns, and invoked the Protection of Heaven for the New-comers.

The Ceremony ended with Lustrations, Sacrifices, Purifications, and other religious Ceremonies, which the Pagans used, when they laid the Foundations of Cities. We have already mentioned them, I. p. 22, 23. At the same time the Auguries were consulted, in order to secure the Good-will of the Gods. After this, the Sacrificer, who was, according to some, an Augur, according to others, the Founder or Head of the Colony, marked out the Limits of the City, and its Dependencies. He himself guided the Plough, which was drawn by a bull and a Heifer yoked together. These two Animals, the Symbols of Marriages, were afterwards placed on the Altars. The Plate annexed, is taken from the most authentick Medals. In the first Part of

it, you see a Plough drawn by two Oxen; and the Plough is guided by a Priest, whose Head is covered with his Robe, to shew the Attention and Recollection which this Ceremony required; it being deemed a religious Office. In the second Part, the Eagles, Standards, and Colours, denote the Military Colonies. They consisted of old Soldiers, to whom the Republick gave Lands, that they might cultivate them for their Subsistence. In this manner, the Generals of Armies, about the time of Marius, and afterwards the Emperors, rewarded the Services of those Soldiers, whom Age or Infirmities would not permit to bear Arms any longer. The Distribution of the Lands is represented by a Surveying-Rod. In the third and fourth Parts of this Plate, we see an Ox and Heifer in a Plough, together with military Ensigns, which is designed to shew, that the Colony consisted of such Persons as were partly chosen out of the People, and partly out of the Legionary Soldiers. The Ensigns and Colours fixed upon three Altars, in the fifth Part, denote the Arrival of the Colony. The Wolf, which suckles Romulus and Remus, is the usual Symbol which the Colonies borrowed to perpetuate the Memory of their Origin: And we find the same Figures on the Medals of some Municipia.

16thly, The Colonies and Municipia enjoyed more or fewer Advantages, in proportion to their Fidelity, and the Services they had done the Republick. Some paid Tribute to the Romans: Others, as the maritime Colonies, and Cities in Alliance, were exempt from the common Taxes, and deemed so many free Cities. This Prerogative is represented by an Horse let loose, as appears by the Medal above. Its Inscription is, COLONIA AVGVSTA TROADENSIS. The Medal agrees with Tacitus, who affirms, B. 12. that the Emperor Claudius exempted the People of this Country from Imposts and Taxes, for ever.

3 This was the first Consulship of Caius Sulpicius Longus, and Publius Aelius Pætus. Diodorus has displaced the latter, to substitute in his room Lucius Papyrius, who was not Consul till the next Year. Instead of Πατριου, the Greek Tables have Πάτριου, which is probably a Mistake of the Copyist. The Sulpician Family came originally from Camerium; at least, the Surname of Camerinus, which was borne by the first Sulpicius, who was Consul in the Year of Rome 253, leaves room for the Conjecture. This Family was divided into three Branches, the first of which was Patrician, the second Plebeian, and the third Equestrian. The Galba's were reckoned to be of the first, and the Rufus's of the third. As for the Aelian, or Allian Family, tho' it was originally Plebeian, yet it passed for one of the most ancient in the Republick. It acquired great Lustre by the Dignities with which Men of this Name were honoured. From this Stock sprung the several Branches of the Catus's, the Tubero's, the Ligur's, the Gallus's, the Stilo's, the Præconius's, the Sejanus's, and the Lamia's.

Year of unquiet, that Diffentions were continually springing up among them, in which
R O M E *Rome* always interested herself, and which she knew how to turn to her own Ad-
CCCCXVI. vantage. Among the rest, the *Sidicini*, I know not upon what Motives, either
 of Discontent, or Interest, had taken up Arms against the *Aurunci*. The latter
 C. SULPICIUS had submitted to the *Romans*, in the Consulship of *T. Manlius*, and had continued
 LONGUS, P. faithful to the Republick, amidst all the Confusions of the *Latin War*. The Ca-
 ÆLIUS PÆ- pitul of the *Aurunci*, was probably called *Arunca*. The other Cities of their
 tus, Consuls. little State were, *Fundi*, *Cajeta*, *Formiæ*, *Minturnæ*, and *Suessula*. This People
 Liv. B. 8. c. 15.



Lamia's. Horace has celebrated the Nobility of the latter, in the 17th Ode of his third Book.

*Æli, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
 Quando & priores hinc Lamias ferunt
 Denominatos, & Nepotum
 Per memores genus omne fastos;
 Auctore ab illo Ducis Originem,
 Qui Formiarum Mœnia dicitur
 Princeps, & innantem Maricæ
 Littoribus tenuisse Lirim,
 Late Tyrannus.*

The Nobility of the Descent, with which the Poet flatters his Friend *Ælius Lamia*, made *Juvenal*, B. 6. call a Lady of the first Quality, *Quædam de numero Lamiarum*. The Poet carries up the Genealogy of the *Lamia's*, to the *Lamus* the Son of *Neptune*, and King of the *Lestrigones*, who, he says, gave Law to the City of *Formiæ*, and all the Country watered by the *Liris*, where peculiar Honours were paid to the Goddess *Maricæ*, the Wife of *Faunus*. *Silius Italicus* makes him to have reigned in *Cajeta*. *Et regnata Lamo Cajeta*, B. 8. No body indeed has said, that the *Ælii* descended from *Lamus*, tho' the *Lamia* are said to have done so: which makes it probable, that the latter were admitted into the Family of the former, by Adoption. This Family had the Honour of giving *Rome* several Emperors, namely, *P. Ælius Hadrianus*, *T. Ælius Antoninus Pius*, and *L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus*. A Medal which is to be found in *Patinus's Roman Families*, has perpetuated the Name of one *Cainus Allius*, surnamed *Bala*, who is not mentioned by the Historians. On the Reverse is a *Diana* in a Chariot drawn by two Stags. The Surname of *Pærus*, which *Ælius* had, was given to those, who were a little squint, or very much goggle-eyed.

4 The *Sidicini*, and *Aurunci*, inhabited Part of the District of the *Osce*; and were thought the Remains of the ancient *Aufones*. See what we have here said of the *Sidicini*, p. 134. Note 2. and of the *Aurunci*, p. 129.

5 *Livy* says nothing of the Name or Situation of the Capital of the *Aurunci*; and it is difficult to come at any probability concerning either. Perhaps this was the same *Arunca*, or *Arunca*, which *Festus* says was built by *Auspinus*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Calypso*; but according to *Dion. Hal.* the Son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*. *Livy's* Account inclines one to believe, it stood towards *Teanum*, on the Frontiers of the *Sidicini*. It is probable, the Nearness of the Enemy forced these People to abandon their

first Habitation, in order to secure themselves in *Suessula*, which they called *Arunca*, probably to perpetuate the Name of the Capital, which they had deserted.

6 The City, Port, and Promontory of *Cajeta*, were so called from the Name of *Æneas's* Nurse, because she died in this Place, according to *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Solinus*, and most ancient Authors. *Servius* gives us the different Opinions of Writers, some of which derive this Name from *Creusa's* Nurse, others from the Nurse of her Son *Ascanius*. *Servius* and *Cæsar*, as quoted by *Aurelius Victor*, in his Book Of the Origin of the Romans, derive the Word *Cajeta*, from the Greek Verb *καίω*, to burn; because the Trojan Women, tired with the Length of their Voyage, burnt the Fleet of *Æneas*, at the Instigation of one of them, who was from this Event, surnamed *Cajeta*. But this Story is as incredible, as that of the burning of the Trojan Fleet, near the City of *Egesta* in *Sicily*, according to *Dion. Hal.*; or in fight of *Siris*, a City of *Lucania*, according to *Aristotle*, in *Mirandis*, and *Strabo*, B. 5; or in the *Neæthus*, a River which waters the Territory of *Croton*, according to *Isaac Tsetza*; or lastly, in the Mouth of the *Arno*, near *Pisa*, as *Servius* pretends in his Commentary on the eleventh Book of the *Æneid*. Nor is the Conjecture of *Diodorus Siculus* of any more Weight, when he contends, that the Port of *Cajeta* had its Name from King *Æta*, a Sovereign of *Colchis*, after the Golden Fleece had been taken from this Prince, by the *Argonauts*, who stopped here, in their Voyage. *Strabo*, B. 5. affirms, that a Colony of *Lacedæmonians* settled in the same District, built the City of *Formiæ* there, and gave the Name of *Cajeta* to the Gulph near that City. The Word *Cajeta*, says that Geographer, is derived from the Greek Word *ΚΑΙΑΔΑΣ*, or *ΚΑΙΑΤΑΣ*, according to *Hesychius*, which, in the Language of the *Lacedæmonians*, signified a Gulph, or Ditch. They gave this Name to a deep Hole, appointed for receiving the Bodies of executed Criminals. *Cajeta*, now *Gæta*, was formerly famous for the Goodness of its Port. The Sea, upon the Borders of which this City stood, was by the *Latins* called *Amyclanum Mare*, from the ancient City of *Amyclæ*, which was situated near it, on the same Coast. *Cicero* had a Country seat in this Neighbourhood, which the Ancients sometimes call *Cajeta*, and sometimes *Formianum*; because it was but at a little distance both from *Formiæ*, and *Cajeta*. See what we say of *Suessula*, p. 144. Note 16; of *Minturnæ*, p. 168. Note 66; and of *Formiæ* and *Fundi*, p. 176. Notes 86, 87.

therefore

therefore claimed the Assistance of the *Romans*, who thought it worthy of their Protection. The *Aurunci* had not incurred the Hatred of the Senate by any Act of Unfaithfulness; and the free Gift they had made of their Lands to the Republick, merited her Assistance in time of Need. Accordingly, a Decree was passed, enjoyning the *Consuls* to raise an Army, to march to the Defence of that People. I know not whether the *Consuls* disdained an Expedition, by which little Honour was to be gained; but they at least delayed raising Troops so long, and were so dilatory in bringing their *Legions* into the Field, that they suffered the *Sidicini* to gain a great Ascendant over the *Aurunci*. And the Misfortunes of this People, who became a Prey to their Enemies, recoiled at last upon the *Consuls*. The *Aurunci*, being no longer safe in their Capital, deserted it, and removed to *Suessa*, which was from that time called *Aurunca*. After this, they fortified themselves in their new *Aurunca*, and we don't find from History, that they were ever driven out of it. Their old Capital was pillaged, destroyed, and dismantled, by the *Sidicini*. This was an Indignity which the Indolence of the *Consuls* had brought upon the Republick, and it did not continue long unpunished. The *Romans* forced them to nominate a *Dictator*. The Person they chose was *C. Claudius Crassus*, who made another *Claudius*, surnamed *Hortator*, his General of Horse. But neither of them continued long in their Office. The *Augurs* declared there had been some Defect in their Inauguration; so that their Abdication soon followed their Instalment. Then the *Consuls* re-entered upon their Office. But neither was the End of their *Consulship* more happy than the Beginning. The People gave a new Wound to the Authority of the *Patricians*. The *Prætorship* was the only great Dignity in the Republick which the *Plebeians* had not already shared with them; and they now undertook to gain a Part in this considerable Magistracy also. The *Plebeians* presented one of their Body for this Office, but a Man of known Merit. It was the same *Publius* who had been *Consul* and *Dictator*, two Years before, and who had extremely weakened the Power of the *Patricians*, by Laws which favoured the People. Their Faction therefore chose him again, to give the last Stroke to the Power of the Nobility. In short, *Publius's* Name was put among those of the Candidates for the *Prætorship*. Upon this, the *Consul Sulpicius*, President of the *Comitia*, made a Difficulty of accepting the Name of a *Plebeian*, and protested he would not propose him to the Assembly, as a Candidate. So that the Affair was brought before the Senate. Of the *Consuls*, *Sulpicius* only opposed *Publius's* Request. *Ælius*, his Colleague, was a *Plebeian*, and did not care to act against a Man of his own Party. In short, the *Conscrip-tors* pronounced in favour of *Publius*. They thought a *Plebeian*, who had been formerly raised to the *Dictatorship* and *Consulship*, ought not to be excluded from the *Prætorship*. By this means, the People were now arrived at the Height of their Pretensions. By this means, all Pretences for Faction were entirely rooted out. By this means, there was now no Station in the Republick to which the People might not aspire, as well as the Nobility. From this time, the Republick made it her Business to honour Merit only, and to raise it to the highest Dignities, without regard to the Condition of him in whom it was found, whether Noble, or a common Citizen. So that this might more properly be called the Age of Roman Virtue, than any of the former; and the greatness of the Rewards bestowed, warmed every Heart with a more active Zeal, and Love for his Country.

NEVERTHELESS, the Women did not all surmount the Weaknesses of their Sex. *Sulpicius's Consulship*, one of the *Vestals* dishonoured her Profession by her In-

This City of the *Aurunci*, which stood below *Canusium* Eastward, was distinguished from *Suessa* *Canusina*, by the additional Name of *Aurunca*. It is now called *Sessa*. Authors drop the additional Name of *Aurunca*, and generally call it only *Suessa*. They probably thought the Addition useless, when there were no longer any Footsteps of *Suessa* *Canusina*, the ancient City of the *Volsci*, which *Tarquin* the Proud had utterly destroyed. *Suessa* *Aurunca* became afterwards a Roman Colony. *Cicero* speaks of it, as a *Municipium*, in his 13th *Philippic*. An ancient Inscription, to be found in *Grutero*, p. 1093. shews it to have been a Roman Colony at the time of *Augustus*: And *Holstenius* proves, by

another Inscription, that it had the Title of a *Municipium*. The Name of *Suessa* is preserved in Medals. In the first of those in the eleventh Plate, we see a *Hercules* grappling with the *Nemean* Lion. The Head on the Face of the Medal probably represents the City of *Suessa*. On the second Medal in that Plate, is the *Minotaur* crowned by a flying *Victory*. On the third we find a Head crowned with Laurel; behind which are three Legs, with a Face in the middle of them, the usual Symbol of *Sicily*, on account of its three Promontories, as will be shewn hereafter. The Reverse represents an Horse-Race.

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TUS, Consuls.

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ÆLIUS PÆ-
TUS, Consuls.
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contenance. These Slips were thought so abominable in *Rome*, that the Historians mention them all as monstrous Things, of which they would give their Readers an Abhorrence. The Name of the sacrilegious Priestess was *Minucia*. She at first caused her Virtue to be suspected by her Love of Dress. She was thought ill of, as soon as she shewed an Inclination to please: And the Suspicion was soon changed into a full Conviction. Being accused at the Tribunal of the *Pontifices*, by one of her Slaves, she first purposed to give her Domesticks their Freedom, lest they should be put to the 8th Torture, and be thereby compelled to discover her Irregularities. Generally speaking indeed, the Depositions of Slaves against their Masters were not allowed of 9, in *Rome*; but the Law excepted two Cases, which

Were

8 The *Eculeus* was the most common Rack the Romans made use of, when they examined any Person by Torture. This *Tully* tells us in his *Oration for Milo*. *Facti in ECULEO questio est, Juris in Judicio*. The Difficulty is, to know the Form of this Engine, which was used in the Punishment of Slaves. The Moderns have put their own Imaginations to the rack, to find out its Form and Make. *Sigonius*, in the 17th Chapter of his third Book *De Judiciis*, pretends that it was a sort of Pillory, or a Post made in the Form of a Screw. The Executioner tied the Patient to it with Cords, in the manner represented in the first Figure of the adjoining Plate: so that every Turn of the Screw upon its Shaft, raised up the Criminal, whose Arms and Legs were extended, by means of the Cords with which he was tied above and below, in a manner which was extremely painful, and at last dislocated all his Joints. The Wretch was left hanging in this miserable Condition, till he confessed the Truth. After that, the Screw was lowered, and the Cords slackned, to give him ease. *Sigonius* supports his Opinion, by several Quotations out of ancient Authors. He finds the *Eculeus* described, in these Lines of the Poet *Pomponius*, which are quoted by *Macellus*, in his Work, entituled, *De Proprietate Sermorum*.

*Et ubi insilui in Cochleatum Eculeum,
Ibi totum tortor*

He proves that the Sufferer was lifted up, and hung upon this Rack, with his Head upwards; and Feet downwards, by these Verses of the Poet *Prudentius*, written to celebrate the Triumph of *St. Vincent* the Martyr.

*Incensus his Asclepiades jusserat
Eviscerandum Corpus ECULEO
Eminus pendere.*

After this, he makes the Saint speak in this manner:

*Audite cuncti, clamo longe & prædico
Emitto vocem de Catastra celsior.*

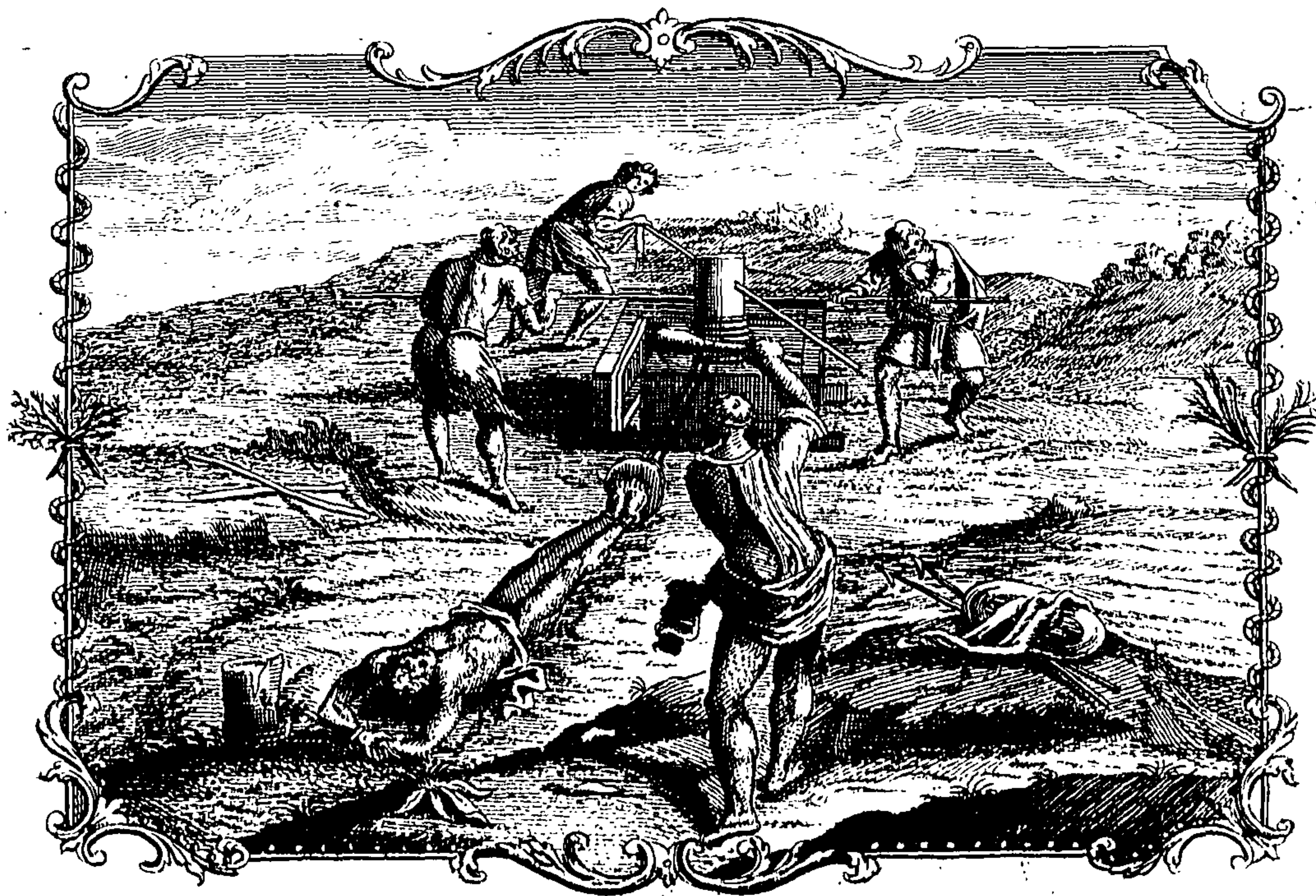
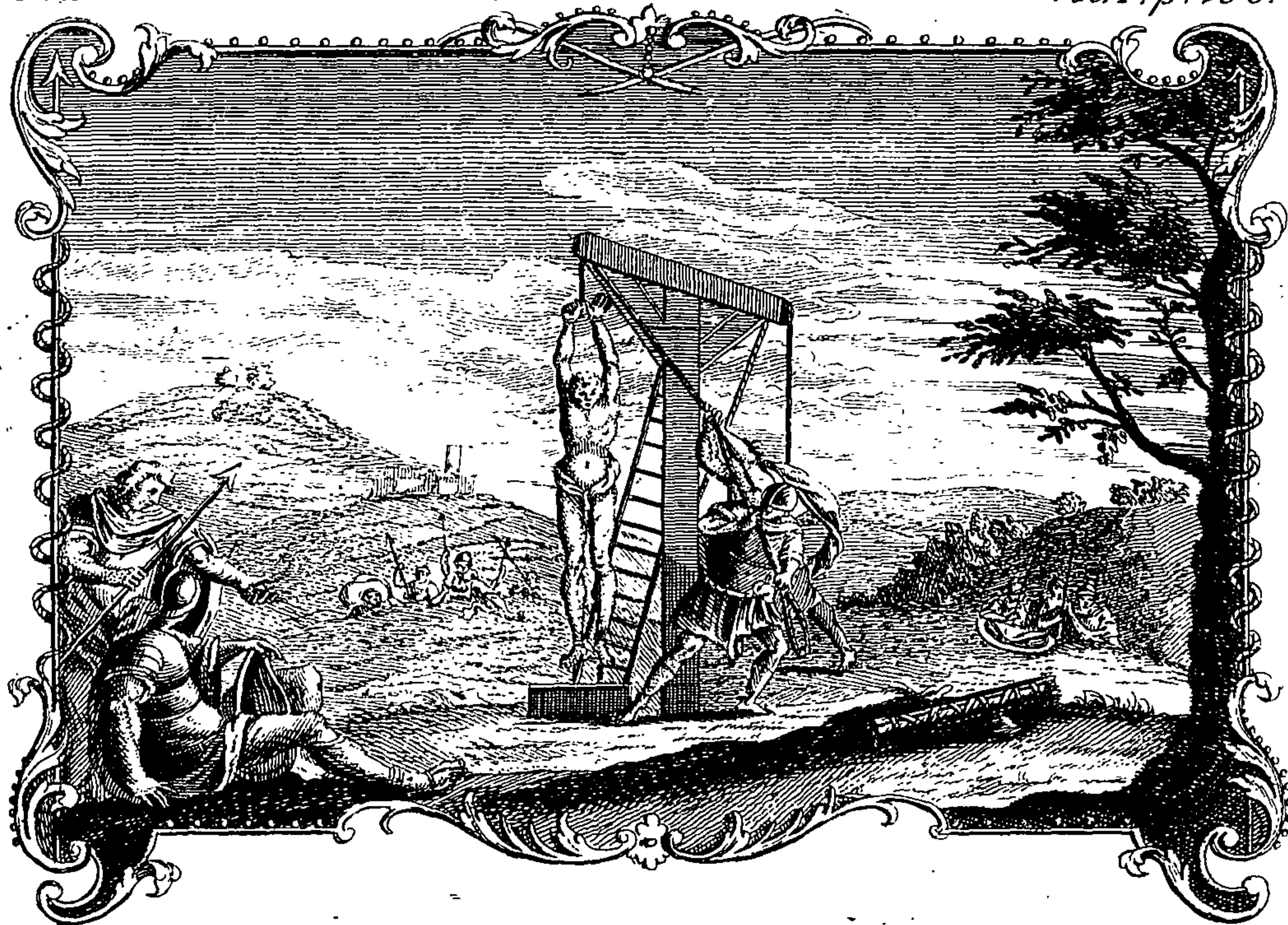
The exceeding painful Posture of the Person tortured, is described in the following Lines of the same Hymn.

*Vinctum retortis brachiis
Sursum ac deorsum extendite,
Compago donec Ossium
Divulsa, membratim crepet.*

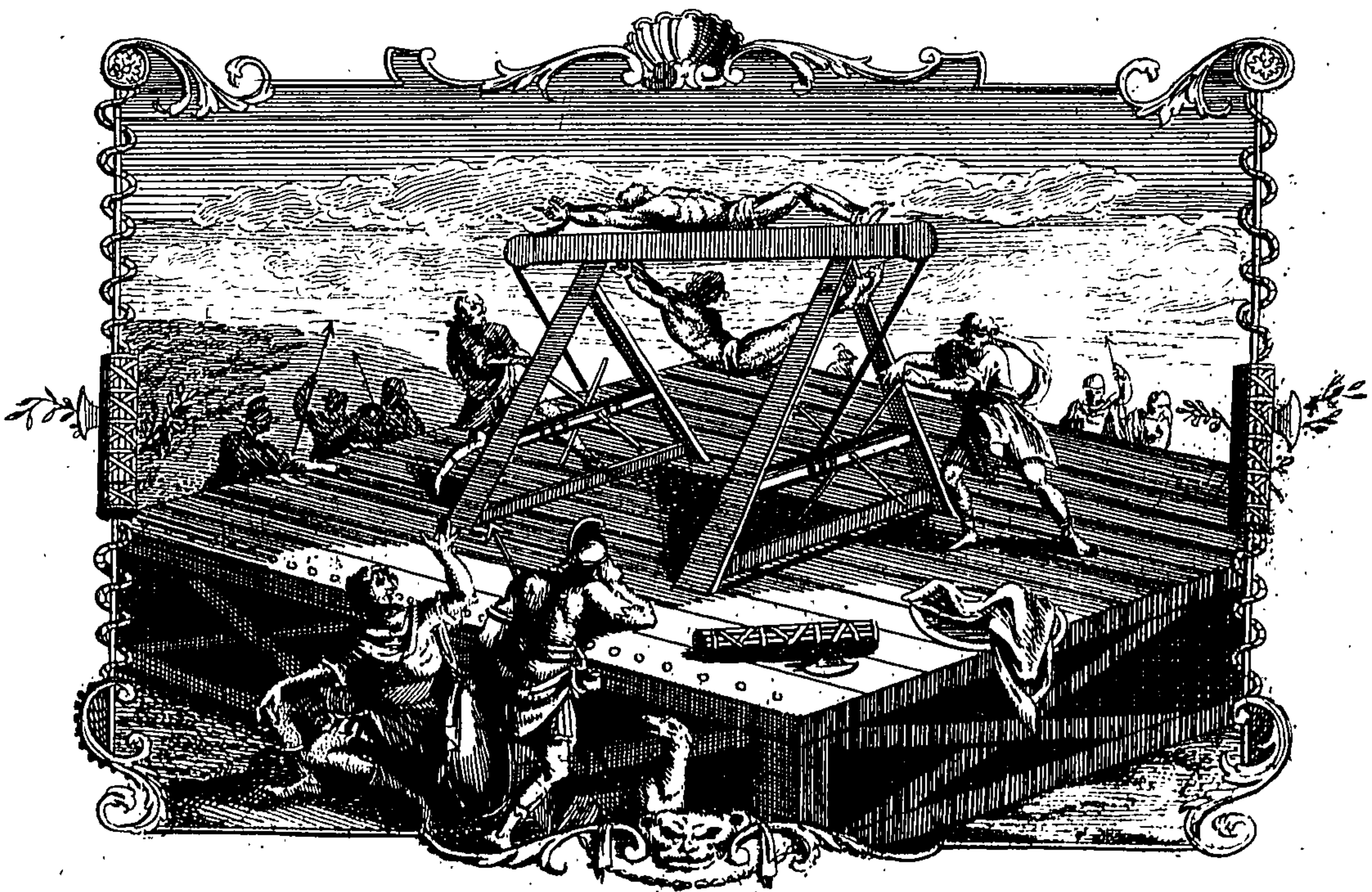
The Etymology *Isidorus* gives of the Word *Eculeus*, favours this Opinion. *Eculeus dictus, eo quod extenderet*. The same Etymologist mentions the Cords used in this Torture, and calls them *Fidiculae*, quia iis rei in *Eculeo* torquentur, ut fides inveniantur. And lastly, *Sozomen* speaks of it, in the same manner, when he relates the Martyrdom of a Christian, who was condemned to this Punishment. The Tyrant, says he, caused him to be lifted up, after he had been tied to a Post. *Et cum ad tortorium lignum adduxissent, in sublimi tolli jussit*. The Idea *Gallonius* gives us of the *Eculeus*, in his Book *De SS. Martyrum Cruciatibus*, is agreeable to the

second Figure in the Plate. According to him, it was a Piece of Timber placed horizontally upon two Treffels. It was called *Eculeus*, because it somewhat resembled an Horse, in Latin *Equus*. The Criminal was fastned to this Piece of Wood, by his Hands and Feet, with his Face upwards. The Cords with which he was tied, passed over two Wheels fixed to the two Ends of the Plank, and were fastned to two Rollers, or round Axle-trees, one at each end of the Rack. Round these Axle-trees, the Executioners wound the Cords, which were strained by every Turn of the Wheels, which were moved by the Handles of the Axle-trees. This gave the Sufferer extreme Pain, and dislocated his Bones, which were drawn out of joint by the Cords, which stretched his Body both Ways at once. This made *Seneca the Philosopher*, say of a Man extended upon the *Eculeus*, that all the Parts of his Body were made longer by this Torture. *Eculeo longior factus*. *Gallonius*, in Proof of his own Opinion, and in Opposition to that of *Sigonius*, quotes *Seneca*, Ep. 66; *St. Jerom* Ep. ad Innocent. 99; *Cicero*. *Tusculan. Quest. B. 5.* and several other Writers; who represent those who were tortured, as lying along upon the *Eculeus*. *Facebat in Eculeo Impositus in Eculeum In Eculeo conjiciuntur*. The same Author adds, that, according to several antient Writers, the tortured Person, almost always fell off from the Plank, which was generally very narrow, not being able to keep himself upon it, and hang by his Hands and Feet, as soon as the Cords were slackned. And from all the Passages, which *Sigonius*, *Gallonius*, and *Jerom* *Magius* have quoted, it appears, that the Form of the *Eculeus* was not always the same. The little the Ancients say, of the Tortures used by the Romans, makes us conclude, that they may all be reduced to the four Ways of torturing represented in the two adjoining Plates. Whether the Ancients made use of Iron-Forks, Torches, and Burning-Plates of Metal, in the Torture of Slaves, as they were afterwards used to torment the Martyrs who were put upon the *Eculeus*, is not easy to determine. Ancient Authors have not said enough of it, to ascertain whether they did or no.

9 This Custom was founded upon the most equitable Principles. It would have been very unreasonable to have subjected the Life and Fortune of a Citizen to the Anger and Hatred of a Slave, whose Interest it was to execute his Revenge upon him. Besides, nothing was more sacred, than the Rights of Masters over their Slaves; and it was Matter of Wisdom, and good Policy, to keep the latter to their Distance and Duty, by depriving them of all Means of hurting those, who had a despotick Authority over their Persons and Effects. It may easily be imagined, a Slave would let no Opportunity slip of revenging the ill Usage he had received from a severe Master. This, *Rome* wisely guarded against, by not suffering any Slave to bear witness against his Master. This we learn from *Cicero*, who says, in his *Oration for Deiotarus*, that this Custom was authorized by the old Romans, who would not suffer a Slave to be put to the Rack, in order to extort a Testimony from him.



Different Sorts of Tortures used by the Romans.



Different Sorts of Tortures used by the Romans.

were ¹⁰ Incest, and Crimes against the State. *Minucia* was therefore forbidden to enfranchise any of her Slaves; and she was at the same time commanded not to perform any sacerdotal Office. At length, the *Pontifices* passed Sentence of Condemnation on the guilty *Vestal*: She was conducted, in great Silence, through the Gate *Collina*, to a Field called *The Wicked Field*, or *Campus Sceleratus*, where she was buried alive, in a subterranean Cave, under a Tomb, on the right Side of the common Road. There she expiated her Crime, by the most terrible Sort of Death that can be suffered.

§. III. In the preceding *Consulship*, the *Aurunci* had not been revenged on the *Sidicini*, who kept Possession of their Capital, which they had seized: And the latter therefore expecting to have all the Forces of the Republick immediately brought against them, had joined themselves to the ¹¹ *Aufones*, a People heretofore formidable, but now reduced to a little Canton in *Italy*. Before the Foundation of *Rome*, the *Aufones* possessed all that Part of *Italy*, which reaches from *The Streights of Sicily* to the Country of the *Volsci*; and their Dominions were so extensive, that the *Greeks* often gave all *Italy* the Name of *Aufonia*. In Process of Time, they were dispossessed of the vast Countries they enjoyed, first by the ¹² *Oenotri-*
ans,

to the Prejudice of his Master. *Cum, More Majorum, de Servo in Dominum, ne tormentis quidem veri liceat, exortus est Servus, qui quem in Eculeo oppellere non posset, cum accuset solutus.* He gives the Reason for this Custom, in his *Oration* for *Milo*. Our Ancestors, says he, would not suffer by Man's Slaves to be examined by Torture, in order to be Witnesses against him, upon his Tryal, because it would have been unworthy of them, to have recourse to a Method so odious, and which might attended with the most fatal Consequences. His Words are, *Majores nostri in Dominum de Servo veri noluerunt, non quia non posset verum inveniri, sed quia videbatur indignum, et Domini Morte ipsa scitis.* This Law was, according to *Tacitus*, *l. II. 30, 5.* founded upon an ancient Decree of Senate. *Vetere Senatus-consulto Questio in Ca-*
Domini prohibebatur.

to This Exception is confirmed in the *Oration* *Milo*. *De Servis nulla Questio fit in Dominum, de Incestu.* The *Athenians* and *Rhodians*, according to *Cicero*, *De Partitione Orator. c. 34.* perverted Persons of free Condition to be examined by torture. But the *Romans* would not suffer so much as a Slave to be examined by Torture, as a Witness against his Master; unless in the Case of incest, or a Plot against the Republick. Thus we find in *Valer. Max. 6. 8, 1.* that *Mark Anthony* the actor being accused of Incest, his Slave was put on the Rack. The *Julian Law*, made by the Emperor *Augustus*, excepted likewise the Case of adultery. This we learn from the old *Civilians*, *l. c. de Question.; B. 37. c. de Adult.; B. 17. de Question.* *Marcian* reports, *B. 5.* that some man, whoever he was, who had been guilty of unlawful Commerce with one of his Relations, whether a Widow, or a Wife, was condemned on the Depositions of his Slaves only. It is then lawful to torture them, says that Author, in order to discover the Truth of Facts. Nevertheless, *Fabius Vopiscus* assures us, that the Emperor *Diocletian* would not suffer a Slave to be tortured, if his Master was accused of High Treason.

The *Aufones* were one of the most ancient Nations in *Italy*, even according to them who suppose that they landed there under the Conduct of *Ulysses*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Calypso*; or, according to some, of *Ulysses* and *Circe*. But upon this supposition, a great Absurdity will follow, viz. that *Italy* was absolutely desert, and uninhabited till after the Siege of *Troy*. What is certain, is, that the Nation was originally *Grecian*, as the *Colonies* afterwards came over into this Country. *Pliny* observes, *ch. 5. B. 3.* that the *Aufones* gave their Name to that Part of the *Mediterranean*

Sea, which reaches from the Sea of *Sicily* to the Country of the *Salentini*. This was then called *The Aufonian Sea*, according to *Dion. Hal.* himself, and not *The Sicilian Sea*, as *Strabo* pretends, who makes the latter the *Aufonian Sea*; tho' he is forced to confess, that the *Aufones* never inhabited the Coasts of *Sicily*. They first planted themselves in that Part of *Italy*, which comprehends *Samnium*, *Campania*, *Brutium*; and *Japygia*. But afterwards being driven from thence by new Conquerors; they were shut up within very narrow Limits, in the Neighbourhood of *Cale*, whose Territory they had possessed from time immemorial, according to *Festus*. But this Author is much mistaken in his Calculations; when he says, that *Auson*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Calypso*, gave name to *Aufonia*, and built the City of *Arunca*. This Account is manifestly fabulous. At least it cannot be reconciled with that of *Livy*, who tells us, that this City was not founded till eight hundred Years after the taking of *Troy*. What *Dion. Hal.* says of *Auson*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Calypso*, that he had reigned in the Territory of *Rome*, favours much of those false Traditions, which the whole Tribe of Poets had made venerable. Nor is more stress to be laid on what *Helianicus of Lesbos* relates, viz. that the *Aufones*, being driven away by the *Japyges*, passed over into *Sicily*, with their King *Siculus*.

¹² The *Oenotrians*, according to the most ancient Authors, were originally *Arcadians*. *Dion. Hal.* says, that they were the first *Greeks* who passed *The Ionick Gulph*, to settle in *Italy*, under the Conduct of the two Sons of *Lycaon*, King of *Arcadia*; one of whom was named *Oenotrus*, the other *Peucetius*. Being, says that Historian, dissatisfied with their Patrimony, they equipped a Fleet, left *Peloponnesus*, and being followed by a numerous Colony of *Greeks*, landed, one at the *Cape of Japygia*, and the other, at another Gulph, which washes the Western Side of *Italy*, and was then called *The Aufonian Gulph*. From thence they spread themselves into different Parts of *South-Italy*. *Peucetius*, at the Head of his Company, made himself Master of *Apulia* and *Calabria*; and gave the Name of *Peucetians* to the Inhabitants of those two Provinces. *Oenotrus* possessed himself of that Part of old *Aufonia*, which forms a Peninsula between the Gulphs of *Squillasi*, and *St. Euphemia*; anciently called *Lametinus*, or, according to others, *Terinæus*, and *Scylleticus Sinus*. *Italy* was called by the *Greeks*, *Oenotria*, from the Names of those two Nations, and not from the *Greek Word* *Ἰνός*, as *Servius* pretends; because this vast Tract of Ground produced great Plenty of excellent Wines. *Virgil* is our Authority for the former Etymology, in the first

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXVI.

C. SULPICIUS
LONGUS, P.
ÆLIUS PÆ-
TUS, Consuls.
*Cicero pro Mi-
lone. Liv. B. 8.*

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXVII.

L. PAPIRIUS
CRASSUS, CÆ-
SO DULIUS,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXVII.
L. PAPIRIUS
CRASSUS, CÆ-
SO DUILIUS,
Consuls.

ans, and then by the ¹³ *Pelasgi*, were driven to the farthest of their Province near the *Volsi*, and maintained themselves there. The *Aurunci*, *Sidicini*, and *Aufones*, were all, at the time of which we are now speaking, but a small Remains of the ancient *Aufones*; and weak as they were, the War divided them. Perhaps the *Sidicini* and *Aufones* were displeased with the *Aurunci*, for having withdrawn themselves from the Body of their Nation, and submitted to the Romans. But however that be, the *Sidicini* first, and afterwards the *Aufones*, declared themselves Enemies to the *Aurunci*. It was therefore the Duty of the Republic to protect a People, who had *bona fide* delivered themselves up into her Hands. Accordingly, no sooner were L. ¹⁴ *Papirius* and *Cæso Duilius* declared Consuls, but they were ordered to make War with the *Sidicini*, and *Aufones*, in favour of the *Aurunci*. The *Aufones* were considered by the Romans as new Enemies, but were not at all formidable to them. Their Capital, or rather, their only City, was ¹⁵ *Cale*. As for the *Sidicini*, they were Masters of ¹⁶ *Teanum*, which stood in the Neighbourhood

first Book of his *Æneid*.

*Est locus, Hesperiam Graii de nomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens Armis, atque ubere glebæ:
Oenotrii coluere Viri: nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse.....*

That the *Oenotrians* were driven out by the *Aufones*, is a Fact confirmed by the ancient Writers, contrary to the Opinion of *Antiochus of Syracuse*, who, according to *Dion. Hal.* thought the latter had been the first Inhabitants of Italy. The *Oenotrian* Islands, *Ischia* and *Pontia*, which *Pliny* mentions, B. 10. c. 7. are a Proof of the Invasion, and Settlement of these New-comers in the Southern Parts of Italy. The *Aufones* were then confined to the Country which reaches from *Circeum* to Mount *Massicus*. Some reckon several other Nations within this Tract of Ground, as the *Volsi*, the *Oschi*, and the *Aurunci*; tho' indeed the earliest Historians consider the *Oschi* and *Aurunci*, as the Remains of the ancient *Aufones*. According to *Strabo*, B. 5. that Part of Italy, which reached from The Straights of Sicily, to The Gulf of Tarentum, Eastward; and to *Possidonia*, or *Pestum*, near *Salernum*, Westward; was called *Oenotria*. It comprehended, says he, the Countries of the *Bruttii*, and that of the *Lucani*, between *Pestum* and *Metapontum*. The same Geographer makes the City of *Pandosia* the Residence of the Kings of *Oenotria*. *Dion. Hal.* imagines, that the *Oenotrians* afterwards possessed themselves of a Part of *Umbria*: and, according to some Writers, they even spread themselves into *Latium*, and *Sabinia*. Father *Kircher*, in his Work entitled, *Old and New Latium*, declares himself of opinion, that the *Oenotrii* here spoken of, was *Noah*. This Patriarch, says he, to avoid the Insults and ill Designs of *Ham*, joined himself to *Japheth*, and *Gomer*, and the other Children of the former; came with them into Italy, which is called by the Rabbins, *Kittim*; and reigned in *Latium*, under the Name of *Janus*. He was so called from the Hebrew Word *Jain*, and the Chaldee *Jaino*, which signifies *Wine*; because he first planted Vines, and found out the Secret of pressing out the Juice of the Grape, and making it potable. For this reason, the Greeks call him *Oenotrus*, *οἰνῶτος ὁ ὄντις*, which Signification and Etymology answers to the Surname of *Janus*. This Jesuit brings a great many Proofs to support his Opinion. He thinks, he finds some Traces of this Transmigration, in *Justin Martyr's Apologies*, in *Tertullian de Pallio*, in *St. Austin de Civitate Dei*, in *Clemens Alexandrinus in Protreptico*, in several old Commentators upon *Genesis*, and in *Berosus*. But after all, these are only happy Conjectures, which strike the Imagination at first sight, but carry no Conviction with them. Nevertheless, we may, if we please, adopt them; at least, till greater Certainty appears in any other Hypothesis.

¹³ Long before the Siege of *Troy*, the *Pelasgi* originally *Peloponnesians*, being driven out of the Country by the *Curetes* and *Leleges*, removed from *Theffaly*, into the Country, which is watered by the *Po*. Not far from the Mouth of this River, they founded the City of *Spina*. One Part of them crossed the Mountains, joined the *Aborigines*, conquered several Cantons of *Umbria* and *Hetruria*, drove out the *Siculi*, the ancient Inhabitants of these Countries, and forced them to fly for Refuge into *Sicily*. They likewise took away several Cities of *Campania* from the *Aurunci*. Afterwards, a great Number of these People, who were pursued by divine Vengeance, which visited them with the most terrible Scourges, abandoned their Conquests, and returned to *Greece*.

¹⁴ This is the same *Lucius Papirius Crassus*, who was Dictator in the Year of Rome 413. *Tully* mentions this Consulship in a Letter to *Pætus*. *Lucius Papirius Crassus* says he was Consul with *Cæso Duilius*, four Years after he had been chosen Dictator. *Diodorus Siculus*, as incorrect as usual, in the Names, *Prænomina*, and Surnames of the Consuls, makes one *Valerius Cæso* Colleague to *Papirius*. But it is a Mistake of the Author, or his Copyists.

¹⁵ The City of *Cale* stood in *Campania*, between *Teanum* and *Capua*, on this Side Mount *Massicus* and North of Mount *Gallicula*, which separated the Lands called *Stellates Campi*, from those of *Cale*. This Territory produced excellent Wines, which *Strabo* says were kept for the Tables of the Great Men at *Rome*. In the 2d Ode of his first Book he addresses himself to *Macenas* thus;

*Cecubum & prælo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam.*

And in the 31st Ode,

*Premant Calena falce quibus dedit
Fortuna vitem.*

The ancient Naturalists say there was a Spring in the Neighbourhood of this City, the Water of which had the Quality of making People drunk. *Ferninus* and Father *Briet* are mistaken, in distinguishing the City of *Cale*, from that which they call *Calenum*, and which, they say, still subsists, under the Name of *Carniola*. They did not consider, that the Latins called the Territory of *Cale*, *Calenum*, as the Canton of *Formia* was by them called *Formianum*. The Resemblance of the Names misled the Poet *Silius* say, B. 8. that *Cale* was founded by *Calais*, one of the *Argonauts*, the Son of *Boreas* and *Orithia*, according to the fabulous Tradition of the Mythologists, *Cale* is now called *Calvi*, and given Title to a Bishoprick in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

¹⁶ See our Remarks on *Teanum*, p. 134. Notice. To which we shall only add here, some Account of two Medals, which bear this Inscription, *TEANVM*. On one Side of the first, (in the adjoining Plate)



Medals of different Cities.

hood of ¹⁷ *Casinum*, ¹⁸ *Atina*, and ¹⁹ *Fregellæ*. The *Consular* Army entered into the Enemy's Country; and one single Battel was sufficient; not indeed, to cut the Enemy in Pieces, for they could not stand before the *Roman* Army, but to put them to the Rout. The more they were within Reach of their Cities, the more ready they were to fly. So that the *Sidicini* and *Aufones* retired behind their Ramparts for Shelter, and kept themselves in Safety there, without having scarce attempted a Battel, or suffered the *Consuls* to reap much Glory.

§. IV. NEVERTHELESS, the *Romans* did not lose Sight of an Enterprize which they had begun with little Advantage. The Conduct of the *Sidicini* had provoked the Republick; and the Assistance they had lent the *Campani*, in the War with *Latium*, was an Injury not to be forgotten. When the Time came for electing new *Consuls*, the Senate used their utmost Endeavours, to get at least one General of Reputation chosen; and they succeeded, in causing the illustrious ²⁰ *M. Valerius Corvus* to be elected, who was now promoted to the *Consulship* the fourth time. The Collegue given him was ²¹ *M. Attilius*, surnamed *Regulus*, who now entered upon this Office for the first time. As the Name of *Valerius* was known, and his Exploits spoke in his favour, the Senate desired *Regulus* to consent that *Corvus* alone should, without drawing Lots, be put at the Head of the Army which was to act against the united *Aufones* and *Sidicini*: And *Regulus*, without Hesitation, readily paid that Deference to the noble Extraction, the Experience, and the Age, of his Collegue. So that *Valerius* took the Command of the Army which had acted against the *Sidicini*, the last Year, without making new Levies. He began the War with attacking the *Aufones*. His first Attempt was upon their Capital, which we have already said was called *Cale*. The Battel he fought with the *Albies*, was not long disputed. Upon the first Onset, the Enemy, intimidated both by the Remembrance of their former Rout, and the Shouts of the *Roman* Legions, fled in Disorder, within their Walls. But the *Roman* General was too much warmed, to leave his Victory imperfect: and he resolved to besiege the City. Had he yielded to the Impetuosity of his Troops, they would have begun to scale

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXVII.

L. PAPIRIUS
CRASSUS, CÆ-
SO DUILIUS,
Consuls.

CCCCXVIII:
M. VALERIUS
CORVUS, M.
ATTILIUS RE-
GULUS, Con-
suls.

see a Sun, or a radiated Head of *Apollo*; on the other, a Crescent, which includes within it a Globe and two Stars. What was the Design of the Medalist in this, we don't know. The *Mars*, the God of War, which is on the second Medal, signifies, perhaps, the warlike Genius of this Nation, or the particular Worship it paid to this false God. The Cock is the Symbol of Vigilance and Martial Valour. The Grain of Corn over the Head of his Animal, imports the Fruitfulness of the Territory of the *Sidicini*. But it is, after all, uncertain, whether these Medals don't rather represent another City of *Teanum* in *Apulia*. *Goltzius* is inclined to believe, they relate to the *Teanum* which belonged to the *Sidicini*; tho' he brings but very uncertain proofs of it. But however that be, we thought proper to give the Reader these Medals in the adjoining Plate, that nothing might be wanting to satisfy his Curiosity, with regard to Antiques which have any relation to the *Roman* History.

¹⁷ The City of *Casinum*, or, as others write it, *Casinum*, was, according to *Strabo*, B. 5. one of the last Cities of *New Latium*. It stood on the extremity of the Territory of the *Volsci*, who seem to have been driven out of it by the *Samnites*. At last the latter carried on their Conquests as far as that City: which afterwards became a *Roman* Colony. An old Inscription mentioned by *Gruter*, shews it to have had the Title of a *Municipium*. Near it was *Varro's* Country-house. He, B. 3. c. 5. *serum Rusticarum*, speaks of a little River, which entered the Neighbourhood of *Casinum*. This is thought to be the same that *Pliny* calls *Scatebra*. 2. In *Casinate Fluvius appellatur Scatebra, frigidus, abundantior æstate*. In the Territory of this City, we now see the City of *San-Germano*, and the famous Monastery of Mount *Cassino*.

¹⁸ *Servius* is mistaken in placing *Atina* near the *Comptin* Marshes. This City stood very far from

thence, as is evident, upon the least Enquiry into the Historians and ancient Geographers, who place it on one of the *Apennine* Mountains, beyond the *Liris*, towards the Spring-head of the *Melfis*, now *Melfa*, and *Melpa*. *Atina* is now called *Atino*. We must take care not to confound it with another *Atina*, in *Lucania*. *Cicero*, *Orat. for Planc*, reckons the former among the *Præfectures*. *Frontinus*, in his Book Of Colonies, tells us, it afterwards became a *Roman* Colony. *Virgil* boasts of the Bravery of the Inhabitants of *Atina*, in the 11th and 12th Books of the *Æneid*.

¹⁹ *Strabo*, B. 5. places the ancient City of *Fregellæ*, on the Borders of the *Liris*, or *Garigliano*, near the Place where the *Ceperano* now stands, according to *Cluverius* and *Holstenius*; or near *Ponte Corvo*, according to *Ferrarius*, and Father *Kircher*. This City, says *Strabo*, was formerly one of the most considerable in *Italy*. But it was razed by the *Prætor Opimius*, in the *Consulship* of *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Plantius Hypsæus*, according to *Tully*, *Orat. 1. de Leg. Agrag.*; *Julius Obsequens*, *Lib. de Prodigis*; *Velleius*, B. 2. and *Val. Max.* B. 2. c. 8. about the Year of *Rome* 630. In *Strabo's* time, it was only a Village. The Author of the Book To *Herennius*, reproaches this City with its Treachery, which was the Cause of its Ruin. *O perfidiosæ Fregellæ, quam facile scelere vestro contabulistis, ut cujus nitor Urbis Italian nuper illustravit, ejus nunc vix fundamentorum reliquie mancant*. *Ceperano* is situated in the *Terra di Lavoro*, and belongs to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

²⁰ The *Greek* Tables give *Valerius* the Surname of *Corvinus*, instead of that of *Corvus*.

²¹ The *Atilian* Family was divided into two Branches; one of which was *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. The *Longi* descended from the former; from the latter, the *Reguli*, the *Serrani*, the *Calatini*, and the *Bulbi*.

Year of the Walls the same Day the Battel was fought, and would perhaps have taken the Place by Assault. But the wife *Valerius* tempered the Ardor of his Troops, and chose rather to make himself Master of *Cale*, with more Difficulty, and less Danger. He ordered ²² Machines of Wood to be built, and covered with Earth, that his *Romans* might from them both see and fight the Besieged. He made his Approaches to the Walls under ²³ Covered Galleries. These screened his Soldiers from Stones and Darts, and enabled them to sap, and beat down the Walls, without Molestation. And lastly he invented ²⁴ Moveable Towers, which were built higher

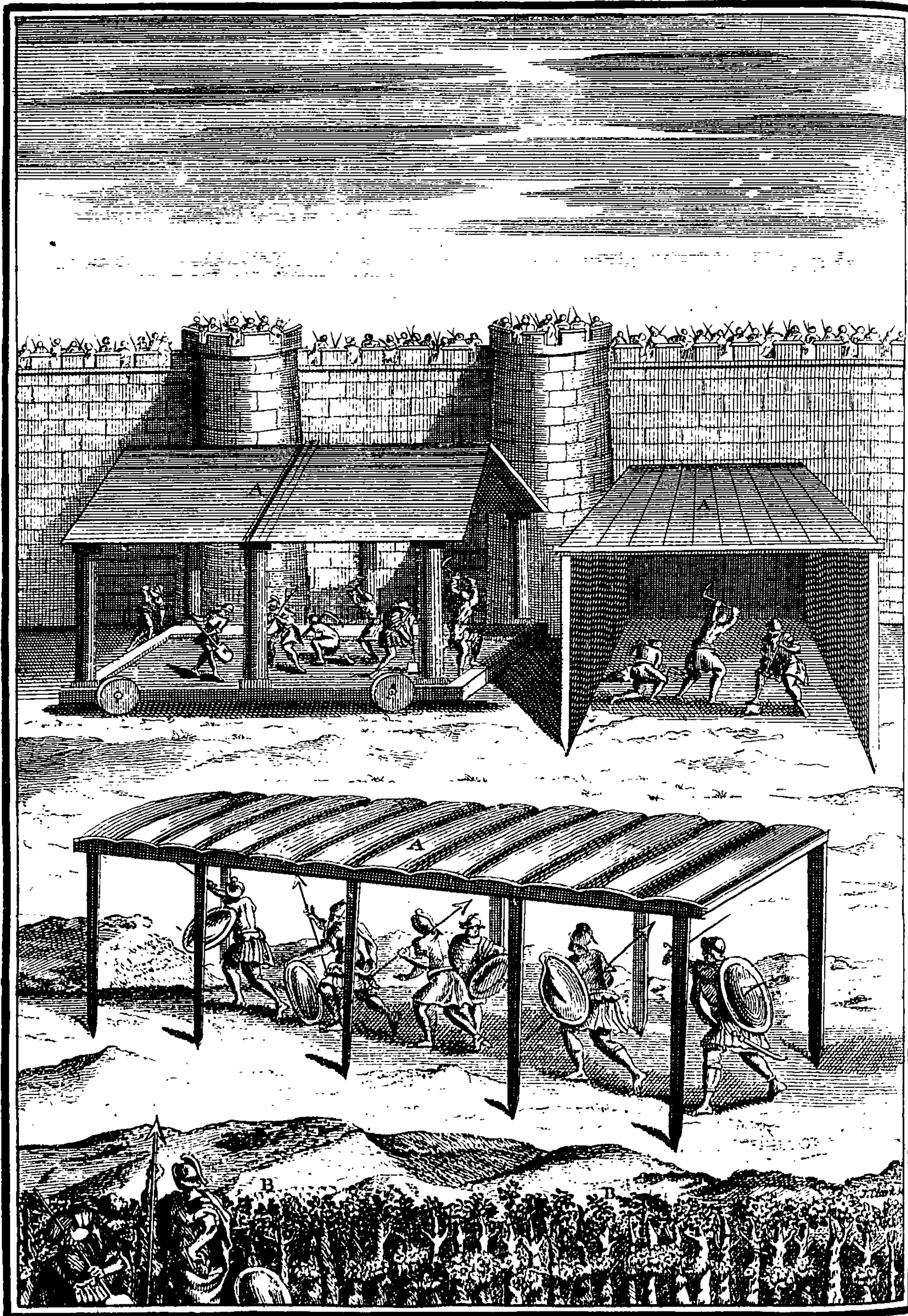
R O M E
CCCCXVIII.
M. VALERIUS
CORVUS, M.
ATTILIUS RE-
GULUS, Con-
suls.

²² This is *Livy's* Account of the Engines of War made use of in the Siege of *Cale*. *Itaque Aggerem, & vineas egit, turrestque muro admovit.* After having taken their Posts round a besieged City, the *Romans* built *Cavaliers*, or a kind of Terrasses made of Earth, bound together with Fascines, and supported on the Sides, by Hurdles, Trunks of Trees, and sometimes Masonry, at proper Distances. This raised Ground was called *Agger*, because made of great Quantities of Earth heaped up, and beaten close together. The whole Work ended in a kind of Platform. This *Agger* was carried on to the Edge of the Ditch, and as near the Walls as possible. Its Height was different, according to the Ground, and the Height of the Walls. *Caesar* tells us, that the *Agger* he raised against *Avaricum*, the Capital of *Berry*, was fourscore Foot high, and three hundred broad. By the help of this Platform, the Assaultants raised themselves upon a level with the Besieged, that they might fight them with the more ease. Upon it, they placed wooden Towers, which commanded the Ramparts, and from whence the Besiegers could easily annoy the Garrison with Darts and Stones.

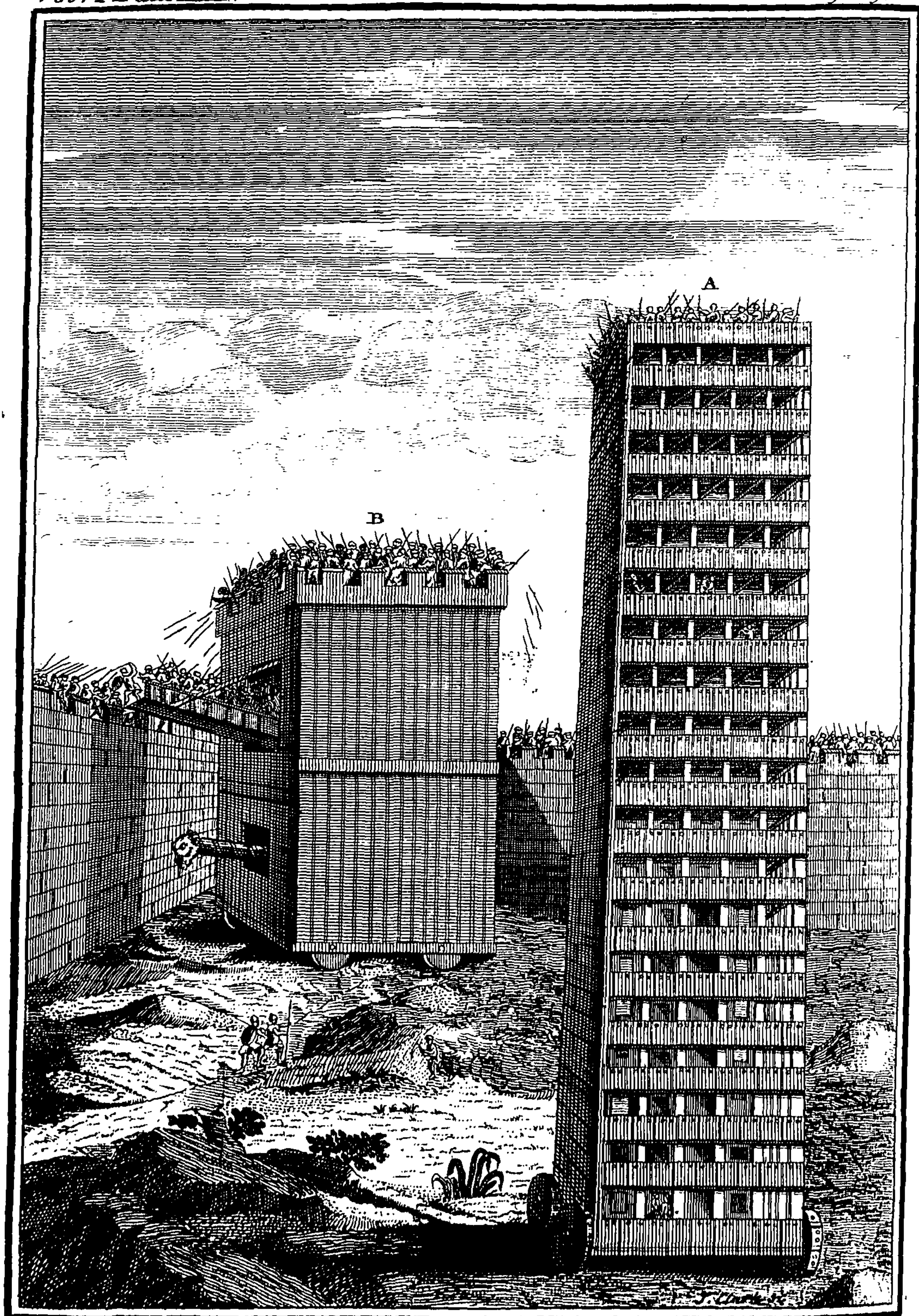
²³ In order to secure the Workmen, and those employed in sapping, against the Assaults of the Enemy, the ancients made use of Covered Galleries. The Timber of them was light, that they might be the more easily moved; but at the same time, strong enough to resist the Attacks of the Besieged. The Tops of them generally terminated in a Point, or Ridge, and were made shelving, that the great Quantities of Stones thrown down upon them, might slide off. Without this Precaution, the Machine had been in danger of being broken through. To secure it from Fire, the Roof of it was made of Hurdles, daubed over thick with Clay, and covered with raw Skins. It is probable, as an able Engineer judiciously remarks, that the *Vinea* of the *Romans* were not always made of Timber-work. A whole Forest, says he, would scarce have been enough to cover the *Legions*. I am of opinion, continues he, that they were most commonly parallel Ditches, the Banks of which were supported with Fascines, or Hurdlework. In proof of it, he quotes a Passage in *Caesar*, in *Bello Civili*, B. 1. where, speaking of the Siege of *Marseilles*, he says, that the Inhabitants were so well furnished with Necessaries for the Defence of the Place, that he could make no Sheds which were Proof against their Machines. According to *Caesar*, they threw down Pieces of Wood twelve Foot long, armed with Iron Points, which pierced through four Beds of Hurdles, and afterwards stuck into the Earth. We shall hereafter speak of the different sorts of Covered Galleries, which were in use among the *Romans*. They had different Names and Forms, according to their Uses, and the Occasion there was for them.

²⁴ To what we have said before, of the Moveable Towers, which were fixed upon Wheels, and frequently used, for destroying a Garrison posted on the Ramparts of a City, and for discovering what was done in it; we shall add, that these Towers had several Floors. On one of these Floors was built a Draw-bridge, which was let down upon a Level with the Walls; so that the Besiegers marched strait

over it to the Ramparts, whilst those who were in the upper Floors annoyed the Enemy from above. *Vegetius*, B. 4. c. 17. gives us a Description of these Towers. They were, says he, sometimes thirty Foot square; and often forty or fifty Foot broad. They were full as high, and even higher, than the Stone Towers which defended the Place besieged. This Building was moveable, and went upon Wheels. It was moved backward or forwards, as there was Occasion. It consisted of several Floors; which had each its particular Use; in the lowest of them was the Ram for battering the Wall. In the Middle-Floor, was a Bridge made of two Beams covered with Hurdles. This Bridge, when let down, made a Communication between the Tower and the Ramparts, leaving a free Passage from one to the other. The Soldiers posted on the highest Floor threw Stones, Darts, and Sticks headed with Iron on the Besieged. These Towers were often full of *Balists*, *Catapults*, *Scorpions*, and all Sorts of murthering Machines. According to *Vitruvius*, *Diades*, who served under *Alexander the Great*, gloried in being the Inventor of these Moveable Towers. He says they were taken to Pieces, for the greater Convenience of Carriage, when the Army took the Field. But *Heron*, c. 13. does not ascribe this Invention to *Diades* alone. He assures us, that *Diades* and *Chereas*, the Disciples of *Polydus of Thessaly*, had an equal Right to that Honour. On the contrary, *Athenaus* pretends that these Machines were in use in the Time of the first *Dionysius*, Tyrant of *Sicily*. However that be, it is certain the *Romans* knew the use of them in the first Ages of *Rome*, as may have been observed above. According to *Vitruvius*, *Diades* left some Writings, in which he taught the Art of building these Towers. The smallest ought to have been at least sixty Cubits high, and seventeen broad. It was this old Engineer's Custom to narrow the Tower, as it rose in Height; so that the Top was but one fifth as big as the Base. He required that the Posts should be three quarters of a Foot Diameter at the Bottom; and half a Foot at the Top. In the least Tower he put ten Floors, which all had Windows. The biggest Towers he made, were a hundred and twenty Cubits high, and twenty three and a half broad. He observed the same Proportions in narrowing them, as in the former. In the great Towers he placed twenty Floors, each of which had its Parapet three Cubits high. He covered them with raw Skins of Beasts, newly taken off, to prevent their taking Fire. Nevertheless, it must be confessed, that it is not easy to conceive how a Tower of an hundred and twenty Cubits, or thirty Fathoms high, could stand upon a Base of only twenty three Cubits and a half. Besides, there does not seem to have been any just Proportion observed, in making the Base of a Tower an hundred and twenty Cubits high, to be but twenty three Cubits and a half broad, when that of the little Tower, which was but six Cubits high, was seventeen broad. Which makes it probable, that some Error is crept into the Text, especially if we consider, that *Vitruvius* and *Athenaus*, speaking of a Tower which *Demetrius Poliorcetes* caused to be built, at the Siege of *Rhodes*, say, that it was sixty six Cubits high, by forty six broad. *Athenaus* has fixed the Height of every Floor of the great Tower before-mentioned. He makes the first

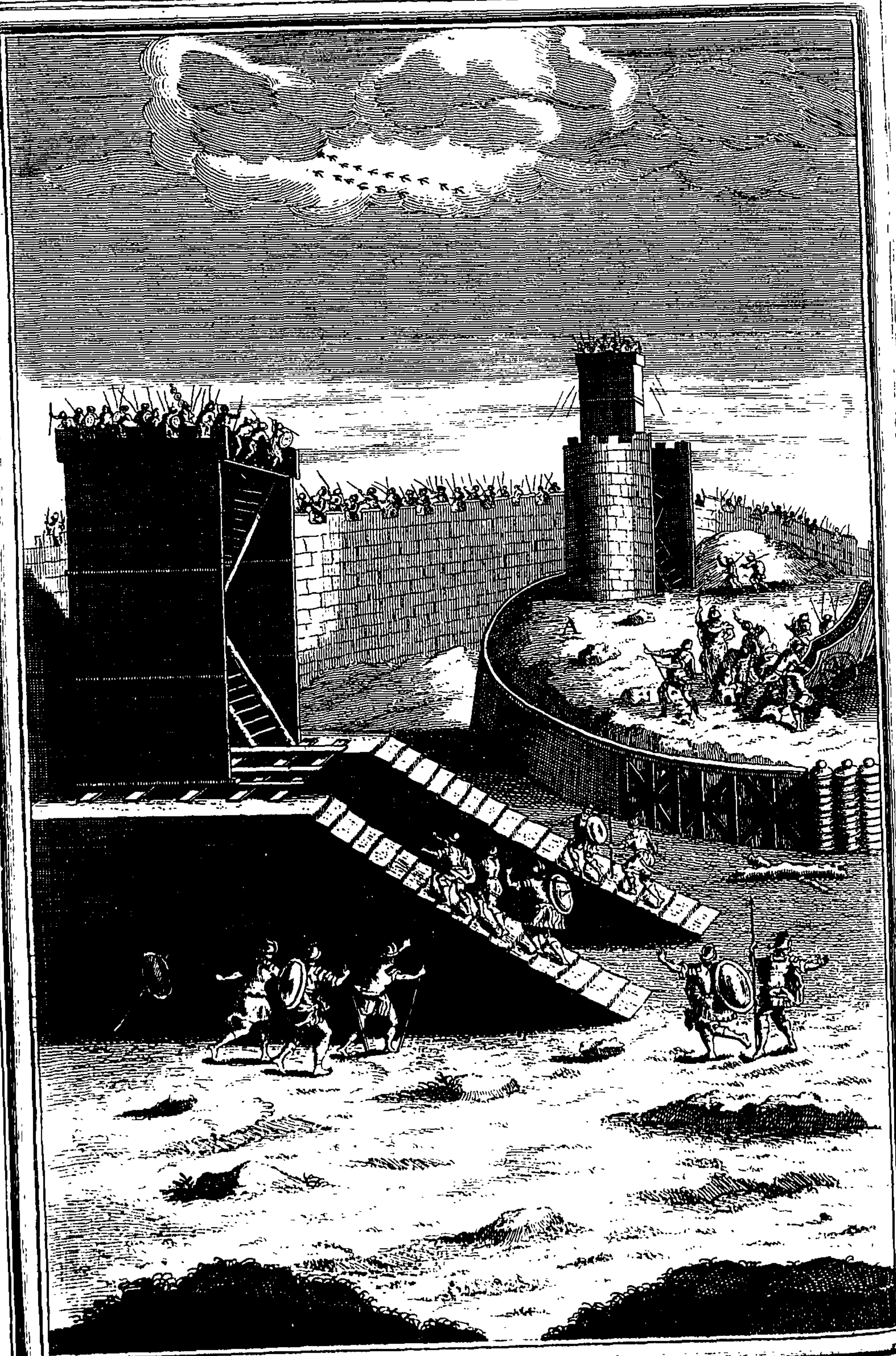


A. Different Sorts of Covered Galleries.
B. Vine for covering Besiegers.



A. A Tower of twenty Stories .

B. A Tower with a Draw-Bridge .



higher than the Tops of the Walls of the besieged City, and from them his Romans threw Stones and Darts upon the Enemy's Ramparts. An Accident shewed the Consul, that these Machines might serve more than one good Purpose. One M. Fabius, whom the Enemy had taken in a Battel, and kept Prisoner in the besieged City, broke his Chains, on a Festival-Day, fastned a Cord to the Battlements of the Wall, and by the help of these Machines, which surrounded it, happily escaped from the Enemy, and returned to the Roman Army. When he was brought to the Consul, he informed him, That the Ausones had spent the whole Day in Rejoicings; and That he would do well to attack them, while they were asleep, full of Wine, and heavy with good Cheer. Accordingly, Valerius ordered the Walls to be scaled, and made as easy a Conquest of the Ausones, in the Assault of their Capital, as in the Battel wherein he had put them to flight. So that the Ausones were all made Captives, and their City, in which a Roman Garrison was placed, was given up to be plundered by the Soldiers. After this Expedition, wherein he had subdued a whole Nation, Valerius Corvus returned to the City: and the Senate granted him the Honours of a Triumph. He entred Rome with Pomp, on The Ides of March; which was the third time this great Man triumphed.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXVIII.
M. VALERIUS
CORVUS, M.
ATTILIUS RE-
GULUS, Con-
suls.

Fast. Capit.

THE Ausones were now overcome; but the Sidicini still continuing unpunished, and Valerius and Regulus having several Months yet to come of their Consulship, they spent that time in the War, they were ordered to carry on against them. Rome did not think it proper to deprive Regulus of the Share he might gain of the Glory of this new Expedition. But lest the Absence of the two Consuls should retard the Elections for the next Year, they were obliged to nominate a Dictator, whose sole Business should be to preside in the Comitia by Centuries, in which the new Consuls were to be chosen. The Dictator named, was L. Æmilius Mamercinus, and his General of Horse was Q. Publilius. In the mean time, Valerius and Regulus marched against the Sidicini. It is probable, they used all the Expedition they could, in order to complete their Conquest, before the Expiration of their Consulship. But they could only begin the Enterprize, and were forced to leave the Completion of it to others. Before they had entirely reduced the Sidicini, the Dictator had held the Comitia, and the Republick had chosen T. Veturius Calvinus, and Sp. Postumius Albinus, Consuls.

§. V. As soon as the new Magistrates were named, and before they entered upon their Office, they endeavoured to make themselves acceptable to the People. Their first Care was to solicit a Decree, in favour of the Commons, by which a Colony was ordered to be sent to the fine²⁶ District of Calenum, and a Company of Roman Citizens directed to go and divide the Lands of this new Conquest, among them. Every thing was got ready for making this agreeable Settlement in due form. Cale was thought no mean City, and its Territory was very fruitful; so that this Canton of Ausonia, may be said to have been in nothing inferior to the

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXIX.
T. VETURIUS
CALVINUS,
SP. POSTUMI-
US ALBINUS,
Consuls.
Silius Italicus,
B. 8. de Bello
Punico.

ten Cubits and a half high; the second, the third, the fourth, and the fifth Floors, he makes five Cubits high; and all the rest, four and a half. But these put together, make but 95 Cubits; whence it is manifest, that the Copyists have altered the Text, mistaking one Cypher for another. Unless it be so, that Athenæus does not here include the Thickness of the Floors, which in this Case must have been twenty two Inches, or one Cubit and a quarter; that is half as thick again as a wooden Floor used to be. The Plates annexed will shew the manner of building these Terrasses, Covered Galleries, and Towers.

In Zonaras, we read Tiberius Veturius, instead of Titus Veturius: Which is manifestly an Error of the Copyist. The Veturian Family was, according to the Roman Historians, originally Patrician, and as ancient as the Monarchy it self; at least, Livy mentions one Veturius Mamurinus, who made the Pompeian's Bucklers. We have spoken of this already, Vol. I. p. 64. The Postumian Family was divided into two Patrician Branches, the most illustrious of which was that of the Albini. It has been observed of this Family, that it always conti-

nued Patrician; and no one that descended from it became a Plebeian.

²⁶ Velleius, B. 1. mentions the Roman Colony, which the Republick sent to Cale. Cicero, Agrar. 2. gives this City the Rank of a Municipium. Calenum Municipium. We find several Footsteps of this ancient City, on brass Medals. On the four which are given Plate XI, after Beger and Goltzius; it is represented under different Symbols; and they all have this Inscription, CALENO. The Thunderbolt on the first of them, inclines us to think that the Head is designed for that of Jupiter Anxurus, whom the Pagans worshiped under the Figure of a young Man. The Minotaur of Crete, on the Reverse, imports perhaps the Origin of the Inhabitants of Cale. The Harp is supposed to signify the Worship this City paid Apollo. The two Heads with Helmets, and the Cock and Chariot on the other Medals, are symbolical Figures, the Meaning of which can only be arbitrarily guessed at; we don't find any Facts in Story which explain them. The Ear of Corn over the Minotaur, plainly signifies the Fruitfulness of the Soil of Calenum.

finest

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXIX.
T. VETURIUS
CALVINUS,
SP. POSTUMI-
US ALBINUS,
Consuls.
Horace, Juve-
nal, Martial.
Vell. Patercul-
lus, B. 1. and
Livy, B. 8.

finest Plains, and most excellent Vineyards of *Campania*. The Wine of *Calenum* was always in repute among the *Romans*; and almost all the Poets have com- mended it. Those then of the *Romans*, who claimed a Share in these fine Lands, gave in their Names; and 2500 of them were chosen to go and cultivate, and people this beautiful Country, under the Jurisdiction of *Rome*. That the Distribu- tion of the Lands might be made the more equally, the Senate chose three Men of known Equity for that Purpose, who were *Cæso Duilius*, *T. Quinctius*, and *M. Fabius*. These conducted the *Colony*, settled it at *Cale*: and the Medals, to this day, give honourable Testimony to it.

THE *Romans* seem to have then made some little Alteration in their ancient Customs. Formerly, the new *Consuls* raised new Troops, and formed themselves new Armies upon every Succession. But now the Soldiers which were once raised, passed from one *Consul* to his Successor, at least till the end of the War which had been begun. So that *Veturius* and *Postumius* put themselves at the Head of the Army, which had reduced *Calenum*, under the Command of *Corvus*; and they entered the Country of the *Sidicini*, and utterly ruined it. The Enemy avoided coming to a Battel, suffered themselves to be driven into their Cities, and appeared no more in the Field. In the mean time, a Report was spread at *Rome*, that the *Sidicini* had already assembled a formidable Army, and solicited the *Samnites* to join them, in order to set Bounds to the Power of the *Romans*. This News filled *Rome* with Fear; and the Senate was obliged to have recourse to the usual Remedy in Emergencies, which was to order a *Dictator* to be nominated. The *Consuls* chose *P. Cornelius Ruffinus*, who made one *M. Antonius* his General of Horse. But their Authority did not last long. The *Augurs* found their Nomination defective in some Circumstances, and *Ruffinus* was forced to abdicate the *Dictatorship*. Nay, *Rome* carried her Superstition yet farther. As she was visited with an unexpected Plague, the College of *Augurs* declared, That all the *Auspices* that Year, had been infected by the Contagion of the Air, and That the Inauguration of the *Consuls* themselves had been faulty. On this nonsensical Prejudice, the chief Magistrates of *Rome* were displaced; and the Republick fell into an *Interregnum*, for the remaining Part of this *Consular* Year. *Valerius Corvus*, the fifth, in Succession, of the five Presidents, who were chosen to govern the Republick by turns, each for five Days, assembled the *Centuries*, who chose two *Consuls* for the Year ensuing.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXIX.
P. CORNELIUS
RUFFINUS,
Dictator.

INTERREG-
NUM.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXX.

L. PAPIRIUS
CURSOR, C.
POETELIUS
LIBO VISOL-
LUS, Consuls.

S. VI. 27 HERE the Thread of the *Roman* History seems to be broken. It is cer- tain, there was a Year between the *Consulship* of *Veturius* and *Postumius*, and that

27 The Omission *Livy* is charged with, would not have been perceived, without the *Fasti Capitolini*. In them we find the Triumph of *Valerius Corvus* placed in the Year 418: and his second *Consulship*, together with *Æmilius's* Triumph, are fixed in these valuable Monuments, to the Year of *Rome* 424. According to them therefore, there were six Years between these two Terms: whilst *Livy*, *Diodorus*, and *Cassiodorus*, reckon up but five *Consulships*, and consequently but five Years; from the Year 418, to that in which *Æmilius* triumphed over the *Priverdates*. So that, according to these Annalists, this last Triumph must have been in the Year 423. This Mistake was observed by *Gregory Haloander*, who has given us a Table of the *Consuls*, in his *Pandects*. *Glarcan* likewise observed the same Break. Upon this, *Pighius* imagined, that some Writers had occasioned this Disorder, by their Inaccuracy. He thought it probable, that, through Inattention, they might have confounded two *Consulships*; that of *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *C. Poetelius Libo*, which we place in the Year 420, and that of the same *Poetelius*, and *Lucius Papyrius Muggillanus*, in the Year 427. It would not have been at all surprizing, if these two *Consular* Years had been confounded, because of the Similitude of the *Consuls* Names, and of the Events which happened in both Years. *Solinus* gave rise to this Conjecture, and he makes it probable. He, c. 35. of his *History*, places the Foundation of the City of *Alexandria* in

Egypt, in the 112th *Olympiad*, when *Cains Poetelius Libo*, and *Lucius Papyrius*, the Son of *Spurius*, were *Consuls*. Now the beginning of the 112th *Olympiad*, coincides with the 121st Year of *Rome*, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*. If then we take from 421, the supernumerary Year which *Solinus* adds in his Chronology of the *Consulships*, we shall come to the Year 420, which is the very Year, in which *Cains Poetelius Libo Visolus*, and *Lucius Papyrius Cursor*, the Son of *Spurius*, were *Consuls*. Indeed, according to the Calculations of *Dionysius Siculus*, the 112th *Olympiad* begins much about the 4th *Consulship* of *Marcus Valerius*, and the first of *Attilius* his Collegue: that is, the 418th Year of the *Fasti Capitolini*. But then this Author does not place the Foundation of *Alexandria*, only in the second Year of that *Olympiad*, which was the *Consulship* of *Spurius Postumius*, and *Titus Veturius*, who were promoted to that Office, in the Year of *Rome* 419. Add to this, that *Ennius* places it in the third, and not in the second Year of that *Olympiad*. In order to reconcile these two Authors, it must be said, that the former meant the Year in which the Foundations of this City were begun to be laid; and that the latter meant the Year in which the Work was finished. Upon this Computation, we shall be brought to the 420th Year of *Rome*; which is that of the *Consulship* of *Lucius Papyrius*, and *Cains Poetelius*; which *Solinus* places in the 112th *Olympiad*. It will doubtless seem

of *Cornelius* and *Domitius*; and yet *Livy* is said neither to name the *Consuls*, nor give us any Account of their Time. And in this he is charged with great Negligence, because, as is said, he thereby confounds the whole Chronology of the Republick. But may it not be urged in his Defence, that this was a Year barren of Events; and, That he passed over in Silence, the Names of the *Consuls* for the Year of *Rome* 420, because there was no new Election that Year, but the *Consuls* for the preceding Year continued in Office, till the Republick fell into an *Interregnum*? Nay, the Circumstances of the Time, make this Hypothesis probable. A Plague then ravaged *Rome*; and it seems probable enough for the *Comitia* not to have been assembled at that time; and consequently, for the same *Consuls* to have continued two Years in Office, for want of a new Election. Nor do *Livy's* Words contradict this Supposition; which if adopted, vindicates his Reputation. Nevertheless, lest I should recede from the most authorized Opinion, I shall, since so it must be, join with the most learned Criticks, in condemning *Livy*. I shall say, with them, upon the Testimony of *Solinus*, that *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *C. Poetelius Libo*, were chosen *Consuls* for the Year which *Livy* has omitted. The Reasons upon which this Conjecture is founded, are strong enough to make it credible. The whole Thread of the Chronology of the *Fasti Capitolini* depends upon it; and by *Livy* himself avoids a Contradiction, which he would perhaps be accused of, without it. Nay, I will carry the Conjecture yet further: I will add, that the *Sidicini* were subdued in the *Consulship* of *Papirius* and *Poetelius*, since we don't find their Reduction fixed to any other time.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXX.
L. PAPIRIUS
CURSOR; C.
POETELIUS
LIBO VISO-
LUS, Consuls.

S. VII. A. 28 *Cornelius* and *Cn. Domitius*, succeeded *Papirius* and *Poetelius*. The first, who was surnamed *Cossus*, was now promoted to the *Consulship* a second time. In their Year, *Rome* was under even greater Frights and Apprehensions, than the Plague, with which she had been afflicted, had given her. The *Gauls*, settled in *Italy*, were always such formidable Enemies to her, that the least Noise of their making Preparations for War, affrighted her; and she was now alarmed with such Rumour. This was enough to oblige the *Consuls* to nominate a *Dictator*. *Papirius Crassus* was the Man, and he made *Valerius Poplicola* his General of Horse. They used the utmost Application to raise a stronger Army, and chose their Soldiers with more Care, than if *Rome* had been at War only with her Neighbours. But whilst the *Dictator* was taking these Steps, News came that all was quiet among the *Gauls*: And then *Rome* was much less concerned at the Rumours which were spread, that the *Samnites* had already been a Year forming ill Designs against the Republick. Nevertheless, that no Precautions might be wanting, the *Dictator* did not call the Army, which was already encamped in the Country of the *Sidicini*. And these *Roman* Troops continued not to act against a Nation, formerly an Enemy to *Rome*, is not this a Proof, that it had been subdued by the *Consuls* of the preceding Year?

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXI.
A. CORNELIUS
COSSUS, CN.
DOMITIUS
CALVINUS,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXI.
PAPIRIUS
CRASSUS,
Dictator.
Liv. B. 8. c. 17.

It is highly probable, that the *Samnites* had then no Thoughts of entering into War with the *Romans*. The Troops they were raising in their own Country, were only designed to defend *Italy*, against an Enemy, which was even more formidable than the ambitious Republick. *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, under Pretence of bringing Succours to the *Tarentini*, then at War with the *Lucani* and *Peucetii*, two invincible Nations, who lay on the Coast nearest *Sicily*, had made a

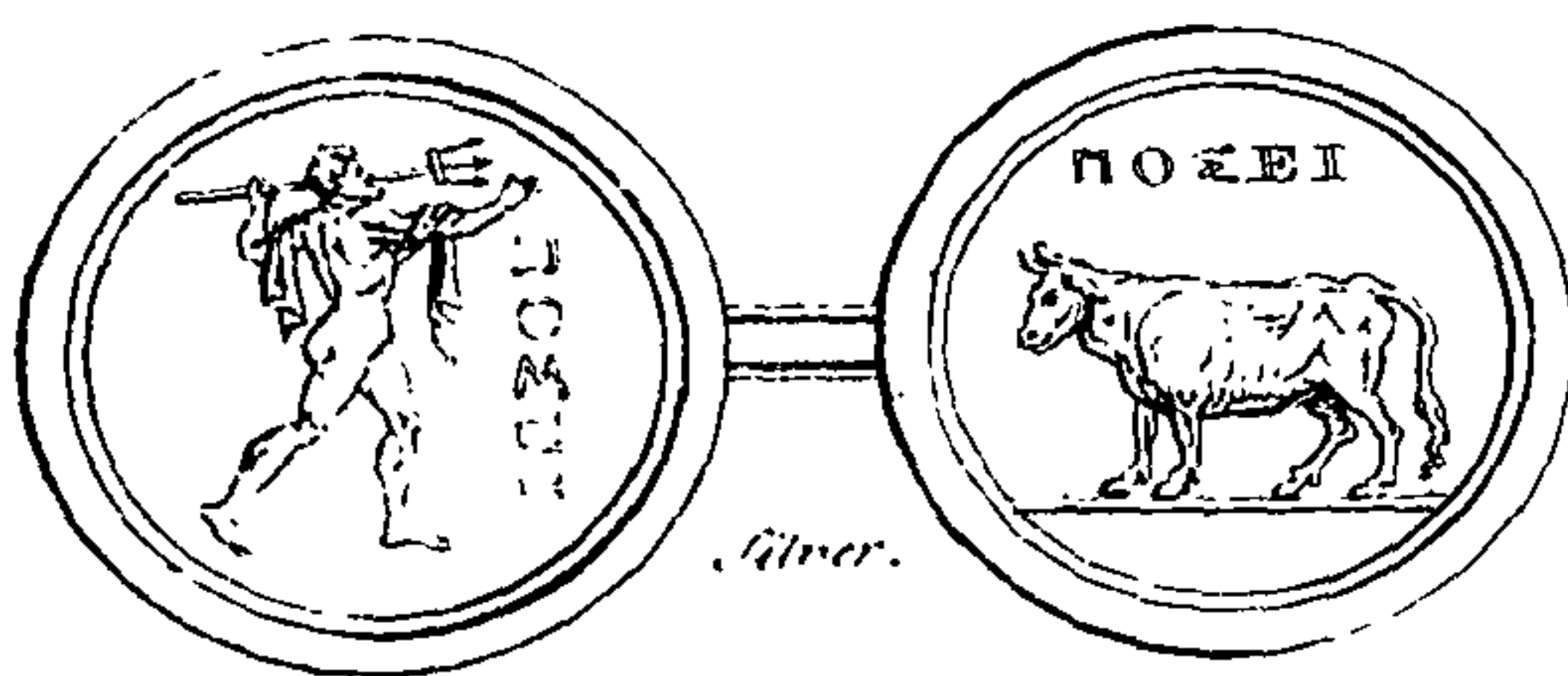
claim, that *Livy* makes *Alexander the Great* to have given Orders for laying the Foundation of *Antonia*, seven Years after the time fixed for it by *Strabo*, and *Eusebius*; that is, in the Year 427; which, according to the two latter, was the last of *Alexander's* Life. *Livy* makes it to coincide with the *Consulship* of *Caius Poetelius*, and *Papirius Mugillanus*. *Livy* himself does not, however, honestly acknowledge, that some Antiquaries gave the latter the Surname of *Cursor*. Which Assertion, added to the Testimony of *Solinus*, is a strong Proof of the Interruption and Confusion, in the Similitude of Names and Events, has made in the Course of the *Consular* Years; as the most judicious Writers cannot but acknowledge. The Reader will be fully convinced of it, if he does but at least consider, that *Lucius Papirius Cursor*

was *Consul* the second time, in the Year of *Rome* 433, according to *Livy* himself, and the *Fasti Capitolini*; and consequently had been *Consul* the first time, in the Year of *Rome* 420. His first *Consulship* cannot be fixed to any Year but this, which is the very Year, that is vacant in *Livy*, and *Diodorus Siculus*.

28 We have spoken of the *Cornelian* Family, Vol. 1. p. 523. Note 44. As for the *Domitian*, it was of great Distinction among the *Plebeians*. From this Stock sprung two Branches, one of which was that of the *Calvini*, the other that of the *Ænobarbi*. The former *Consul* had the Surname of *Arvina*, as well as that of *Cossus*. The *Romans* gave the former to those who were fat and lusty. *Domitius* is distinguished by the Surname of *Calvinus*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXI.
PAPIRIUS
CRASSUS,
Dictator.
Jus. B 12.6.2.

Descent at ²⁹ *Pæstum*, and began to grow formidable to all the Eastern Parts of *Italy*. We have already observed, that this Conqueror promised himself nothing less, than subduing the West with as much Rapidity, as *Alexander the Great*, his Nephew, had begun to conquer the East. He hoped, that *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa*, would furnish as ample Matter for his Victories, as *Persia* offer'd for those of the Son of *Philip*. *Alexander of Epirus* was related to *Alexander of Macedon*, both by Confanguinity and Affinity. He was Brother to *Olympias* the Mother of *Alexander the Great*, and *Cleopatra* his Wife was Sister to the *Macedonian*. So that *Alexander of Epirus* had married his own Niece. In Point of Birth, the Uncle was equal at least to the Nephew. If it be true, that *Alexander of Macedon* was one of the *Heraclidae*, or descended from *Hercules*; it is as certain, that *Alexander of Epirus* was one of the ³⁰ *Æacidae*, and was the eighteenth King from *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*, who had reigned over the ³¹ *Molossi* in



²⁹ *Pæstum*, a maritime City, near the Mouth of the River *Silarus*, now the *Selo*, or *Silaro*, was by the *Greeks* called *The City of Neptune*, or *Possidonia*, from the *Greek Word* Ποσειδών, which was the Name they gave the God of the Sea. For this reason, *Velleius Paterculus* translates the Word *Possidonia*, by that of *Neptunia*. The Medal above represents, on one Side, *Neptune* with his Trident, either because this was the Symbol generally used to represent maritime Cities, or because *Neptune* was the tutelary Gods of the *Possidoniates*. It is well known, that the Bull, the Figure of which we see on the Reverse of the Medal, was consecrated to this God. Hence the Epithet *Ταυροφός*, which the Poets give *Neptune*, probably to signify, that the Noise of a raging Sea resembles the roaring of a Bull. Thus, it was customary to sacrifice a Bull to this Sea-God. *Virgil*, conformably to this Custom, says,

Taurum Neptuno, Taurum tibi pulcher Apollo.

Possidonia, according to *Strabo*, and *Marcian of Heraclea*, was built by the *Sybarites*, or, according to *Solinus*, ch. 8. by the *Dorians*. *Philargirius*, in his *Commentary on the fourth Georgick*, pretends that it was a Colony of *Tarentini*. We shall, in the Prosecution of our History, see it become a *Roman Colony*. It is conjectured, that it, at that time, changed its former Name of *Possidonia* into that of *Pæstum*, which its Ruins retain to this day. The Natives call it *Pæsti*; and it is now but a Village. *Strabo* observes, that the Air of this ancient City was unwholesome, on account of its being near a River, which spread itself all over the Neighbourhood, and made the Ground marshy. The *Italians* call this River *Fiume Salso*. Its Spring rises in a Rock, where there are the Remains of a City, called *Capaccio Vecchio*, to distinguish it from *Capaccio Nuovo*, which stands at a little distance from the former. From this Rock, flow hot and brackish Waters, which meet together, and form a Pond near the Place called *Capo di Fiume*. There they meet with several Springs of sweet Water, which uniting with the others in the Pond, swell it, and turn it into a pretty large and deep River. After it has run about 2000 Paces, it falls into the Sea, near *Pæstum*. The Water of this River, according to *Plutarch* in his *Life of Crassus*, was

sometimes so sweet, and sometimes so salt, as not to be drinkable. The Territory of *Possidonia* was formerly famous for its Rose-trees, which bore Roses twice a Year, in the Months of *May* and *September*. *Virgil* speaks of it in his 4th *Georgick*.

*Forſitan & pingues hortos quæ cura colendi
Ornaret, canerem, biferique roſaria Pæſti.*

Athenæus mentions a Ceremony practised by the *Possidoniates*, after they were subdued by the *Æthiopes*, and the *Romans*. They assembled annually, says he, on one of those Days which the *Greeks* observe with greatest Solemnity. At this time, the *Possidoniates* renewed their ancient Customs, and the Remembrance of that happy time, when they were governed by their own Laws, and not subject to a foreign Dominion. At the remembrance of a Liberty they formerly enjoyed, they shed Tears and lamented their unhappy Condition. After they had made the Air resound with their Lamentations, they dispersed. The City of *Possidonia* had given name to the neighbouring Gulph, which was called *Sinus Possidoniates*, or *Pæstanius*. It is at present the Gulph of *Salernum*. This Gulph, or Road, is formed by the Promontory which was called *Possidonium Promontorium*, now *Capo di Licofa*, because it is over-against the Island of *Leucosia*, or *Lycosa*.

³⁰ The Descendants of *Æacus*, King of the Isle of *Ægina*, and Grandfather of *Achilles*, were called.

³¹ The Country of the *Molossi* was one of the most considerable Cantons of *Epirus*. *Strabo*, in his *Periplo*, makes it but forty *Stadia* in Compass, and is watered by three Rivers, which are mentioned by *Pliny* and *Livy*, namely, the *Aphas*, the *Arax*, and the *Acheron*. Some ancient Authors say, that *Molossus*, the Son of *Pyrrhus* and *Andromache*, gave name to this Country, which was afterwards called *Pandofia*, from the City of that Name, which belonged to this Province, as did *Dodona*, *Ambracia*, and *Passaro*. This Country was famous for the best Mastiffs in Europe.

Veloces Spartæ Canes auremque Molossum.
Georg.

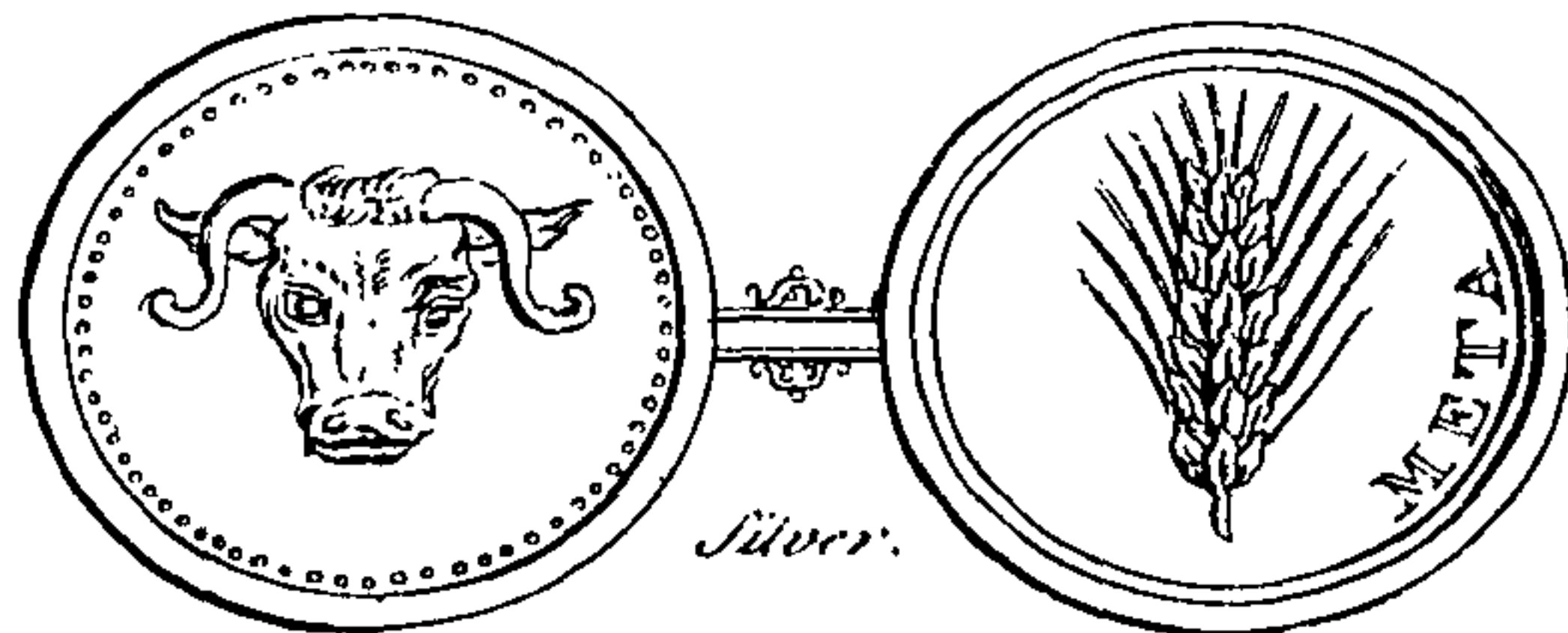
Athenæus, B. 11. speaks of some *Molossi*, who inhabited the Territory near the City of *Iolcus* in *Thessaly*.

³² *Epirus*. Proximity of Blood, Affinity, equal Nobility of Birth, and Similitude of Names, had made the two *Alexanders* Rivals in Glory. It may likewise be said, that they had as it were divided the Conquest of the World between them. But their Success was different. Yet who can say, that the *Epirot* would not have equalled the *Macedonian*, if the former had had to do with Nations enervated by the Heat of their Climate, and emasculated by Pleasure? It was *Alexander of Epirus's* Misfortune, that the first Enemies he was to engage with were the *Lucani* and the *Brutii*, two Nations inured to Fatigue, and fierce even to Brutality. It's true, the Uncle was less active than the Nephew, and more wicked. He is accused of having, in his earliest Youth, been guilty of the worst of Crimes with his Brother-in-law, *Philip of Macedon*. But he had some Qualifications for a Conqueror, which History has not given to *Alexander the Great*. The latter carried all before him, by mere Dint of Strength; the former understood likewise how to make use of Art and Stratagem: The one was more ready and expeditious, the other more able in carrying on Negotiations.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXI.
PAPIRIUS
CRASSUS,
Dictator.
Justin, ibid.

D. Sic. B. 16.
Justin. B. 8. c. 8.

WHEN therefore *Alexander of Epirus* had made a Descent in *Italy*, as is probable ³³, a second time, the *Samnites* marched to the Assistance of the *Lucani* and *Brutii*. As for the *Roman Republick*, it continued quiet, and gave itself little Concern about a Danger which threatned it at so great a Distance. Nay, *Rome* even made an Alliance with the *Epirot*, and suffered herself to be deceived by his Artifices. *Alexander* promised the *Romans* whatever they desired; resolving, without doubt, not to perform any thing at all, if his Arms had prospered. In his first and second Descents into *Italy*, he indeed took some Places from the Enemies of the *Tarentini*. He had likewise, after gaining a Victory over the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, entered into a Treaty with the ³⁴ *Metapontini*, and ³⁵ *Pediculi*; and had imposed upon these Nations, as well as upon the *Romans*. And what suspended the Progress of his Arms, for a time, is not known; but he soon after this left *Italy*, and we shall not see him appear in it any more, till he comes to meet his Fate here.



Silver.

³² Old *Epirus*, which some Moderns have very improperly confounded with *New Albania*, comprehended all the Countries lying between the *Ionian Sea*, to the West, *Thessaly* to the East, *Macedonia* to the North, and *Achaia* to the South and East. Among other Nations that inhabited this Kingdom, there formerly were the *Molossi*, the *Chaones*, the *Thesproti*, the *Amphilochi*, the *Acaruanes*, the *Athamantes*, and the *Dolopes*. *Epirus* was famous for good Horses.

³³ We have observed before, p. 155. that *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, came into *Italy* the first time, in the Year of *Rome* 413, to assist the *Tarentini*, who had implored his Help against the *Brutii*. This therefore of which we are speaking, was that King's second Descent into this Country. It is indeed very improbable, that he should stay, after his first Expedition, seven Years together in *Italy*, without returning into *Epirus*, either to raise new Troops, or settle the Affairs of his Kingdom.

³⁴ *Metapontum*, called *Metabum* by some ancient Geographers, was a City of *Great Greece*. It stood in *Lucania*, near *The Gulph of Tarentum*, three Miles from the Mouth of a River, anciently called *Casuentum*, now the *Basiento*. This City was thought to have been founded by *Nestor*, at his return from

Troy. *Eustathius* and *Strabo*, *B. 6.* boast of the Riches of its Inhabitants, who sent Sheaves of Gold, for an Offering, to the Temple of *Delphos*, by way of Thanksgiving for the Fruitfulness of their Lands. This Fruitfulness is expressed on the Medal above, by the Head of an Ox, the Symbol of Agriculture, and by an Ear of Corn. Most agree, that old *Metapontum* stood near the Place, where there is now a little Tower or Bellfry, called *Torre di Marc*. *Pythagoras* came from *Crotona* to this City, and there ended his Days. *Justin*, *B. 20.* tells us, from a fabulous Tradition, that the *Metapontini* preserved in the Temple of *Minerva*, the Instruments *Epeus* made use of in building the *Trojan Horse*. *Eustathius* is mistaken, in taking *Metapontum* for the City of *Siris*, which was very different from it.

³⁵ The Canton of the *Pediculi*, whom *Val. Max. B. 7. c. 6.* improperly calls *Fidiculi*, was a Part of ancient *Apulia*, as we learn from *Pliny*, *B. 3. c. 11.* He reckons up three Cities in this Territory, *Rudia*, *Egnatia*, and *Bari*, in the Neighbourhood of *Brundisium*. They were watered by the *Aufidus*, and another River which he calls *Pactium Flumen*. *Strabo* and *Pliny* say, that ten young Men, and as many Women, came into this Country, and gave rise to thirteen different Nations which settled in it.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXI.
PAPIRIUS
CRASSUS,
Dictator.
Liv. B. 8. c. 17.

Vell. Paternu-
lus. B. 1. c. 8.
Liv. ibid.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
C. VALERIUS
POTITUS,
Consuls.
D. Aug. B. 1.
c. 1. de Civ. Dei.
Oros. B. 3. c. 1.
Val. Max. B. 2.
c. 5. §. 3.
Liv. B. 8. c. 18.

IN the mean time, the *Romans* being freed from their Fears of the *Gauls*, on the one hand, and of the *Samnites* on the other, applied themselves wholly to Work of Peace. *Publius Philo* and *Sp. Postumius*, the *Censors*, both Men of great Interest (for they had been *Consuls*) undertook to make a new *Census* of the People, and close it with a *Lustrum*. This Enumeration was become necessary. The Republick had exceedingly multiplied the Number of the *Roman* Citizens, but a little time since, by having given the Right of *Citizenship* to so many Cities of *Latium*, and bordering upon it. The exact Number of the Citizens of *Rome* at this time is not known: But it was so considerably increased, that it was thought necessary to increase the *Tribes*. The *Romans* had yet had but twenty seven; from this time they had twenty nine, which all had a Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia* by *Tribes*, and by *Centuries*. The *Country-Tribes* were not indeed admitted into the *Comitia* by *Curiae*: No Persons were, who did not dwell in *Rome*. But this Loss was not considerable. Scarce any Affair of Importance had been transacted in the *Comitia* by *Curiae*, since King *Servius Tullius's* Time. The two new *Tribes* were called *The 36 Macian*, and *The 37 Scaptian*. The District of the former lay near *Lanuvium*; that of the latter not far from *Pædum*, between *Tibur* and *Præneste*, in the Neighbourhood of the *Anio*. As for the *Prætor Papirius*, he got a Law passed, which gave the Right of *Citizenship* to the Inhabitants of *Acerræ* in *Campania*. But the Favour *Rome* granted them was not complete. The 38 *Acerrani* were debarred the Right of Suffrage in the Assemblies of the Republick. The *Romans* proportioned their Rewards to the Desert of their *Municipia*, by augmenting their Privileges, according to their Merit and Fidelity.

§. VIII. DURING the Tranquillity *Rome* enjoyed since the Reduction of the *Latins*, there sprung up in her Bosom a new kind of Monsters, which she had never heard of before. As soon as *M. Claudius 39 Marcellus*, and *C. Valerius Potitus*, the new *Consuls*, were entred upon their Office, some Women, either tired, or discontented with their Husbands, or perhaps merely out of a Love for the Crime, plotted together to take off their Husbands by Poison. According to a venerable Author, a great part of these treacherous Creatures were well born, and their Number was incredibly great. Others make them amount to above 360: but the Historians of the best Credit say, they were not more than 170. However that be, these Furies took the Opportunity of an epidemical Distemper, to put their barbarous Design in execution. People were surprized to see, that only Men of Note died in *Rome*, and that they all went off with the same Symptoms. This great Number of Deaths was at first ascribed to the Intemperance of the Air; tho' it was in reality the Work of these Furies. The Poisoners had the Care of preparing Medicines for the Sick, and the Drink they gave them, infallibly killed them. The *Romans* had no Suspicion of a kind of Assassination so contrary to their Manners, and against which, they had then no Law. But the Cause of this publick Plague was at last discovered, by the Information of a Woman, who was in the Service of one of these Criminals, and assisted her in preparing her Poisons. The Slave first applied herself to *Q. Fabius*, who was then 40 *Curule Ædile*. She promised to discover the Cause of all these Evils to the Republick, upon an Assurance, that her Information should not be prejudicial to herself. The *Ædile* gave the Informer hopes of Impunity, and the *Consuls* acquainted the Senate with the Secret the Slave had discovered. She was brought before the *Conscript Fathers*, and deposed, that the Mortality which raged in *Rome*, was wholly owing

36 The *Macian Tribe*, as *Festus* observes, was so called from a Castle, between *Lanuvium* and *Pometia*. *Cicero* speaks of it in his *Oration* for *Plancius*.

37 The *Scaptian Tribe* took its Name from the same City of *Scaptia*, which *Gluverius* places in the Territory now called *Paferano*. But *Father Kircher* places it near *Longheffa*, not far from the *Anio*, four Miles from *Pædum*.

38 The City of *Acerræ*, between *Nola* and *Capua*, retains its ancient Name to this day. The *Clanias*, or *Clanio*, which waters it, sometimes did very great damage to it, by its Overflowings, which *Vibius Sequester* says, were followed by contagious Distempers.

Et vacuis Clanias non aquas Acerris. *Georg.*

Frontinus, in his Book Of Colonies, tells us this City afterwards became a *Roman Colony*.

39 *Livy*, on the Credit of some ancient Annals, gives *Valerius* the two Surnames of *Potitus* and *Flaccus*; tho' he confesses, they don't all agree in that Matter. What is sure, is, that the Surname of *Flaccus* became afterwards very common in the *Valerian* Family. *Cicero*, *Orat. pro L. Flacco*, acknowledges that the *Flacci* were a Branch of the *Valerii*.

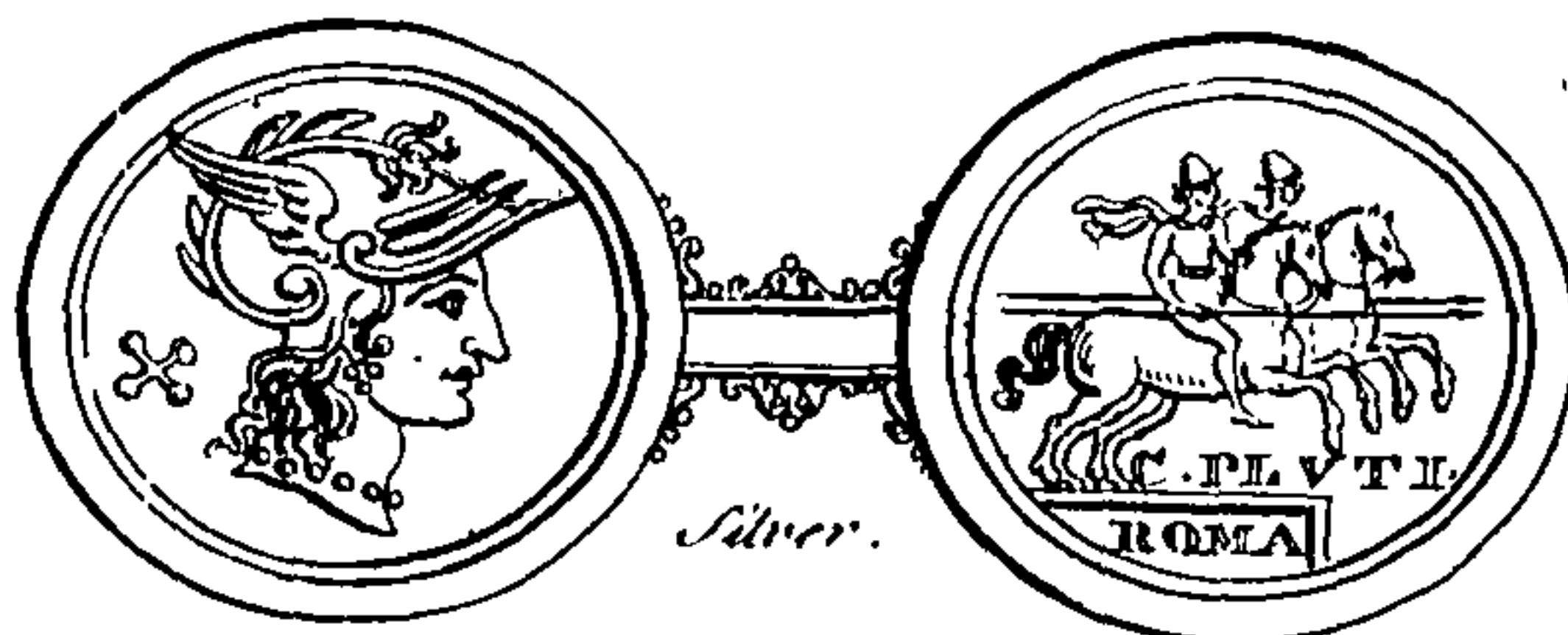
40 See what we have said of the *Curule Ædiles* above, B. 14. p. 77. of this Volume, Note 51.

a Cabal of murdering Women, who spread Death every where, by poisonous medicines. She desired some People might attend her, and promised to lead them the Source of all these Murders. Her Information was of too much Importance to be neglected; and the Slave, attended by a great Company of People, went to the Houses of twenty *Roman Ladies*, who were all found busy in preparing their medicines, or going to lay up those which were already prepared. Among these, were two *Patrician Women*; the Name of the one was *Sergia*, that of the other *Cornelia*. The Affair was of a criminal nature, and it was brought before the Assembly of the People. An Officer cited the Accused to appear; but the two *Patrician Ladies* insisted, that there were no Ingredients in their Medicines, but what were wholesome. Upon this, the Accuser, finding herself suspected of Calumny, proposed an Expedient to the People, to verify her Accusation: which was, to make these Women themselves take the Potions, which they owned they had prepared with their own Hands. Accordingly, the Experiment was ordered to be made immediately; but the two *Patrician Dames* desired leave to have a private Conference with their Accomplices. At length it was resolved, that they should all drink the Potion, which they had designed for the Cure of other People; and the Experiment they made, both convicted them of their Guilt, and delivered them from a more slow Death. Not one of them could withstand the Strength of the Poison. Nothing could be more surprizing to the *Romans*, than so terrible an Access of Wickedness in a Sex, which had hitherto preserved its Reputation unimpaired. The Republick ascribed this unheard-of Prodigy, to a Spirit of Madness, which the angry Gods sometimes spread among a People, in order to punish them. *Rome* endeavoured to appease the Anger of the Gods, by the same Ceremony she had formerly made use of, to bring the furious Populace to Reason, when they had separated themselves, and retired to the Mountains, resolving not to return to the City. This was likewise the Ceremony she had practised in the time of Plagues, and general Calamities. The Senate ordered the *Consuls* to nominate a *Dictator*, to go and drive a Nail in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, on the next the Temple of *Minerva*. *Cn. Quintilius* was nominated *Dictator*, and *Valerius Potitus* made General of Horse, only to repeat this superstitious Rite.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXII.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
C. VALERIUS
POTITUS,
Consuls.

S. IX. BUT this transient *Dictatorship* soon gave Place to new *Consuls*. The one was *L. Papirius*, now raised to the *Consulship* the second time; the other, *L. Plautius Venno*. The Beginning of their Administration was made memorable, by the Deputations sent by two Nations to the *Roman Republick*. The first came from the Inhabitants of *Fabrateria*, a City in the Country of the *Volsci*. The

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The *Plantian*, or *Plotian* Family, was originally *Plebeian*. But it was made famous by the Offices with which its Descendants were honored. We have the Figure of a *Plautius*, on an ancient Medal, under the Name of *Plutius*. The Representation of a *Castor* and *Pollux* on Horseback, as they appear on the Reverse of this Medal, frequently to be met with, on those Monuments of the *Roman Families*, which have been transmitted down to us. The *Plantian* Family is reckoned to have spread out into the several Branches of the *Plautii*, the *Venonii*, the *Proculi*, the *Deciani*, the *Plautii*, and the *Sylvani*. *Fabrateria* was a City belonging to the *Volsci*, and near *The Latin Way*, not far from the River *Tre-*

verus, now the *Trero*, which discharges itself into the *Liris*, or *Garigliano*, a little way from thence. It stands on the Confines of the *Campagna di Roma*, and is now called *Falvaterra*. *Pliny*, B. 3. c. 5. mentions two Cities of this Name, *Old*, and *New Fabrateria*; and his Testimony seems to be confirmed by two ancient Monuments; one of which is antique Marble, which bears this Inscription, *FABRATERNOR NOVOR*: and on the other, which was found in this City, we read these Words, *FABRATERNI NOVANI*. *Velleius* affirms, that *Fabrateria* became a *Roman Colony*; in the Year of *Rome* 628, when *Cassius Longinus*, and *Sextius Calvinus*, were *Consuls*.

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second from the *Lucani*, or rather ⁴³ *Poluscani*, who were likewise within the Territory of the *Volsci*. These two Nations desired the *Romans* to take them under their Protection. Indeed the *Samnites* now threatened these two Cantons, and their Fear drove them to implore the Assistance of the only Nation which was able to protect them against such powerful Enemies. These *Volsci* promised the Republick to be ever after obedient to her Laws, if she would protect them from the Invasion of the *Samnites*. *Rome* therefore, always ready to succour the Oppressed, sent an Embassy to the *Samnites*, to intreat them to spare the Frontiers of these Cantons, which had sheltered themselves under the *Roman* Name. The *Samnites* were proud, and could but ill brook, that the haughty Republick should give Law to them. Nevertheless, they complied with the Request of the *Romans*, not out of any Love for Peace, but because they had not yet made the proper Dispositions for making War with Advantage. *Rome* therefore turned her Arms against the *Privernates*. These had just joined the Inhabitants of *Fundi*, and ventured to insult the *Romans*. The General they had chosen was indeed a Native of *Fundi*, and had Lands there; but he was likewise an Inhabitant of *Rome*. He had a House on the Hill *Palatinus*, in order to entitle him to all the Rights of a *Roman Citizen*. The Name of this Traitor was *Vitruvius Vaccus*. He was the Man who, for the sake of the trivial Honour of commanding an Army, had solicited some of his Countrymen to revolt. So that, the rascallious *Roman* threw himself into the Territories of the Cities of *Setia*, *Nepesina*, and *Cora*, at the Head of the Confederate Troops; and there committed Robberies with great Fury. The *Consuls* marched to defeat the Rebel, without Delay. The two Armies join'd, and each General fortified himself in his Camp. And now, how great is the Difference between the martial Ardour of the *Romans*, and the Fearfulness of *Vitruvius*! This weak General could neither determine with himself to continue in his Entrenchments, nor to give Battel. He equally feared being besieged in his Camp, and running the Hazards of a pitched Battel; and therefore chose a middle Way. This was, to give Battel so near his Entrenchments, that his Troops had always a sure Retreat to them. But, in War, timorous Projects never gain Success. *Vitruvius* marched out his Troops; but he had scarce drawn them up in Order, almost at the Gate of his Camp, before they turned their Backs, at the first Onset, and left the Plain. One would have thought, the Enemies of the *Romans* had only appeared in sight of them, to observe their Disposition, without daring to fight them. It is true, their Retreat was made without much Slaughter. They had an *Asylum* so near, that it was not possible for the *Romans* to cut them in pieces, after they had routed them. Few of them perished in the first Attack. The little Loss they had, was wholly owing to the Disorder of their Flight. Nor did the Victory cost the *Consuls* much; but it was undeniably such: and the Glory of having terrified the Enemy, barely with their Looks, was as great, as it would have been, to have covered the Plain with dead Bodies.

THE Fright of the Conquered would not suffer them to tarry all Night in their Camp. As soon as the Sun was down, they marched away, to gain themselves more Security, within the Walls. *Privernum* was then a considerable City, as well fortified; and they fled thither for Refuge. In the mean time the *Consuls* divided their Troops. *Plautius*, with one Part of the *Roman* Army, entered the Territory of *Fundi*: And upon the News of his Arrival, the Senators of the City went out in a Body, to meet the General. *We don't come*, said they to him, *to do any Favour for the perfidious Vitruvius, or any of his Faction: But to desire you not to make the faithful People of Fundi Accomplices in the Act of a Rebel, whose Treachery we abhor. Of this we shall urge no other Proof, than his own Behaviour.*

43 We have mentioned the City of *Polusca* more than once already. We read in all the Editions of *Livy*, that not the *Poluscani*, but the *Lucani*, sent a Deputation to the Republick. Which *Sigonius* thinks an Error of the Copyists, for these Reasons. 1. Because *Livy*, when he speaks of the two Nations who sent Deputies to *Rome*, says they both lived in the Territory of the *Volsci*; *Ex Volscis Fabraterni & Lucani*. Now the Country of the *Lucani* was very different, and lay at a great distance, from that of the *Volsci*. 2. Because it is very improbable, that the *Lucani* should desire the Assistance

of the *Romans* against the *Samnites*. These two Nations were so far from being at war with one another, that they joined together against the King of *Epirus*. 3. Because *Livy* himself, when he speaks of the People of *Apulia* and *Lucania*, five Years after this, owns, that they had never had any thing to do with the *Romans*, till that time. *Quibus Gracchus nihil ad eam diem cum Populo Romano summi*. Yet *Gronovius* retains the Text as it is, and thinks that *Sigonius's* Reasons are not unanswerable. The Reader is to chuse which Opinion he likes best.

ur, after his Defeat. He is not come into his own Country for Refuge. Fundi, which was not at all concerned in his Revolt, would have refused him a Place of Retreat: No Enemies of the Roman Name are to be found within our Walls. Privernum takes the Rebel into her Bosom: And of Privernum he is to be demanded. Vitruvius is equally blameable, for having deserted Fundi, which gave him Birth, and betrayed Rome, of which he was a Citizen. As for us, in Gratitude for the Right of Citizenship, with which Rome has honoured us, our Hearts are as much Roman, as the audacious Vitruvius's was ungrateful, for an Advantage which he enjoyed in common with us. Turn therefore the Storm, with which you threaten us, another Way; and depend on the Fidelity of a City, which is sincerely attached to You, and which nothing can separate from your Interests.

PLAUTIUS's Anger was appeased by this Submission of the Magistrates of Fundi: The Consul wrote to Rome, in favour of the City, and prevailed. The Privernates only were thought worthy of the Severity they had brought upon themselves. Plautius took the Road to Privernum, and re-joined his Colleague, who had probably blocked up the City already. The Romans thought themselves obliged to punish this People first, who had been the Authors of the Revolt. According to one ancient Author, the Consuls sent 350 Privernates to Rome, doubtless, of those whom they had taken in their March. These were to be tried by the Roman Senate. The Wretches promised to engage their Fellow-Citizens to surrender at Discretion; but this Promise was only considered as an Engagement forced from a Company of People reduced to Extremity. The Roman Army therefore laid Siege to Privernum; but it continued a great while before the Place. And while the Romans were obstinately pursuing the Reduction of this important City, one of the Consuls, whose Name is not mentioned, was called back to Rome, to preside in the Comitia by Centuries, which were to chuse new Consuls. The Republick thought it necessary to hasten the Elections before the usual time, in order to create Generals, fit to be employed in a yet more important Expedition than that of Privernum.

THE Romans were the Terror of their Neighbours; and the Gauls in Italy, were the Terror of the Romans themselves. The latter were immediately alarmed, on the first Rumour, that the former were in Motion. Nevertheless, they did not neglect to adorn Rome. It is well known, what a Love the Romans had for the Sports of the Circus. Chariot-Races, above all others, was what delighted them most, in these Shews: but the Place in which they were run, both wanted Ornaments, and Convenience for the Drivers. They started in the open Air, and were exposed to the Heat of the Sun, whose Beams incommoded the Horses, and fatigued them before they set out. A Line marked with Chalk, was the Goal from which they started, by Sound of Trumpet. The *Ædiles* therefore, (whose Province it was to take care of the publick Buildings, and the Magnificence of the Games) thought fit to build sumptuous Portico's, at the Entrance of the Circus, to serve for Houses 44 for the Chariots, and to shelter the Horses. The Romans were now in a Condition to bear these great Expences, since they had been enriched by the War with the *Latins*, and the Reduction of *Campania*.

§.X. THE Siege of Privernum, and the Threatnings of the Gauls, engaged all the Attention of the Romans, when L. *Æmilius*, 45 and C. *Plautius*, nominated to the Consulship, entred upon their Office: which they did before the usual time, that is, on the first of July, the very day they were chosen. These Varia-

44 The Romans gave these Houses for Chariots the name of *Carceres*, or *Prisons*, because the Horses were shut up in them, till the Signal was given for the Race. The Walls of this Building were adorned with Battlements, and flanked with Towers, after the manner of ancient Cities; whence, according to *Varro*, B. 4. N. 32. it had the Name of *Oppidum*. *Nævius Oppidum appellat, Carceres dicit quod coercerentur Equi, ne in de exeant, antequam Magistratus misit. Oppidum, quod a muri parte, annis turribusque Carceres olim fuerunt.* These Buildings, which were like Portico's, were shut up with Balustrades, which opened all at once; and hence the Competitors advanced to a Line marked with Chalk, from which they started.

45 This was the second Consulship of *Lucius Æmilius*, surnamed *Mamercinus* and *Privernas*; and the first of *Caius Plautius Decianus*. *Diodorus Siculus* omits these two Magistrates, and substitutes C. *Plautius Proculus*, and *Publius Cornelius Scapula*, the Consuls for the next Year, in their room. The Family of this *Æmilius*, was a considerable *Patrician* Family in Rome. It spread into several Branches, the Memory of which has been preserved on their Medals. The *Pauli*, the *Lepidi*, the *Scauri*, and the *Buca's*, are of this Number; and ancient Authors, and several precious Stones, have preserved the Names of the *Mamercini*, the *Barbula's*, the *Papi*, and the *Regilli*, who descended from the same Stock.

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tions, which were pretty common, in the Succession of the *Consuls*, some of which entred upon their Offices sooner, some later, plainly shew how little stress is to be laid on the *Consular* Years, with regard to an exact Computation of the Years of the World. The two new-elected Generals, drew Lots, which of the two Armies each was to command; and that which was to act against the *Gauls*, fell to the *Consul Æmilius*; that of the Troops before *Privernum*, to his Colleague. We may judge of the Impression the Fear of the *Gauls* made upon the *Romans*, by the unusual Precautions they took to oppose them. The Levies were made in the City with the utmost Rigour. No Excuse was allowed. The meanest Artificers, and those, among the rest, whose Occupations were sedentary ⁴⁶, were all put upon the military Roll. But this considerable Army marched no farther than *Veii*, and there encamped, expecting the coming of the *Gauls*. The *Consul* thought it not advisable to advance further, lest the Enemy should march a great way about, and come and fall suddenly upon the *Roman* Territory. The nearer he was to the City, the more he thought it in his power, to prevent the Enemy's Approaches to it. But all these Motions, and Uneasinesses, only shewed how much the very Shadow of the *Gauls* terrified *Rome*. The *Roman* General was not satisfied, till he received Information, that all was quiet among the Enemies he feared. Then, being disengaged from a dubious War, *Æmilius* turned all the Forces of the Republick against *Privernum*, and joined his Colleague, who lay before it. The Town, already fatigued with a long Siege, did not hold out long against two *Consular* Armies. Some say, it was taken by Assault; others, that it surrendered at Discretion, after having implored the Mercy of the *Consuls*. The latter say, that the *Privernates* sent Deputies, who came to the Generals, carrying the *Caduceus* ⁴⁷ in their Hands, and begged Pardon. But be that as it will; it is at least certain, that they delivered up the Rebel *Vitruvius*, to the Resentment of the *Romans*. He was sent to *Rome*, to be judged by the Senate; and the *Consuls* returned thither, to receive the Honours of a Triumph. I know not whether it



Brefe.



Gold.



Gold.



Gold.

⁴⁶ *Livy* gives these Tradesmen the Name of *Sellarii*, because they worked in Shops. *D. Hal.* says, these sedentary Trades were thought unworthy of *Romans*, in the first Ages of *Rome*. They then employed themselves wholly in War and Husbandry, in order to inure themselves to Fatigue; and left servile and mercenary Arts, to Strangers and Slaves. But in length of time, this Custom was changed. The *Plebeians*, who were destitute of any Support, were not ashamed to become Artificers, to keep themselves from Want.

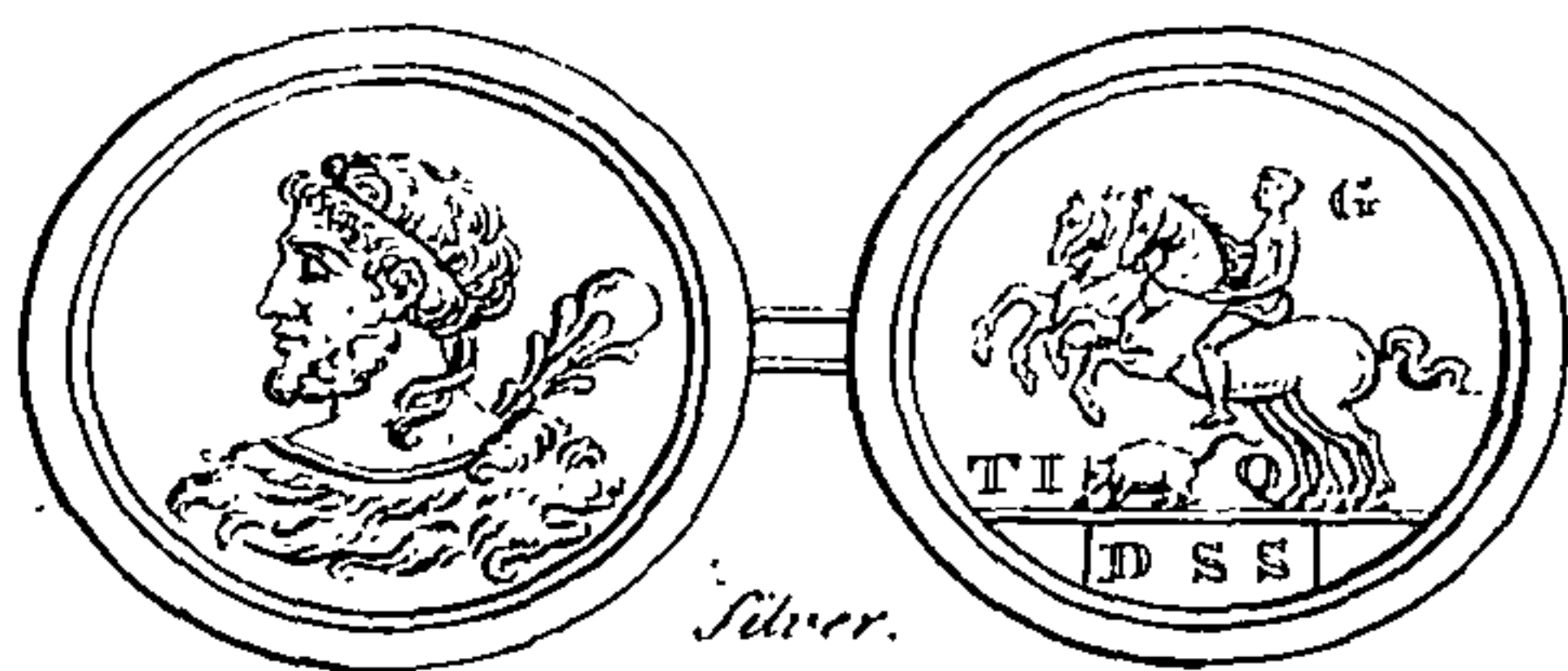
⁴⁷ The *Caduceus* was, among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, the Symbol of Peace. It was a Rod, with two Serpents twisted about it several times. The Poets have feigned, that *Apollo* gave it to *Mercury*,

in return for his seven-stringed Harp, which he gave *Apollo*: And they add, that *Mercury*, going into *Arcadia*, appeased two Serpents, which were fighting, by throwing this Rod between them. Agreeable to which fabulous Tradition, this God is represented on the Medals, and ancient Monuments, with a *Caduceus* in his Hand; as on this Medal of *Marcus Aurelius*, which was struck at *Corinth*, appears by the Inscription, C. L. J. COR. that is, *Colonia, Laus, Julia, Corinthus*. A Ram is generally placed with *Mercury*, because he was thought the tutelary God of Shepherds, and their Flocks. Hence the *Caduceus* came to be used by several Nations, as an Emblem of Concord; and hence the Custom of putting this Symbol in the Hands of the Deputies

was out of Forgetfulness or Partiality, that *Livy* here omits to make *Emilius* triumph with his Collegue: but we are at least sure, that a Monument, more to be depended on than his History, divides the Triumph between the two *Consuls*. *Emilius* seems to have gained the greatest Advantages in this Conquest, since he ever after bore the Surname of *Privernas*, which was not given to *Plautius*. The *Romans* indeed are sometimes reproached, with unjustly giving all the Glory of an Enterprize, to the last General concerned in it, who finished it; and of giving none of the Honour of it to the former *Consuls*, who had begun it, and who often had brought it to such a Maturity, as to be past the Danger of a Miscarriage. But it is not considered, that this Conduct is founded on wise Policy. By giving all the Honour of a War to him who ended it, they excited all their Generals to do their utmost, to finish the Conquest of the Enemies they were to subdue, and put a speedy end to their Expeditions.

WHEN *Emilius* and *Plautius* had signalized their *Consulship* by a triumphant Entry into *Rome*, on the first Day of *March*, the Senate began the Prosecution of the Rebel *Vitruvius*. He had been kept till this time in close Prison; and it was determined, that the *Consuls*, his Conquerors, should likewise be his Judges. When they were returned to *Rome*, after having dismantled *Privernum*, and left a strong Garrison in it, to keep that turbulent People to their Duty; they, at the Head of the *Conscript Fathers*, cited the Accused to appear. Tho' the Affair was of a criminal Nature, it was not properly cognizable by the People; because an Enemy taken in War, was subject to the military Laws. The Process was not long; the only question was, what Punishment to inflict on the Guilty: and he was condemned to be first scourged, and then beheaded by the *Lictors*. The House which belonged to the Rebel on the Hill *Palatinus*, was razed, and his Effects ⁴⁸ sold, and confiscated to the Use of a little Temple, dedicated to the God ⁴⁹ *Semo Sancus*, or

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Deputies of a State, or Province, when they went to desire Peace, and conclude Treaties of Alliance, with the Title of *Caduceatores*. For this reason, *Mercury* always carries it, as being stiled the Messenger, and Interpreter, of the Gods of Heaven and Hell. *Κηρύξ μισθὸς τῶν Ἀνὰ τὰ ἡμέτερα. Æschil. Coeph. v. 63.* *Pliny*, speaking of the Conjunction of Serpents, who couple in Summer, says, that several Nations thought them a proper Symbol of Peace. *hic complexus Anguim, & efferatorum Concordia, causa videtur esse, quare exteræ Gentes Caduceum, Pacis argumentis circumdata effigie Anguim, ferunt.* Conformably to this vulgar Opinion, Peace drawn on several Medals with a *Caduceus* in her hand. In that above, she has a Serpent under feet; allusion to the Virtue ascribed to the *Caduceus*, of quelling the Rage of War, which is represented by a Serpent. Nor is it without some Design, that the Goddess has Wings. Perhaps this was intended to signify, that Peace comes originally from Heaven, and is the Gift of the Gods. On the third Medal above, which is one of the Emperor *Vespasian's*, we have the Image of *Fortune*, with this distinguishing Mark, to shew that Peace brings Happiness, and secures the Enjoyment of all good Things: And this is also the Meaning of the fourth Medal, on which is represented *Happiness*, holding a *Caduceus* in one Hand, and a *Cornucopia* in the other. Some authors have thought the *Caduceus* a Symbol of Eternity, which softens the hardest Hearts; and we understood the two Serpents to signify the Pru-

dence which is necessary for an Orator, if he would captivate Mens Minds. The two little Wings with which the *Caduceus* is adorned, signify, according to them, either Diligence and Activity in the Execution of what we undertake, or the Sublimity and Rapidity of a Discourse. Thus *Homer* says that Words have Wings. And lastly, the Rod signified the Power which Princes or Republicks gave their Ambassadors, whom they entrusted with the Management of their Interests. Fable ascribes wonderful Qualities to this Wand, which *Virgil*, speaking of *Mercury*, describes, B.

*Tunc Virgam capit, hac animas ille evocat Orco;
Pallentes alias sub tristia Tartara mittit;
Dat somnos, adimitque, & lumina morte resignat.*

In the same Sense, *Horace* says of the same God, B. 1. Ode 10.

*Tu pias letis animas reponis.
Sedibus, virgaque levem coarces
Aurea turbam.*

⁴⁸ The *Romans* called the Ground on which the Traitor's House had stood, *Prata Vacci*, or *Vaccus's Meadows*.

⁴⁹ The Pagans called those Gods *Semones*, who had obtained a Place among the Immortals, tho' inferior in Order to *The Great Gods*. Such were some Heroes, who raised themselves above the Level of Mankind by some signal Actions, as *Hercules*, *Æneas*, *Romulus*; and of this Number were those

Year of or 50 *Sangus*; that is, as is generally believed, to *Hercules*, the Revenger of Breach
 R O M E of Faith in Treaties. The Money arising from the Sale, was laid out, in Globes
 CCCCXXIV. of Brass, which were hung up in the Arch of this Sanctuary, which stood over
 against the Temple of *Quirinus*.
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 C. PLAUTIUS, whose Judgments were always equitable, made a difference between the Magistrates
 Consuls. of *Privernum*, and the common Citizens of that rebellious City. Those of their
 Senators, who had continued in the Place, after its Revolt, were condemned to
 the same Punishment, formerly inflicted on the Citizens of *Velitræ*. They were
 removed from their own City, to the other Side the *Tyber*, under the Penalty of

those also who distinguished themselves by some singular Qualities. *Fulgentius* speaks of the *Di Semones* in this Sense, in his Treatise Of *Obscure Words*. *Di Semones fuerunt dicti, quos nec cælo adscribebant ob meriti paupertatem, sicut sunt Priapus, Hippona, Vertumnus; nec terrenos eos deputare volebant, pro gratia veneratione; sicut Varro in Mystagogorum libro ait, Semoneque inferius derelicto, Deum depennato attollam orationis eloquio*. Some pretend, that the Word *Semones*, was synonymous to *Semi-homines*, and signifies, that the *Semones* were but *Demi-Gods*; which Interpretation is favoured by *Justus Lipsius*, B. 2. *Antiq. Lect. cap. 8*. He observes, on this Occasion, that *Hemones* was used in old *Latin*, for *Homines*; and from hence, says he, comes the Word *Semones*, which signifies Gods of a lower Rank, or Men deified by the Superstition of the People. Several have confounded them with the *Dii Patellarii*, (from the *Latin* Word *Patella*, a deep Dish,) who were those petty Gods, who were not honoured with the Sacrifices of Animals, but only with some Libations and Offerings, which were made them, in a Dish. Under this Class were also comprehended the domestick Gods, the *Penates*, and the *Lares*. *Varro*, in *Nonnius*, speaks of these lesser Divinities, when he says, a good Citizen ought to obey the Laws, and set apart one Dish at his Table, for the Gods. *Oportet bonum civem legibus parere, & Deos colere, in Patellam dare munusculum*. *Plautus* mentions the *Dii Patellarii*, *Gist. Act. 2. Sc. 1*.

Dii me omnes Magni, minutique, & Patellarii.

50 We have already observed, that the God *Sancus*, who was first worshiped by the *Sabines*, and afterwards by the *Romans*, was the same with the *Hercules* of the *Greeks*. This was the common Opinion, according to *Varro*. *Putabant hunc esse Sanctum a Sabina lingua, Herculem a Græca*. *Propertius* adopts this Opinion, B. 4. *Eleg. 10*.

Tunc quoniam manibus Purgatum SANXERAT Orbem, Sic Sanctum Tatii composuere Cures.

Festus says, that those who were going to take a Journey, sacrificed to *Hercules*, or *Sancus*; which he says were two different Names for the same God. *Propter viam fit sacrificium, quod est proficiscendi gratia, Herculi, aut Sanco, qui scilicet idem Deus est*. In the Porch of the Temple dedicated to this God, there was a Place set apart for the Sacrifices which were offered him; as appears by the following Inscription, recorded by *Gruter*. *HERCULI SAXANO SACRAM SER. SULPICIUS TROPHINUS ÆDEM ZOTHECAM, CULINAM, PECUNIA SUA A SOLO RESTITUIT, IDEMQUE DEDICAVIT K. DEC. L. TURPILIO DEXTRO, M. MÆCIO RUFO COSS. EUTUCHIUS SER. PEREGRINANTIBUS CURAVIT*. Those who were obliged to travel, came to this Place, and there made their Offerings to *Hercules*, whom they invoked as the tutelary God of Travellers. This was his peculiar Title, because the Pagans thought he had made the Roads safe, by purging the Earth of the Monsters with which it was invested. There was this Particular in the Sacrifices offered up to him, as *Macrobius* observes, *Saturnal. B. 2. c. 2*. that after the Repast of

those who had joined in the Ceremony was over, the Meat which was left was gathered up, and thrown into the Fire. And this Custom was, according to the same Author, what *Cato* alluded to, in his Jest on one *Quintus Albidius*, who had spent his Patrimony. He had nothing but one House left, which was soon after burnt down: And this Fire made *Cato* say, That *Albidius* had sacrificed, *propter viam*; and, That this Squanderer had burnt what he could not eat. *Hinc Catonis jocus est, nam Q. Albidius... Propter viam fecisse dicebat, quod comesse non poterit, id combussisse*. In the same Sense *Plautus*, in his Comedy called *Rudens*, says of those who were reduced to Want by their Extravagance, that they had dined, *propter viam*. *Ut mea est opinio propter viam illi sunt vocati ad prandium*. The Inscription gives *Hercules* the Epithet of *Saxanus*, either because he so far levelled the Roads in his Expeditions, as to make himself a Passage thro' Rocks and Mountains; or because his Statue was of Stone. The Reader may consult the Mythologists, concerning the different Attributes given to this Demi-God, at such time as we have Occasion to enter into a Detail of them. In short, that *Sancus* and *Hercules* were the same God, *Fulvius Ursinus* and *Charles Patin*, prove by a Medal, on the Face of which is the Head of *Hercules*; and on the Reverse, a Man on horseback, with these initial Letters, D. S. S. that is, according to these two Antiquaries, *DEUS FIDIUS SEMO SANCTUS*; or *SANCTUS SANCUS*. We have already observed, Vol. I. p. 8. Note 41. and p. 33. Note 120. that the Names of *Dius Fidius*, *Sancus*, *Semo Pater*, *Sangus*, *Sanctus*, and *Hercules*, all signify the same God. This *Ovid* shews, *Fast. B. 6*.

*Quarebam Nonas Sancto Fidione referrem,
 An tibi Semo Pater; tunc mihi Sanctus ait,
 Cuicumque ex istis dederis, ego munus habebō.
 Nomina terna fero; sic voluere Cures.*

And on this Occasion, it ought to be remembered, that, as we have observed, Vol. I. p. 33. the *Sabines* were originally a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*; who, according to *Plato*, B. 5. *de Legibus*, descended from a Colony of *Heraclidæ*. The *Sabines* and *Lacedæmonians* therefore acknowledged *Hercules* to be the Head of their Nations, and paid him the same Worship; the latter under the Name of *Hercules*, the former under that of *Sancus*, or *Sanctus*, a *Sancendis fœderibus*; because he was the Avenger of the Breach of Treaties. Hence the Inscription, *SANCTO SANCO, SEMONI DEO FIDIO*. Some learned Men are of Opinion, that *Justin Martyr*, deceived by the Resemblance of the Word *Semoni*, to the Name of *Simon Magus*, was mistaken in believing that the *Romans* erected a Statue to this Impostor. While others are so far from allowing this to be a Fiction founded on a Mistake, that they undertake to prove the Truth of the Fact asserted by him. But the Discussion of this Point being foreign to our History, we refer the Reader to Chap. 9. of Dr. *Hammond's Latin Treatise, Of the Right of Bishops*, against *Blondel*; and to *Spencer's Notes on The first Book of Origen against Celsus*.

51 See B. 16. p. 175. of this Volume.

a great Fine, if any of them ventured to pass that River. As for those of the *Privernates*, who had been taken in War, *Plautius*, who undertook to be their Protector, after his Triumph, thought fit to solicit the Senate to treat them with Clemency. The time seemed favourable. The Heat of the publick Resentments was abated by the Punishment of *Vitruvius*, and the Banishment of the Senators of *Privernum*. *Plautius* led the Captives to the Senate, and spoke thus in their favour. *Have not the Gods, and your Equity, Conscript Fathers, sufficiently revenged us for the Revolt of the Privernates? Would you extend your Severity yet further, even to an innocent Multitude, who are not at all guilty of the Revolt of their Heads? I have indeed no Right by my Office, to prevent your Judgments. It only belongs to me to collect your Suffrages. But nevertheless, I will venture to put you in mind of one thing, which may be of service to the Publick. You know the Privernates are Neighbours to the Samnites; and That the present Peace between the latter and us, is but uncertain. Is it not then our Interest, rather to win their Affections by Clemency, than to drive them into Despair by our Rigour?* But *Plautius's* Opinion did not want a Reply, nor did it pass without Contradiction. Some inclined to Clemency, others to Severity, according to their private Dispositions and Tempers. The Fate of the unfortunate *Privernates* was entirely in the Hands of their enraged Conquerors; and the only Recourse they had left, was humble Supplications: but they were *Volsci*, that is, were of a Nation which was proud, and capable of at least as generous Sentiments, as the *Romans* themselves. One of them had like to have ruined his Countrymen, by an haughty answer, which the *Romans*, as proud as the *Volsci*, took at last, in good part. Being asked by one of the Senators, who was for putting them all to death, what punishment he and his Companions deserved; *The Punishment*, replied the intrepid *Privernas*, *which is due to Men who are jealous of their Liberty, and think themselves worthy of it.* This seemed to be renewing the Sedition, and exasperated some Men, as much as if the *Privernates* had taken up Arms again. But *Plautius*, who saw the Rage which appeared in the Countenances of some of the Judges, totally appeased it, by a very apposite Question. *How would your Countrymen behave themselves*, said he to the Captives, *if Rome should let them escape unpunished? Our Conduct*, replied the generous *Privernas*, *will be regulated by yours. If your Promises are real, and lasting, depend on a constant Fidelity on our parts. If they are not, lay no stress upon our Adherence to you.* These Words were differently taken by different Judges. Some thought them Threatnings, or a kind of Disposition towards a new Revolt. But the wiser Part, found there was unanimity in the *Privernas's* Answer, and represented it to the Senate in the light in which it ought to have been taken. *The Captive's Discourse*, said they, *highly worthy of a Man, who is free even in Chains, and intrepid at the Approach of Death. What People, who have these Sentiments, will continue long in forced Subjection! No Tranquillity is lasting, or Peace durable, which is not willingly accepted. Fidelity is never inviolable, when it is forcibly exacted.* These reflections had great Weight with the greatest Number of the Senators; and *Plautius* backed them with all his Interest. The ablest Men in the Assembly, and those among the rest, who had formerly been *Consuls*, cried out, *That a Nation, whose only Desire was Liberty, and whose only Fear was that of losing it, is worthy to become Roman.* So that the Decree passed in favour of the *Privernates*. Nay, the Senators did not only forgive them; they ordered a Petition to be offered to the People, that *Privernum* should be made a *Municipium*, and by the Right of *Roman Citizenship*. Thus the bold Sincerity of one Man, saved his Country, and gained it the Privileges of being incorporated with the *Roman State*.

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§. XII. It was then the Policy of the *Romans*, either to grant the conquered Cities the Right of *Citizenship*, or to send *Roman Colonies* to repopulate them. They had, to their Cost, found the ill Consequences, of the Independence which they had left the *Latins*, after they had subdued them; and were therefore no longer content barely with demanding an Alliance with the conquered Nations. *Anxur* had just now received three hundred *Roman Citizens* within her Walls, and to each of these were allotted two Acres of Land: and the new *Consuls*,

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fuls, C. Plautius ⁵² *Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula*, observed the same Conduct, and sent another Colony of Romans to *Fregellæ*. This City was at first within the Jurisdiction of the *Sidicini*. Afterwards the *Volsci* possessed themselves of it. And at last, it was taken by the *Samnites*, and was razed by this warlike People; who found it was too far from their Territory, for them to be able to defend it; and lay too conveniently for the *Romans*, who might have seized it, and made use of it, to carry on a War, even into *Samnium*.

AFTER the *Romans* had subdued the Country of the *Sidicini*, they thought they might take Possession of *Fregellæ*, repair a City which stood in a Country, they had conquered, and send some *Romans* thither, to repeople, and defend it. But this Step provoked the *Samnites*, who had long waited for a Pretence to break with the Republick. The Rebuilding of *Fregellæ*, and the planting a *Roman Colony* there, who fortified themselves in it, may be said to have been the first Occasion of the long and furious War, which we shall soon see break out between the *Romans*, and *Samnites*.

IN the mean time, the *Palapolitans* took advantage of this new Discontent of the *Samnites* with the *Romans*, and committed Hostilities in the *Roman Territories*. This Name of *Palapolitans* is enough of itself to shew, that the *Roman State* then extended to the Frontiers of *Great Greece*; and that, after the *Romans* had subdued the neighbouring Nations, which were originally *Italians*, and spoke *Latin*, they then began, for the first time, to look on the *Greek Nations* as their Enemies.

It is well known, that almost all the Eastern Coast of *Italy*, at least from *Tarentum* to ⁵³ *Naples*, was called ⁵⁴ *Great Greece*. It was called *Greece*, because most of the Cities which lay along the Coast were *Greek Colonies*, and spoke only the *Greek Tongue*: and these *Greeks* gave it the Name of *Great Greece*, because it was bigger, or so big, as *Greece* properly so called; but merely out of Ostentation: which embellishes the meanest Objects, and gives great Names to the least things. This *Italic Greece*, did not reach beyond *Campania*, in the Parts where it penetrated farthest into the Continent, whatever some Authors may say of it; and *Naples* was one of the last Places under its Jurisdiction. Between *Naples*

⁵² *Diodorus Siculus*, contrary to the *Consular Annals*, substitutes *Aulus Postumius* in the room of *Caius Plantius Proculus*: but *Cassiodorus* calls him *Caius*. The *Greek Tables*, which give him only the Surname of *Venox*, make us believe, that the Consul here spoken of, was the same *Caius Plautius*, who afterwards bore that Surname of *Venox*, in his *Censorship*; as shall be observed in due place. In these *Tables*, *Publius Cornelius* is surnamed *Scipio*, and not *Scapula*; which is manifestly the Mistake of the Copyists. This *Scapula*, who enjoyed the *Consulship* with *Plautius*, appears to have been the same Man, who, according to *Livy*, had been created *Pontifex Maximus*, five Years before he was promoted to the *Consulship*; that is, in the Year of *Rome* 420; before he had passed through the *Curule Offices*. But there were very few Instances of such Promotions.

⁵³ *Pliny*, B. 3. c. 5. as well as most ancient Authors, makes *Naples* to have been one of the most considerable Cities in *Campania*. He calls it *Neapolis Chalcidensium*, and *Parthenope*; which Name, he says, was taken from a Syren, who was buried near it. *Et ipsa Parthenope, a tumulo Sirenis dicta*. The *Abridger of Stephens*, speaking of this City, calls it *Φάληρον*, because built by *Phalerus*, Tyrant of *Sicily*, according to the frivolous Remark of *Isaac Tretza*, who confounded this *Phalerus*, who never existed, with the Tyrant *Phaleris*. *Naples* was, according to this *Abridger*, built by the *Rhodians*: But *Marcion of Heraclea*, will have this City, as well as *Marseilles*, to have been a Colony of those *Phocæans* who came from *Asiatick Greece*, to avoid the IncurSIONS of the *Persians*. *Strabo* mentions this City, B. 5. and calls it *Neapolis Cumanorum*; and, as he goes on, a little Colony from *Chalcis*, the Capital of *Eubœa*, together with some Inhabitants

of the Island of *Pitheculæ*, and a Company of *Athenians*, afterwards settled in *Naples*, whence it was called *Neapolis Chalcidensium*. According to *Phalaris*, on the fourth *Georgick*, *Lutatius*, an ancient Author says, that some of the Citizens of *Cuma*, who left their Fathers Houses, built the City of *Parthenope*, which they afterwards demolished, for fear the *Cumans*, tempted by the Fruitfulness of the Soil, should desert *Cuma*, to come and live at *Naples*. But being afterwards, continues this Author, afflicted with the Plague, they could no otherwise avoid this Scourge, than by rebuilding *Naples*, and paying Honours to the Tomb of the Syren *Parthenope*, as they were directed by the Oracle they had consulted. This City, when rebuilt, was called *Neapolis*. And *Solinus* is therefore in the wrong, when he says, c. 8. that *Augustus* gave it this last Name. He ought to have considered, that *Polybius* call'd it by this Name above an hundred Years before. *Velleius*, B. 1. says that a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*, Natives of *Attica*, landed in *Italy*, under the Command of *Hippocles* and *Alcagasthenes*. They were guided, continues he, by the Flight of a Dove, which flew before the Fleet; or, according to others, were drawn by the Noise of a Trumpet, which sounded like those used on the solemn Festivals, which were celebrated in honour of *Ceres*. To which *Velleius* adds, that these *Neapolitans* laid the Foundation of the City of *Cuma*; and that the *Cumans*, a great while afterwards, built *Naples*. *Strabo* tells us, B. 5. that in his time *Naples* still retained several Marks of its ancient Origin, in the different *Academies*, which it then had for teaching Youth bodily Exercises. The Ancients have given us pompous Accounts of the solemn Games, which were celebrated there, every five Years for several Days together, in the Presence of all the Nations

les and ⁵⁵ *Herculanum*, there was another Greek City, called ⁵⁶ *Palæpolis* by the people of the Country. It was about two Miles distant from *Naples*, and its Inhabitants came from the same Place in *Old Greece*. Formerly, a Colony of ⁵⁷ *Eubæans*, whose Capital was *Chalcis*, set out from that Island in a Fleet, possessed themselves of *Pythecusa* and ⁵⁸ *Ænaria*, two Islands in the *Tyrrhenian* Sea; and here made themselves formidable to all the Coast of *Italy*, by their maritime Expansions. But these fugitive *Eubæans* soon disagreed about the Islands, on which they had made a Descent: and were forced to suffer such Accidents, as were common in the Place where they had settled. They were shaken with Earthquakes,

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Silver.

tations of *Great Greece*, who repaired thither to the Shews. Some contended for the Mastery in fistic, others at Wrestling; and the Victors were crowned, as at the *Olympick Games*. This Solemnity is probably intended to be signified by the aged *Victory*, on the Medal above, holding a crown in her Hand. The *Minotaur* denotes the Antiquity of *Naples*, which carried up her Origin as far as to *Theseus*, who conquered that Monster. The Sweetness of the Climate, the Advantage of Situation, and the Beauty of the Fields, made *Naples* a most delightful Habitation. So that the great Men in *Rome*, who chose to live at Ease, used to retire thither. This is the Account *Ovid* gives us of *Naples*, *Metamorph.* B. 15. *In otia nâ Parthenopen*; and *Horace*, *Epod.* B. 5. *Otiôsa vidit Neapolis*. This City was formerly enclosed between the River *Sebeth*, now called *Fiume di Magdalena*, and the Island of *Megarîs*, on which The Castle of the Egg has since been built. The Fruitfulness of the Soil, which abounds in everything that can contribute to the Pleasure of Life, is testified by the *Cornucopia*, on the Medal above.

4 See our Dissertation on *Great Greece*, p. 119. this Volume, B. 15. Note 81.

5 *Herculanum* was one of the most ancient Cities in *Campania*. Some ancient Writers say, *Hercules* founded it, and gave it his own Name. *Strabo* says, it stood on a little Promontory, now called *Monte di Græco*.

6 *Palæpolis* was an ancient City of *Campania*. The Geographers think it stood in the Place, where *Castro Reale*, a little City in *Terra di Lavoro*, now stands. But others pretend, that the Place now called *Torre della Gineparelli*, was included within the Author of *The Delights of Italy*, speaks of *Palæpolis*, as a ruined City, the Ground of which is contained within the City of *Naples*. He guesses, *Palæpolis* was of a great Extent, since several Ruins are yet found, from the Archbishoprick, quite to *St. Peter's at Mazella*, which the Antiquaries are the Remains of *Palæpolis*. Within the Territory of this ancient City, Travellers are shewn *Julius Cæsar's Tomb*, at the Entrance of a Cave, called *Grotto of Naples*.

7 *Eubæa* is an Island in the *Archipelago*, or *Ægean* Sea. It formerly joined to the Continent of *Asia*; but was torn from it, either by an Earthquake, or the Violence of the Sea. And they are divided by nothing but the *Eurippus*, a little Channel, which is so narrow, that a Bridge is built over it, which makes a Communication between the two Provinces. The *Greeks*, say the Etymologists, gave this Island the Name of *Eubæa*, on account of its large and excellent Pastures. *Pliny*

says, it was formerly called *Macra*, or *Macris*; and he sometimes calls it *Abantias*, because it was inhabited by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Abas*; and sometimes *Chalcis* and *Chalcodontis*, because this was thought to be the first Country that ever had Copper-Forges. *Strabo* speaks of it, under the Name of *Ellopia* and *Onche*, which was a high Mountain in this Island, now called *Negropont*, as well as the Capital City.

58 Over-against The Promontory *Misenus*, lies the Island formerly called *Ænaria*, now *Ischia*. *Pliny the Naturalist* says, B. 3. c. 6. that it is the same Island which *Homer* calls *Inarime*; and which the *Greeks* called *Pythecusa*; not, as he observes, on account of the great number of Apes found there, as some imagine; but because great Earthen Vessels were made there for holding Wine. *Homero Inarime dicta, Græcis Pythecusa, non a Simiarum multitudine, ut aliqui existimavere, sed a Figlinis Doliariorum.* *Pythecusa* and *Ænaria*, were then the same Island, according to *Pliny*, and the most ancient Geographers. Nevertheless, *Ovid*, *Livy*, and *Mela*, seem to distinguish them from one another. But these three last Authors, by the Island of *Pythecusa*, mean the Island of *Prochyta*, which, according to *Strabo*, was a dismembered Part of the former, and was for that reason sometimes called by the same Name. The Island of *Ænaria*, or *Pythecusa*, was always subject to Earthquakes. *Strabo* says, B. 5. that Mount *Epopæus*, which is in the middle of it, vomited out Torrents of Fire, from time to time, which did great Mischief in the Neighbourhood. In the Year of *Christ* 1301, the greatest Part of the Islanders, and their Cattel, were consumed by the subterraneous Fires, which burst out with Impetuosity all over the Country, and laid the Lands desolate, for two Months together. This Island was long inhabited by *Greeks*. There are some Gold Mines in it; but it abounds most with great Quantities of Clay, fit for Earthen Pots. And it is to this day famous for the singular Virtues of its hot Mineral Waters, which the *Italians* call *Bagni Furnelli*, and *Bagni Gurgitelli*. They are thought a sovereign Remedy against the Stone and Gravel. So that great Numbers of sick People resort thither, from several Parts of *Italy*. The Island has several Grotto's, and subterraneous Caverns, from which arise hot Exhalations, which provoke Sweat, and cure several Distempers. It is about five Miles over, in the longest Place, and four Miles broad. The Channel which separates the Islands of *Ischia* and *Procida*, is so small, that a Frigate can scarce pass through it; so that they may well be both taken for one Island.

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terrified by subterraneous Fires, which appeared all on a sudden, and incommode by an Inundation of hot and sulphureous Waters; and therefore retired to the Continent, and built the City of *Cumæ*. From thence they spread farther, and the Colony of *Cumans* built the City of *Naples*, in a Place said to have been already famous for the Tomb of a *Syren*, called *Parthenope*. The Inhabitants gave the City they had founded the Name of *Neapolis*, that is, in the Greek Tongue, *The new City*. Then they possessed themselves of a neighbouring Place, which they found already built, and therefore called it *Palæpolis*, or *Palaiopolis*, that is, *The Old City*. The two Cities, properly speaking, were but one; they were very near one another, were governed by the same Laws, and both the *Neapolitans*, and *Palæopolitans*, came originally from *Eubœa*. These *Palæopolitans* were then the first of all the *Greeks* who ventured to attack the *Romans*. Their Confidence was founded upon a Report spread abroad, That the Republick would soon be at war with the *Samnites*, and That *Rome* was laid desolate by a Plague. It was indeed highly probable, that a War would break out between the *Samnites* and *Romans*; but no Historian has told us, that *Rome* was then afflicted with the Pestilence. However, the indiscreet *Palæopolitans* fell upon the Lands of the *Romans* in *Campania*, and ravaged the Territory of *Falernum*.

Val. Max. B.
8. c. 1. §. 7.

§. XIII. THIS News was brought to the Senate, when Preparations were making for an Election of new Magistrates: and before the *Comitia by Centuries* were assembled, to appoint *Consuls*, the *Comitia by Tribes* were convened to chuse *Tribunes of the People*. These cast their Eyes upon a Man, whom, one would imagine, they ought always to have kept out of the Magistracy. *Q. Flavius* was a rich *Plebeian*, whose Reputation was not untainted. He had been, some time since, accused before the *Tribes*, of having offered Violence to a Lady, or at least of having carried on an Intrigue with her, and debauched her. The *Curule Edile* had begun a Process against him, and had brought it before the Judges. *C. Valerius* his Accuser, was a violent Enemy. Fourteen of the twenty nine *Tribes* then in *Rome*, had already voted him guilty, and his Danger was imminent. Upon this, the Accused cried out, with great Protestations, that he was innocent; and the Hatred of the *Edile* his Adversary, appeared so notoriously, at that very instant, that it immediately brought over fifteen *Tribes* to the Side of the Criminal. Whilst *Flavius* was endeavouring to prevail on the rest of his Judges to favour him, and calling Heaven and Earth to witness his Innocence, the *Edile Valerius* cried out, with a stronger Voice than that of the Accused, *What is that to thee, whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou art destroyed?* At these Words every one trembled with Rage. The *Tribes* changed their Minds all on a sudden, and *Flavius*, as guilty as he seemed to be, was acquitted, by a Majority of Suffrages. So that, the Enemy *Valerius* fancied he had entirely overthrown, recovered himself; and the Accuser, by too eager a Pursuit of Victory, lost it.

Liv. B. 8. c. 22.

A few Months after *Flavius* had escaped this Danger, he had the Misfortune to lose his Mother. It was then customary to offer Sacrifices in honour to the dead, and *Flavius*, in Gratitude for the Favour lately done him by the People, offered a great Number of Victims, and distributed the Flesh of them among his Benefactors. This Gratitude did him more Service than he expected. The People remembered him in the *Comitia*, and acknowledged his Bounties, by the unexpected Honour they conferred upon him. Tho' absent, probably because it was not lawful for him to appear in publick, while in Mourning, he was preferred to his Competitors, and nominated *Tribune of the People*, by a Majority of the *Tribes*.

§. 39 This Distribution was called by the *Romans*, *Visceratio*. *Livy* gives it that Name; which was applied, 1. To the solemn Feasts which were made of the Flesh of sacrificed Animals. Such was the Feast *Virgil* describes, *Aeneid*. 8.

*Tum Lecti Juvenes certatim, Aræque Sacerdos,
Viscera tostæ ferunt Taurorum
Vescitur Aeneas, simul & Trojana Juventus,
Perpetui Tergo Bovis, & Lustralibus extis.*

2. To those remaining Parts of the solemn Sacrifices, which the Priests, who assisted at the Ceremony appropriated to themselves, and eat to the

Sound of Flutes, accompanied with Singing and Dancing. 3. To that Part of a private Sacrifice, which the Person offering it, usually reserved, to distribute among his Friends. 4. To the Distribution, made on the *Feria Latina*, and publick Festivals. 5. To those Parts of the Sacrifices, which accompanied the Funeral Honours, paid to the Memory of the Dead, which were disposed of, in the same manner. We have already spoken of them, and shall often have occasion to give an account of other Practices, which the *Roman Religion* prescribed with regard to the Dead.

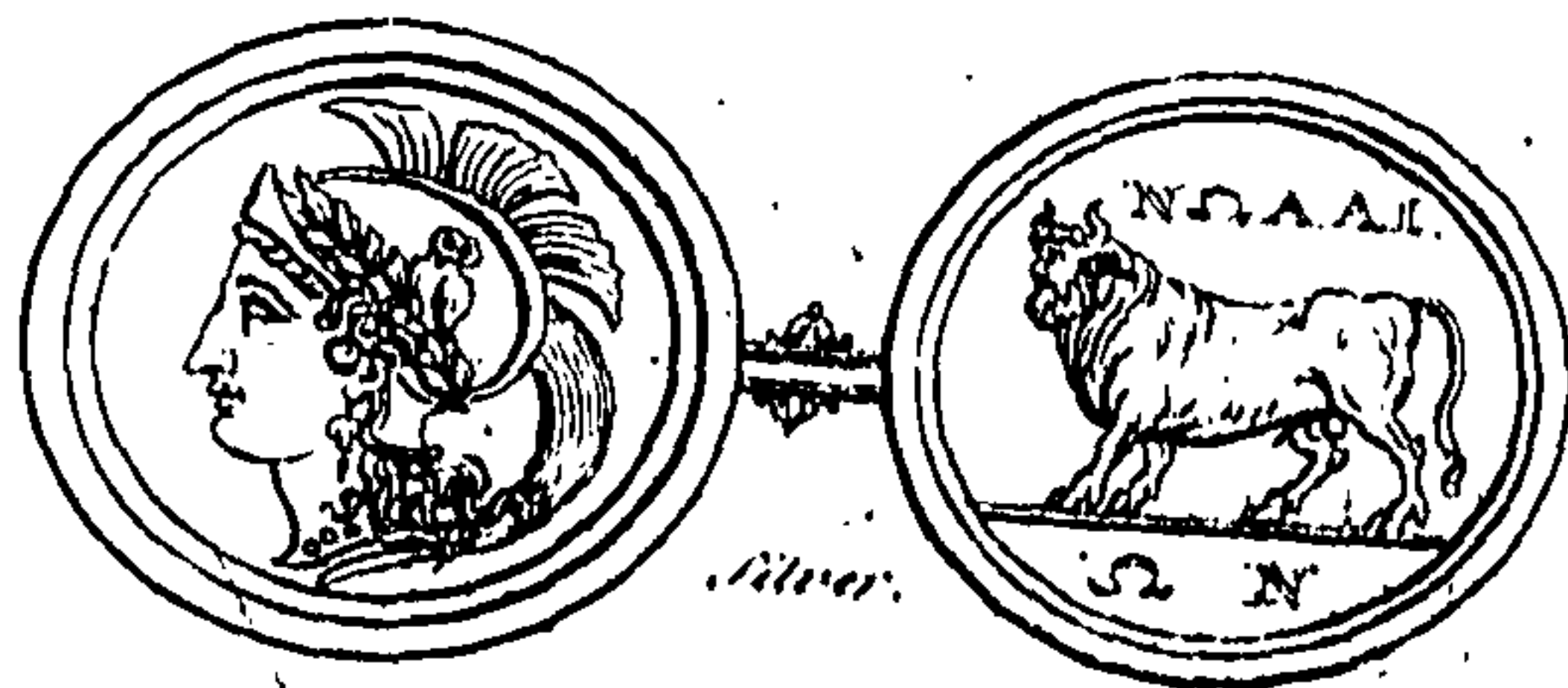
§. XIV. ART.

§. XIV. AFTER this, the great *Comitia* did not delay chusing new *Consuls*. *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, were chosen; the latter for the second time. The Seeds of the War with the *Samnites* and *Palæopolitans*, were already sown in *Rome*; every Body was inclined to undertake it. Indeed the *Romans*, to proceed with Equity, had sent some *Feciales* to *Palæopolis*, to demand Reparation for the Injuries its Inhabitants had done them; and their Answer had seemed haughty to the *Romans*. But the latter afterwards found, that the *Greeks* were more daring in Words, than brave in Action. The People decreed that the War should be carried into the Country of the *Greeks*: And on the other hand, the *Romans* were too jealous of the *Samnites*, to trust to the Inaction they affected. The *Consuls* therefore chose their Provinces by Lot; and it was *Publilius's* Lot to lead his Army against the *Greeks*; and that of *Cornelius*, to march to the Frontiers of *Samnium*, to learn the Dispositions of the *Samnites*, and be a Check upon this Nation, which was jealous of the Progress of the *Romans*, and their secret Enemy, notwithstanding the Alliance it had lately made with them. It was even privately whispered about, that as soon as the *Samnites* had entirely gained over the *Capuans*, and brought them into their Measures, they would march all their Forces into the Field. *Cornelius* therefore took up his Quarters in the Neighbourhood of *Capua*. He was not the Aggressor; but continued posted on the *Roman* Lands, peaceably waiting for the first Hostilities of the *Samnites*, and observing their Motions. *Publilius*, on his part, informed the Senate, That 2000 Inhabitants of *Nola*, a City of *Campania*, and 4000 *Samnites*, voluntarily offered themselves to the *Palæopolitans*, to come to their Defence; and That they were entered into *Palæopolis*, rather by Force, than the Consent of the Inhabitants. By this means, that City, assisted by *Naples*, which was so very near it, and able to supply it continually with Men and Provisions, was difficult to be taken. But the able *Consul* acted a wise Part. After an unexpected March, he came and posted himself in the little tract of Ground, which divided *Naples* from *Palæopolis*, and cut off the Communication between them. And whilst *Publilius* was maintaining his Troops in so advantageous a Post, and kept *Palæopolis* blocked up, his Collegue continued posted round *Capua*. There he received undoubted Intelligence, That the *Samnites* openly solicited the *Roman Colonies* to revolt; That they had endeavoured to seduce the *Privermates*, and the Inhabitants of *Fundi* and *Formiæ*; and lastly, That the whole Nation of the *Samnites* was inclined to War. Upon this, *Rome* thought it necessary to send an Embassy to *Samnium*, before she ordered her *Consul* *Cornelius* to enter upon Action. It is not said, that these Ambassadors were *Feciales*; these seem to have been sent only to Nations, with whom *Rome* never had had a War, and who were the first Aggressors. But be that as it will, the *Roman* Deputies met with a haughty Reception among the *Samnites*, who were determined to try their Strength once more with *Rome*. Their Senate complained of the Ambassadors, of the Proceedings of the Republick, and answered the Complaints of the *Romans* against them, in these Terms. *If some Samnites, said they, we gone to assist Palæopolis, this Proceeding was neither commanded nor autho-*

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So *Diodorus Siculus* makes one *Quintus Pompeius*, one of the *Consuls* for this Year 426, in the name of *Quintus Publilius*. But it is a manifest error. The Surname of *Lentulus*, alludes to the name of some of the *Cornelii* had for *Lentiles*.

51 The City of *Nola* has now nothing to recommend it, but its Antiquity. Some will have it to have been built by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*; but *Solinus* pretends, that the *Tyrians*

founded it. Whereas it is more probable, that it was begun by the *Tyrrheni*, who spread themselves all over the Coasts of *Italy*. The Name of this City has been conveyed down to us on a Medal, on the Face of which is an Head of *Minerva*, with the Figure of an Owl, (the Bird dedicated to her) on her Helmet. On the Reverse is a *Minotaur*, as on most of the Medals of *Great Greece*.

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BUT these haughty Reproaches did not make the Embassadors lose their Temper, and their Roman Moderation. The Injuries you complain of, answered they, require a great deal of time to be debated. As then we have common Allies and Friends, let us submit the Difference to their Arbitration. Arbitrators! cry'd the Samnites; we will have none but the Gods, and our Swords. Battels will determine our Pretensions better than Words and Judges. Mars shall put an end to our Disputes in the Plains of Campania. Go, Romans, tell your Consuls, we wait for them between Capua and Sueffula. Our Courage and Bravery will there determine, which of the two Nations ought to give Law to the rest of Italy. Then the Embassadors of Rome likewise assumed a stately Air, in their Turn. We shall not take our Orders, with regard to the Field of Battel, from you, replied they: Our Generals will lead us where they think fit, and we shall follow them. It is probable, the Romans suspected the Fidelity of the Capuans; and the Samnites gave them sufficient Grounds to understand, that they depended on the Defection of Campania.

THIS was the Situation of the Affairs of the Romans abroad, when their Thoughts were employed at home about new Elections. But the Consuls, to whom it belonged to preside in the Comitia, were usefully employed, the one round Palæopolis, the other near Samnium. The Republick therefore acted a wise Part; tho' as yet scarce authorized by Custom. She nominated a Dictator, only to preside in the Comitia, and left the two Consuls at the Head of their Armies, even when their Consulship should have expired. Cornelius nominated M. Claudius Marcellus, a Plebeian by Descent, to the Dictatorship, and Sp. Posthumus Albinus, was his General of Horse. But some restless Spirits thought fit to question the Validity of their Nomination; and their Doubts, when brought before the Tribunal of the Augurs, were judged reasonable. So that, the one being forced to abdicate his Dictatorship, the other his Command of the Horse, they did not hold the Comitia: And this Affront to Claudius, by the Augurs, excited the Murmurs of all the People against an ambitious College, which, under the Pretence of Religion, arbitrarily destroyed what the most venerable Assemblies had been doing. How was it possible, said they, for the Augurs, at so great a distance, to know the Defect which might happen, in Claudius's Nomination? Cornelius declared the Dictator, in the most still Part of the Night, even at Midnight, and in his Camp. The Consul never mentioned this pretended Defect in his Nomination to any body, either in publick or private. There is no one Witness of the Invalidity of these Auspices: nor was it possible for the Augurs to discover it, so far off. All the Misfortune is, that Claudius is a Plebeian. It is the People who are attacked by these sacrilegious Artifices; and the Nobility wickedly make the Gods Parties in their Cause. But these Complaints were ineffectual. An Interregnum followed the Deposition of the Dictator, and the Senator, whose Day it was to govern Rome, presided in the Comitia by Centuries. L. Æmilius, the fourteenth of those who governed Rome by Turns, was the Man who presided at the Election, wherein C. Poetilius ⁶² Libo, and L. Papirius Mugillanus, were promoted to the Consulate.

S. XV.

⁶² Livy does not here say, how often Caius Poetilius Libo Visolus was Consul; but it is nevertheless evident, that he was now raised to the Consular

Dignity a second time, in this Year 427; tho' Cæsar makes this the third time. He doubtless confounded the Caius Poetilius here spoken of with

§. XV. BUT tho' the former was now advanced to this Office a second time, neither he, nor his Collegue, enjoyed much of the Honours of their Employment. They did not, according to Custom, divide the two Armies the Romans then had in the Field, between them. They went together to command the Troops *Cornelius* had led into *Samnium*: whilst *Publius* continued the Blockade of *Palapolis*, with the Title of *Proconsul*. *Cornelius* seems to have given place to his two Successors in the *Consulship*; and they, after they had proclaimed War with the *Samnites*, began it happily enough. They had the Advantage of having their Army increased by unexpected Succours. The People of *Lucania*, and ⁶³ *Apulia*, who had hitherto had no manner of relation to the *Romans*, came to offer them both their Friendship, and their Service. Tho' both these Countries were comprehended under the general Name of *Great Greece*, yet it was doubted whether either of them was first peopled by *Greeks*. *Lucania*, in particular, had been from the beginning, inhabited by People, who descended from a Detachment of *Samnites*, who had settled themselves upon the Sea-shore. And as for the *Apulians*, it is uncertain whether they were originally *Italians*, or came from *Arcadia*, under the Conduct of ⁶⁴ *Japix* the Son of *Lycaon*. But however that be, these two Nations then joined themselves with the *Romans*, and the Republick

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with another, who had the same Name, *Prænomen*, and Surname. Whereas it is certain, from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that the former was the Son of the second, who triumphed over the *Gauls*, and the *Tirreni*, in the Year of *Rome* 393. In Proof of which we need only have Recourſe to those *Fasti*. There we find, that the *Caius Poetelius* who was *Consul*, and was created *Dictator*, in the Year 440, was the Son of one *Caius*, and the Grandson of another, *C. F. C. N.* Whereas the *Consul* for the Year 393, is thus described, *C. F. Q. N.* that is, the Son of *Caius*, and the Grandson of *Quintus*. And some Annals have, according to *Livy*, made *Papirius Cursor*, and not *Papirius Mugillanus*, *Caius Poetelius's* Collegue, one of the *Consuls* for this Year; this is only the Consequence of that Confusion, which the Resemblance of the following Names and Events has introduced into the Chronology of the *Consuls*. This is what we have already observed, with regard to the *Consular* Year 420, which is omitted in *Livy*; and with regard to the foundation of *Alexandria*, which *Livy*, upon the Credit of some Annalists, places in this Year 427. *Item anno Alexandriam in Ægypto proditum conditam*. It was easy to mistake one of the two *Consuls* of the same Name, who were in Office in these two different Years, for the other. *Marianus Scottus* comes as near as might be to other Writers, and gives, without any Grounds, that *Alexandria* was founded at two different times; first, about the Year of *Rome* 418, when *Marcus Valesius*, and *Marcus Atilius* were *Consuls*, and a second time, in the Year 427. But this is one of those arbitrary Suppositions, which are the last Refuge of a perplexed Author. *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the *Consuls* of this Year, gives *Caius Poetelius* the Name of *Popilius*; which is a Mistake of the Author, or the Copyist. The *Greek Tables* put *Papirius Cursor* in the room of *Papirius Mugillanus*. The Ambiguity and Uncertainty of *Livy*, with respect to the *Consulships* of the Years 420, and 427, is what has produced these Variations in the ancient Annals.

⁶³ The childish Etymology some Authors give the Name *Apulia*, is justly ridiculed; when they pretend to deduce it from *Apluvia*; a Word plainly their own coining, to shew, as they say, that it seldom rained in *Apulia*, agreeably to *Horace's* Description; *Siticulosa Apulia*; *Epod. Od. 3.* Others say that a King, named *Apulus*, came into this Country, and gave it his own Name, several Years before the Destruction of *Troy*. But these Etymologies have no better Foundation, than the Imaginations of the Poets, or the Conjectures of some Commentators, who, fond of searching to the bottom of things, err in their Enquiries, and take fa-

bulous Traditions for certain Facts. But however that be, *Apulia* was certainly divided into two Cantons. The first called formerly *Apulia Daunia*, now *Puglia Piana*, Part of *Capatinata*, towards Mount *Garganus*, between the Rivers *Fortore* and *Cervaro*. The second, called *Apulia Peucetia*, comprehends at present a Part of *Capatinata*, between the Rivers *Cervaro*, and *Offanto*, the Territory of *Bari*, a Part of the *Basilicata*, and of the Territory of *Otranto*. So that the whole Country of *Apulia* was bounded, to the North, by the *Trento* or *Fortore*, and the *Adriatic* Sea, as far as *Brindisi*; to the South, by the *Isthmus* between *Brindisi* and *Tarentum*, from *Tarentum* to the *Bradano*, which separated this Province from *Lucania*; and to the West, by the Country of the *Hirpini*, from the Head of the River *Bradano*, to that of the *Fortore*. At present, it reaches Eastward, and Northward, to the Coast of *The Gulph of Venice*; Southward, to *The Gulph of Tarentum*; and Westward, it is bounded by a Part of the *Basilicata*, *The Hither*, and *Further Principalities*, the County of *Molise*, and a Part of *The Further Abruzzo*. *La Pouille* has some pretty fruitful Plains, except only towards Mount *Garganus*, where the Country is dry and mountainous. We have spoken of *Lucania* already.

⁶⁴ *Antonius Liberalis, Libr. de Transformat.* declares himself of Opinion, that one *Japix*, the Son of *Lycaon*, came with his two Brothers, *Daunius* and *Peucetius*, into *Italy*, in order to discover new Countries, at the Head of an Army of *Illyrians*, and *Messapians*, who conquered the Provinces which were afterwards called *Daunia* and *Messapia*. On which Occasion we may observe the Uncertainty and Disagreement of Writers, when they treat of the Origin of Nations. We have before seen, that *Oenotrus* came with *Peucetius* into *Italy*; but here *Oenotrus* is forgotten, and it is *Daunius*, who comes with *Peucetius*, and a third Brother named *Japix*. Nor is this all: *Pliny, B. 3. c. 11.* and *Solinus, c. 8.* say, that the last of the three Brothers was the Son of *Dædalus*, and not of *Lycaon*. So true is it, as we have elsewhere observed, that we no sooner enter into these dark Roads of Antiquity, but we meet with Contradictions and Fables which disguise the Truth! *Strabo, B. 6.* says that several People and among others, the *Greeks* gave the name of *Japygia*, only to *Messapia*, or *Calabria*, and the Territory of the *Salentini*. But he at the same time acknowledges, that the whole Country of *Japygia*, comprehended *Calabria*, the Country of the *Salentini*, and *Apulia Daunia*, and *Peucetia*; and we adhere to this last Division, which we think most natural, and most agreeable to the ancient Geographers.

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entered into an Alliance with them. With this Reinforcement, the *Consuls* entered *Samnium*, and seized three Cities. One was ⁶⁵ *Allifæ*, in the Territory of the *Samnites*; the other two ⁶⁶ *Callifæ*, and ⁶⁷ *Rufrium*, in ⁶⁸ *Hirpinia*. The *Consular Army* carried their Ravages far into the Enemy's Country; but their Conquests did not equal that of *Palæpolis*, which *Publius* the *Proconsul* obliged to surrender, without shedding of Blood. The *Romans* had already possessed themselves of the chief Posts; they had already cut off the Communication between *Palæpolis* and *Naples*; the City was already straitened for Want of Provisions. But all these Evils fell far short of the Calamities the *Palæpolitans* suffered, by the ill Treatment of their Defenders. The *Samnites* and *Nolan Soldiers*, who had introduced themselves into the invested City, under pretence of strengthening its Garrison, kept the old Inhabitants in a cruel State of Slavery. They treated them like Slaves taken in War, and extended their extravagant Debaucheries, even to the abusing the Wives, and Sons, of these unhappy Citizens. All this the latter suffered with Patience at first, in hopes that the *Tarentini* would come to their Relief. The *Tarentini* were *Greeks*, as well as the *Palæpolitans*. So that the latter flattered themselves, that when they should become superior in Number to these Strangers, they should put a stop to their Disorders, and suppress their Insolence. But their Expectations were frustrated. The *Tarentini* were not in haste to come to their Succour. The *Palæpolitans* had therefore no Remedy left, but to surrender to *Publius*, and have recourse even to their Enemies, in order to deliver themselves from the Oppression of their Defenders. Two Magistrates then governed *Palæpolis*; in this, the *Greek City* imitated the *Roman Government*. One of these two *Consuls* was named *Nymphius*, the other *Charilaüs*. They conferred together, about the Design they both had formed, of surrendering up the City to the *Romans*. It is easy to observe here, that the *Greeks* of this *Colony*, brought their Cunning with them into *Italy*. *Nymphius* and *Charilaüs* divided the Execution of the Enterprize between them; each undertook to act a different Part. *Charilaüs* fled from the City as a Deserter, and came to *Publius* the *Proconsul*. In order to promote the Interests of *Rome*, said he, that I put myself into your Hands; and it is out of Love to my Country, that I come to make an Offer of it to you. Determine, by your Conduct, whether my Fellow-Citizens shall look on me as a Traitor, or as their Benefactor. Your Fidelity may secure me from the Scandal of having sacrificed my Country to you; or your Tyranny may cover me with eternal Confusion. I will not pretend to make a private Treaty with you, or attempt to turn the Happiness, I pretend to procure my Country, to my own Advantage. Desire of promoting the Publick Good is my only Motive, to reconcile *Palæpolis* to *Rome*. Put our Friendship to the Trial, *Romans*, and be assured you shall find us as constant in it, after we have fought yours with so much Danger, as we were formerly rash in despising it. The *Proconsul* approved of *Charilaüs's* Proposal; he commended the Generosity and Disinterestedness of the *Palæpolitans* Magistrate, and turned his Thoughts wholly to bring the Design to bear. *Nymphius*, in Agreement with his Colleague, had continued in *Palæpolis*, and tried all other Means, to deliver it, from the Strangers, which oppressed it. He continually weighed against the Desertion of *Charilaüs*, tho' fully resolved to act the same Part himself. As they kept up a Correspondence, they mutually informed each other of the Steps they took. The *Proconsul* put *Charilaüs* at the Head of 3000 *Romans* with Orders to attack the Town, in the Place where the *Samnites* defended it. *L. Quintius*, a *Legionary Tribune*, was commanded to sustain him. And in the mean time *Nymphius* contrived another Stratagem. He applied to the Commander of the *Samnites*, and gave him to understand, that it was very proper to draw the *Roman Armies* into other Places, and oblige them to quit *Samnium* and the Neighbourhood of *Palæpolis*. We ought, says he to him, to find Employment for these Conquerors in the *Roman Territory*, and keep them upon the

Liv. B. 8. c. 15.

⁶⁵ *Allifæ* still retains its ancient Name, with some little Variation, and is now called *Alifi*. It stands on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*.

⁶⁶ *Callifæ* is but a little City, now called *Carife*.

⁶⁷ *Rufrium*, now *Ruvo*, stands beyond the *Apennines*, and is an Episcopal City.

⁶⁸ *Hirpinia* was anciently a Part of *Samnium*; it is the Country now called *The Further Principality*. *Strabo*, B. 5. derives the Name of the *pini*, from one of their Heads, named *Lupus*, because *Hirpus*, in the *Samnite Tongue*, signifies the same as *Lupus* in the *Latin*.

defensive in their own Lands, by a speedy Diversion. Let us equip the Fleet we have in the Port, put our Soldiers on board it, and go and make a Descent in the Territory of Rome. I will undertake the Expedition myself, and be answerable for the Execution of it. This seemed wise Counsel, and all things were got ready to hasten the Departure of the Fleet. The Ships were laid up on the Shore; and *Nymphius* marched out a great Part of the Garrison to launch them. He took particular care to employ as many *Samnites* as he could, in this laborious Work. By this means, he left that Part of the Wall, which *Charilaüs* was to attack, without Men. *Nymphius* ordered the Preparations for his Departure to be made in the Night, under Pretence of concealing it from the Enemy: and made use of a thousand Artifices to retard the Equipment of the Fleet. While time was thus lost in the Port, and the Men employed there to no purpose; *Charilaüs*, and his Company, came to attack the City. He had his Friends there, who helped to let him in; and *Charilaüs* entered the Place with the *Legionaries*, and possessed himself of the Upper-City. The Inhabitants of *Palapolis* being restrained by their Officers, who were in the Secret, did not stir, at the Shouts of the *Romans*; and by their Inaction, the Strangers perceived that they were betrayed. The *Nolan* Soldiers therefore instantly opened the Gate, where they were upon Guard, and fled in Disorder towards their own Country. The *Samnites*, who had been led out of the City, to work upon the Shore, were dismissed there, and not suffered to return into it. Their Rout was the more grievous, as they saw they had been shamefully tricked. They fled with Precipitation, for fear of falling into the Hands of the *Roman* Soldiers. In short, they arrived in their own Country, without either Arms or Baggage, and were thereby exposed to the Ridicule of all their Neighbours and Countrymen, who continually reproached them with the foolish Project of *Palapolis*.

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INDEED, some Historians give a different Account of the Surrender of this City. They pretend, the *Samnites* betrayed those they came to defend. But the most credible Authors relate this Adventure as we have done. Besides, *Naples*, then the principal City of *Great Greece*, entered into a strict Alliance with *Rome* at this time: which is a sure Proof, that the *Greeks* surrendered voluntarily, and that no foreign Force had compelled them to become *Roman*. Liv. B. 8. c. 23.

WITH the Submission of *Palapolis* to the Republick, this first War with the *Greeks* seemed to be ended; and all that now seemed to be wanting, was to grant *Publius* the Honours of a Triumph: but great Difficulties were started against completing the Glory of the Conqueror. He was but a ⁶⁹ *Proconsul*, and no Triumph ⁷⁰ had yet been granted to any Subaltern. Besides, *Publius* was a *Plebeian*, and the Idol of the People. It was contrary to Custom, and merely out of Favour to the People, that he had been continued General of the Army, which was besieging *Palapolis*, with the Title of *Proconsul*. There had been other *Proconsuls* at *Rome*, who had been named by the Senate, but none had ever been appointed by the Suffrages of the People, before ⁷¹ *Publius*. Nevertheless, his Protectors pro-

⁶⁹ See what we have said of the *Proconsulate*, Vol. I. p. 352. Note 33. and p. 386. Note 8.

⁷⁰ The *Roman* Laws, in their strict Rigour, would not permit the Honours of a Triumph to be granted to any but *Consuls*, *Dictators*, *Military Tribunes*, and in a word, Magistrates of the first Rank, in whom the supreme Power in *Rome* was lodged. So that the *Pro-Consuls*, and *Pro-Prators*, who were Governours of Provinces, or Commanders of Armies, in extraordinary Cases, had no Right to it. They were thought Subalterns; and notwithstanding the Success they had had in the Expedition they were entrusted with, yet they were still deemed to act under the *Auspices* of the *Consuls*, who were the first Magistrates in the Republick. For this Reason, *Publius Scipio* was not permitted to enter *Rome* in a triumphant manner, tho' he had, after a long Course of Victories, destroyed the Power of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, which they were forced to give up to the Conquerors. And the *Roman* Story furnishes us with several Instances of this kind. Such

was the Rigour and Vigilance of the *Romans*, not to suffer the ancient Laws to be infringed, under any Pretence whatsoever. But we shall hereafter see *Rome* abate of this Rigour, in favour of the Great *Pompey*, &c.

⁷¹ The *Proconsular* Dignity was conferred on *Publius Philo*, according to *Livy*, B. 8. at the Request of the *Tribunes of the People*; whence it's evident, that the *Pro-Consuls* began then to be elected in the *Comitia by Tribes*. That Historian gives us several Instances, which all confirm this Custom, except that of *Publius Scipio*, who was honoured with the *Proconsulate*, by the People assembled by *Centuries*. It is true, the Republick then receded from its usual Custom: But it ought to be remembered, that considering the critical Circumstances *Rome* was then in, she could not be too cautious in the Choice of a General, who was alone to be entrusted with the Management of the most important Interests of the State.

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cured him likewise the Honours of a ⁷² Triumph, tho' contrary to Custom, he being neither *Consul*, nor *Dictator*. His Procession was made on the first Day of *May*, in sight of the *Consuls* of the Year, who did not triumph, tho' they had been victorious in *Samnium*. This double Honour, which the People procured *Publius*, was an ample Revenge, for the Affront they had received the last Year, when, through the Injustice of the *Augurs*, a *Plebeian Dictator* was obliged to lay down his Office. So true is it, that the Power of the two Parties were at that time perfectly equal in *Rome*; and that the Advantages of the one, were immediately compensated by the Superiority assumed by the other!

Liv. B. 8. c. 24.

§. XVI. THE taking of *Palæpolis* stirred up new Enemies against the *Romans* in *Great Greece*. The *Tarentini* began to grow jealous of the Success which attended *Rome*, in all her Undertakings. They had promised to send Succours to the *Palæpolitans*; but had only raised their Expectations of them, and not sent them. Nevertheless, the bare Hopes they had given the Besieged of them, kept up their Courage for a time; and the Despair of receiving them, had obliged *Palæpolis* to surrender. As soon then as this City became subject to the *Romans*, the *Tarentini* awaked out of their Lethargy, and their Interest made them more impatient. They inveighed against the *Palæpolitans* for a Misfortune, which their own Dilatoriness had brought upon them. And what gave them yet more Uneasiness, was the Revolt of the *Lucani* and *Apulians*, who had voluntarily gone over to the *Romans*, and declared for them, against the *Samnites*. *What will become of us?* said these *Greeks*, who had more Eloquence and Cunning than Bravery; *Must we either bear the Yoke of the Romans, or have them our Enemies? The imperious Republick makes great Advances towards us; and every new Conquest threatens Tarentum. Samnium is the only Barrier between them and us. But what can the Samnites do, without the Assistance of the Lucani? Is it not then possible to bring them back to the common Interest of Greece; at least by some Contrivance which may give them a Dislike to the Party which they have embraced?* The *Greeks* were always very ready at Artifices and Tricks. The *Tarentini* invented one whereby they deceived the *Lucani*, and brought them off from the *Romans*. They hired a Company of young *Lucani*, of noble Families in their own Country, but Men of very little true Honour, who, at their Persuasion, tore the Skins off their Backs with Whips, and then shewed themselves openly to the People, with their Shoulders bare. *Let the Sight*, said they, *of the ill Usage we have met with among the Romans, make due Impressions on you. Curiosity led us to their Camp, where we were carried before the Consuls, and have experienced their Cruelty. By their Orders, we were whipped, till covered with Blood; and narrowly escaped losing our Heads by the Axes of their Lictors.* The Imposture was a gross one, and nothing was more easy, than to have discovered the Cheat; but the *Lucani* were a stupid People, and the *Greeks* thought this Trick sufficiently covered, to deceive them. In short, these good-natured Men were more struck with the supposed Injury, than the real Lye. They were enraged at the one, and neglected to examine into the other. At last all, with great Outcries, demanded to have their National Senate assembled. The People, who surrounded the Magistrates, cried out, *A War, A War; Let War be declared with the Romans!* Others, who were dispersed about the Country, filled all People with an Indignation against *Rome*; and even the most sensible Men suffered themselves to be carried away by this popular Error. The *Lucanian* Senate therefore made a Decree, commanding that the ancient Alliances with the *Samnites* should be renewed, and an Embassy sent to them, for that Purpose. And this precipitate Resolution was yet more rashly put in Practice. The *Samnites* could scarce be brought to believe the Deputation real. They deliberated, whether it were proper to trust to a Determination so hasty, and founded upon so improbable an Event. And therefore they took Securities of these *Lucani*, before they would believe the Embassadors. They demanded Hostages of them, and insisted on their receiving *Samnite* Garrisons into

⁷² The *Fasti Capitolini* sufficiently shew, that the granting a Triumph to a *Pro-Consul* was a new thing, never done before. They record the Triumph of *Publius* in this manner. P. PUBLILIUS. Q. F. Q. N. PHILO. II. CDXXVII PRIMUS PROCONSUL DE SAM-

NITIBUS ET PALÆPOLITANIS. That is, *Quintus Publius*, the Son of *Quintus*, and Grandson of *Quintus*, was the first *Pro-Consul* who triumphed over the *Samnites* and *Palæpolitans*.

the Towns in *Lucania*. At length, a greater Light discovered the Error; but it did not cure the Madness of the *Lucani*. They all plainly saw they had been deceived, as soon as they saw the Authors of the Calumny all retire to *Tarentum*, to escape the Punishment due to their Imposture. But what was to be done? They were gone too far, to be able to return; and it was not in their Power to break through the Engagements they had entered into with the *Sammites*. The *Lucani* were no longer Masters of their own Towns: nothing remained, but a fruitless Repentance for a rash Proceeding, and mad Credulity.

§. XVII. In the mean time, *Tarentum*, with all its Cunning, wanted Prudence, and brought upon itself fatal Quarrels with *Rome*. That *Greek* City had very lately lost its main Support, in the Person of *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*. This Prince, who gave way to the Desires of Conquest, had often crossed the Sea, under Pretence of succouring the *Tarentini*, and had taken several Cities from the *Lucani* and the *Bruttii*, then their Enemies. Till at length he lost his Life in *Italy*, where he hoped to have enlarged his Conquests. The Memory of this Event, blended with Fables as it is, is perpetuated by the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians. Before *Alexander* left *Epirus*, say they, he consulted the Oracle of ⁷³ *Dodona*, to know what good or ill Success would attend him, in the remaining Part of his Life: And he was told, ⁷⁴ *That the Waters of Acheron would prove fatal to him*; and the God admonished him, *to avoid the City of Pandosia, where he would finish his Days*. ⁷⁵ *Acheron* was a River of *Epirus*, and ⁷⁶ *Pandosia* a City in the same Country. The Oracle therefore obliged the King of *Epirus* to quit his Kingdom immediately, since his Residence in it might prove fatal to him. He came and made War in *Italy*. *Alexander* did not then know, that in the Country of the *Bruttii*, in *Great Greece*, there was ⁷⁷ another River called *Acheron*, and another

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D. Sic. B. 17.
Liv. B. 3. c. 24.

⁷³ *Dodona* was a City of *Epirus*, and stood in the Country of the *Molossi*. The Poets and fabulous Writers derive its Name from a Sea-Nymph, a Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*. In the Neighbourhood of this City, there stood a celebrated Temple dedicated to *Jupiter*, and a Forest of Oaks, which was famous for Oracles. *Homer* speaks of *Odyss. B. 4.* *Herodotus*, in his second Book called *Enterpe*, gives us a large Description of the Oracle of *Dodona*. The Priests of the Place, says he, report, upon the Credit of an ancient Tradition, That black Pigeons flew, one to *Lybia*, and the other to *Dodona*; That the latter, after it had perched upon an Oak, spoke, and declared that it was *Jupiter's* Will, that a Temple should be built to him in that place; and, That the other Pigeon declared in like manner, the Necessity of erecting the Temple which afterwards called the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. For the Tales that *Herodotus*, and others after him, have invented, in order to find some Foundation in History for this Fable, we shall not trouble the Reader with them. Such Trifles are foreign to *Roman* History, and ought to be left to the *Mythologists*. *Pliny*, B. 2. boasts much of the Quality of a Spring, near *Dodona*. He says its Waters, means of the sulphurous Vapours which were issued from them, had the Quality of lighting torches newly put out, and of putting out those which were lighted; as has been since said of the *Spring* in *Dauphiny*. We refer the Reader to him, as to this Particular, as well as that of the Sound of the Temple of *Dodona*, the Sound of which lasted a long Space of Time; and from whence came the Proverb of *Æs Dodoneum*, to signify a great Speaker. There are now no Footsteps of *Dodona* remaining.

Strabo relates the Answer of the Oracle in different Terms, in this single Verse,

Πανδοσίη Τρικέλανι πολὺν ποταὸν ὀλίγησσις.

It is, *Pandosia* shall be the Ruin of a numerous People. *Alexander*, says *Strabo*, interpreting the ambiguous Answer of the Oracle in his own Favour, persuaded himself that *Epirus*, meant as he supposed by the City of *Pandosia*, in the Country of the

Molossi, should exterminate the Nations he intended to conquer.

⁷⁵ This is the *Acheron*, which has given Rise to so many poetical Fictions, and which the Geographers call *Fanar*, or *Verlichy*. *Pliny* makes it rise in the Marshes of *Acherusa*; and says it empties itself (after having been increased by several Rivers) into *The Gulph of Ambracia*, now *The Gulph of Larta*; or rather, according to *Livy*, into *The Gulph of Thesprotia*, now *The Gulph of Butrinto*. Near the Lake of *Acherusa*, there was a Cavern, which the Poets fictitiously represented as the Mouth of Hell, from whence they supposed the *Acheron* tumbled down into the Region of the Dead, where it finished its Course. Another Lake of *Acherusa*, near *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, gave Rise to that monstrous Jumble of Fables, which consisted of many ridiculous Tales, the Absurdity of which was visible even to Children, and the common People; as *Juvenal* observes, *Sat. 6.* Near this Lake, the *Ægyptians*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, carried the Bodies of their Dead, and placed them in a Bark belonging to a Waterman, whose Name, in their Language, was *Charon*; who carried them over to the other Shore, which was the Burial-Place appointed for them. And he adds, that *Orpheus* brought into *Greece*, from *Egypt*, the fabulous Stories of *Charon* the Pilot, and of the Empire of *Pluto*. Near *Cuma* there is a third Lake, which was also called *Palus Acherusia*. This Marsh is made by the Overflowings of the Sea. Some Authors have confounded it with the Lake *Lucrinus*, and the Lake *Avernus*. It is now called *Lago di Collucia*. *Strabo*, B. 8. speaks of a River *Acheron*, which waters *Elis*, a maritime Country of *Peloponnesus*, and runs into the River *Alpheus*. On the Banks of this River, the *Greeks* erected three Temples, one to *Ceres*, another to *Pluto*, and a third to *Proserpine*.

⁷⁶ The ancient Geographers place *Pandosia*, a City of *Epirus*, in the Country of the *Molossi*.

⁷⁷ The River *Acheron* here spoken of, was in the Country of the *Bruttii*. It is thought to be the present *Sanuto*, or *Campaniano*, which discharges itself into *The Gulph of St. Euphemia*, formerly called *Sinus Terinaus*, or *Sinus Hiponiatas*, on account of its

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ther 7⁸ City called *Pandosia*. Being therefore fully persuaded his Life would be no Danger there, he hazarded his Person in Battels, besieged Cities, and made himself Master of 7⁹ *Heraclea*, 8⁰ *Cosentia*, 8¹ *Sipontum*, and 8² *Terina*, Cities partly belonging to the *Bruttii*, and partly in *Lucania*. In order to secure the Fidelity of the Conquered, he had already sent 300 Hostages to *Epirus*, all chosen out of

its being near the Cities of *Terina*, and *Hypponium*. The *Acheron* rose in a Hill, just by the City of *Pandosia*. *Pliny* and *Strabo* call the Nations who lived near this River *Populi Acherontini*. *Procopius* speaks of the Fort *Acherontis*, in the same Canton; it was probably the Remains of the City of *Acherontia*, which was watered by the *Acheron*, according to *Pliny*, B. 3. c. 5. Add to this, that the *Acherontia* here spoken of, was a different Place from a City of the same Name, which belonged to *Apulia*, and stood on the Frontiers of *Calabria*. *Horace* tells us, *Carm. B. 3.* that this last City stood on an Eminence.

Tenent quicumque celsæ nidum Acherontia.

Some modern Geographers think this the same City which is now called *Circenza*, an Archiepiscopal City in the Kingdom of *Naples*, situated on the Banks of the *Bradano*, and the Capital of the *Basilicata*. The two Medals in the adjoining Plate, which have this Inscription, *AXEPONTAN*, relate to one of these two Cities. On the Face of the first, is the Head of a *Jupiter*; and on the Reverse, an Horseman who beats down his Adversary. On the second is a Goat, which the *Romans* consecrated to *Juno Sospita*. This Animal used to be sacrificed to *Minerva*, as being an Enemy to Olive-trees, of which she was the Protectress; and the Coiner perhaps intended to represent one of these two Divinities, by the Head on the second Medal. The *Acherontini* might perhaps intend to allude, by the Emblem of the Goat, to the melancholy Fate of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*. This Prince was descended from *Caranus*, the first King of *Macedon*; who, according to *Justin*, put himself at the Head of a Multitude of *Greeks* who sought for new Habitations, and following a Company of Goats, as the Oracle directed him, came and possessed himself of *Ædessa*. This City was afterwards called *Ægea*, from the Goats, which had been *Caranus's* Guides in his Journey.

7⁸ The City of *Pandosia* was, according to *Scylax*, a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Plataea*. It bordered upon the Country of the *Bruttii* and *Lucani*, as we learn from *Livy*, who says, that *Alexander* perished in sight of this City. *Haud procul Pandosia, Urbe imminente Lucanis ac Bruttii Finibus.* *Strabo* says, *Pandosia* was a Castle placed on a Hill which had three Summits. Some think, there are yet some Ruins of it remaining near *Castel Franco*, in *The Hither Calabria*; or, according to *Hollstenius*, near *Mendocino*. We find some Footsteps of this City on two Medals. The radiated Head of *Apollo*, and the *Tripes*, on the first, perhaps point out the particular Worship which the *Pandosians* paid this God. And the warlike Genius of the Inhabitants, and the Strength of the City, are supposed to be represented, one by the Head of the God *Mars*, and the other by the Head crowned with Towers, on the second Medal.

7⁹ *Heraclea* was a City of *Lucania*, which was thought to have been built by the *Tarentini*; it stood between the Rivers *Siris* and *Aciris*, now the *Seno* and the *Agri*, three Miles from the Sea. *Strabo* says, B. 6. that the *Trojans* had built a City at the Mouth of the *Siris*, which they called by the Name of that River; and that afterwards the *Tarentini* founded a City some Miles from thence, which they called *Heraclea*, and in which the Inhabitants of *Siris* settled. From which time, adds he, the old City has served for a Port to the new. The ancient Geographers give the latter the several Names of *Lauternia*, *Plium*, *Policum*, and *Sigium*. See

Cluver. Ital. Antiq. p. 1273. *Siris* is supposed to have stood in the Place where *Torre San Basilio* now stands; and *Heraclea* is thought to have been situated near *Policaro*.

8⁰ *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Livy*, place *Cosentia* in the Country of the *Bruttii*, near the *Adriatic* Sea. It is now the Capital of *The Hither Calabria*, and called *Cosenza*. It stands near the River *Crati*, formerly the *Cratis*, ten or twelve Miles from the Sea.

8¹ *Sipontum*, a City of *Apulia*, was, according to *Strabo*, built by *Diomedes*. It has suffered much by the Incursions of the *Saracens*, as by Earthquakes. The Ruins of it are yet to be seen, a little from *Mansfredonia*. We think ourselves obliged to observe here, that *Livy* places both *Cosentia* and *Sipontum*, in *Lucania*: And yet he himself acknowledges, B. 29 and 30, that the former stood in the Country of the *Bruttii*: and all Geographers agree that the latter belonged to *Apulia*. Did not I therefore intend to signify, that *Sipontum* had become subject to the *Lucani*, by Right of Conquest? But, besides that this City was a pretty way from *Lucania*, we have no account in Story, that *Lucania* and *Apulia* had been at War. *Cluverius* therefore removes the Difficulty, by a Correction he makes in the Text of *Livy*; and thinks that, instead of *Sipontum*, we ought to read *Metapontum*, which was indeed in the Country of the *Lucani*. But by thus avoiding one Difficulty, we fall into another. *Justin* tells us, B. 2. that *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, made an Alliance with the *Metapontians*, and it is not therefore probable, that this Prince should make himself Master of their City, contrary to his Treaties; unless it be said, that he only put a Garrison in *Metapontum*, to secure the Fidelity of the Inhabitants. The Reader is to chuse which Opinion he pleases. As to *Cosentia*, these Passages of *Livy* may be reconciled, by saying, that *Lucania* then reached as far as to *Cosentia*; or that the *Histors* comprehended the *Bruttii* under the general Name of *Lucani*; either because the *Bruttii* descended from the *Lucani*, as we have already observed; or because their common Interest had so united the two Nations, that they were become one People. So we think we ought to read *Potentiam* (now *Potenza*, a City of *Lucania*) instead of *Cosentiam*.

8² *Pliny*, on the Credit of *Phlegon*, says, that *Terina* was built by the City of *Crotona*, on the Coasts of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, a little way from the River *Ocinarus*, now the *Savato*, near *The Gulf of Terina*, which the Natives now call *The Gulf of St. Euphemia*. *Gabriel Bari* believes, that this City stood near *Nuceria*. There are three Medals in the 15th Plate, No. 5, 6, 7, which have perpetuated the Name of *Terina*. On the Reverse of them all, a winged Victory sitting. *Sicily* is represented on the sixth Medal, by its usual Symbol of three Towers joined together, which denote its three Promontories. Perhaps the *Terinates* had formerly been subject to the *Sicilians*; or had made an Alliance with them. In several Editions of *Livy*, we read *Bruttiorum Coloniam Acerinam*, instead of *Bruttiorum Terinam*, as the Text is now corrected by *Grevius*. Finding it impossible to discover any City among the *Bruttii*, called *Acerina*, he cuts off the Word *Coloniam*, upon the Authority of some MSS. and follows *Glarean* and *Sigonius*, who have put *Terinam* in its room. But *Cluverius* thinks ought to read *Coloniam Acerinam*; tho' he does not pretend to fix the Situation of this Colony, which the Ancients don't so much as mention.

*See Plate 15.
No. 3, 4.

most noble Families of the Country he had conquered. He likewise prepared to make his Advantage of these happy Beginnings, and had divided his Army into three Bodies, which he posted on three Hills, divided by deep Valleys. The *Acheron* of *Italy* ran in one of these Valleys, and the little City of *Pandosia* stood on the Banks of it. The King of *Epirus*'s Guard consisted of 200 *Lucani*, who, angry with their Country, from which they had been driven, had fled to him for Refuge. Whilst he continued in this Camp, from whence he sent out Parties to ravage the neighbouring Country, sudden Rains fell, which overflowed the Valleys. This broke off the Communication between the three Bodies of the King's Troops; and their Enemies took hold of this favourable Opportunity, to attack separately the two Posts, where the King was not, and which the Inundation hindered him from assisting. These two Divisions of *Alexander*'s Army were easily beaten, and put to Flight. Then the whole *Lucanian* and *Bruttian* Army lost no time in surrounding the Hill, on which the King himself was posted. And there the unhappy Prince experienced, how dangerous it is to trust one's Life in the Hands of Deserters, who are always ready to reconcile themselves to their Countrymen. The *Lucani* of *Alexander*'s Guard, wrote to the Generals of their Nation, promising, that if they might be received into Favour, they would deliver up the King of *Epirus* alive or dead. The Proposal was accepted, and the Traitors only waited for a favourable Opportunity, to put their Treachery in Execution. *Alexander* was brave: He broke his Way through his Enemies, who besieged his Camp, and killed one of their Generals with his own Hands. After his bold Action, he forced his Passage through all that opposed his Retreat; and escaping out of the Wood, took his Way towards the River, the Name of which he knew not. The Bridge he was to go over, in order to get to the opposite Bank, was broken down by the Violence of the Inundation: but he persuaded himself, that the River was fordable, by the Help of the Ruins which were fallen into it. Then one of the *Epirote* Soldiers, when he saw the King in Danger, in a passage not easy to be got over, cried out, *Accursed Acheron, thou art justly called* ⁸³ *a fatal Name!* At which Words, *Alexander* remembered the Answers of the Oracle, and feared his Fate approached. He hesitated a little, demurring whether he should go quite cross the River, or not, when one of his Attendants called out to him, *Hasten, my Lord, to the opposite Bank. The Lucani, your Guard, seek to destroy you.* At this, the King instantly turned about, and seeing the Company of the Conspirators coming to fall upon him, drew his Sword, and made that haste he could to cross the River, which was not broad. And he had already reached the Land, when one of the treacherous *Lucani* threw a Dart at him from great distance, and killed him with it. Thus perished this ⁸⁴ imaginary Conqueror, who had promised himself, as glorious a Career, as that of *Alexander the Great*. The latter was then at the height of his Victories, and little expected, that he should soon meet with as melancholy a Fate, as this of his Uncle, the King of *Epirus*. Thus ⁸⁵ the *Lucani* were delivered from a foreign Enemy; but by their Attachment to the *Sammites*, they had brought upon themselves a more formidable one. The *Romans* will, sooner or later, make them severely repent of their Revolt.

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⁸³ The Greek Word *Acheron*, taken in a literal sense, was indeed an inauspicious Term, and was much as to say, *A River*, or *Torrent of Grief*.

⁸⁴ *Alexander of Epirus* died in the Year of the World 3658, the third Year of the 113th Olympiad, out fourteen Years after his first Expedition into Italy, and two Years before the Death of *Alexander the Great*, who died in the first Year of the 4th Olympiad, and the 3660th Year of the World, according to *Petavius*'s Calculations.

⁸⁵ According to *Livy*, the River in which the King of *Epirus* expired, of the Wound he had received by the Dart thrown at him, carried his Body towards the Enemy's Camp, who immediately seized

After they had horribly defaced it, they used it with all the Indignity that Rage and Revenge could suggest. They cut it in two Parts, one of which they sent to *Cosentia*. The Soldiers made Sport with the other, and set up half the mangled Body

of this unfortunate Prince, for a Mark to throw Darts and Stones at. Till at length, a Woman, who was accidentally a Spectatress of this cruel Sight, and whose Husband and Children had been taken by *Alexander*'s Troops, came with Tears in her Eyes, and entreated these Barbarians to desist from these Outrages, and give her the scattered Remains of this Prince. She represented to them, that she should easily purchase the Redemption of her Husband and Children with them; and the Soldiers granted her Request, and gave her that Part of the Body they had in their Possession. By the Care of this Woman, all the dispersed Parts of it, that could be found, were gathered up, and buried at *Cosentia*. The Bones were carried to *Metapontum*, and from thence removed to *Epirus*, where they were put into the Hands of *Cleopatra*, and *Olympias*, one the Wife, the other the Sister, of the late King.

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gua Latina;
and Suidas on
the Word Va-
cas.

§. XVIII. WHILST the Affairs of the Republick were thus prosperous abroad, the poor Citizens had the good Fortune, to shake off the only Yoke, which now lay heavy upon them. By one of the Laws of the *Twelve Tables*, Creditors were empowered to seize their insolvent Debtors, and keep them in Irons. These Debtors, tho' Freemen, were detained at their Creditors Houses, in a kind of Slavery; which was to continue, till by their Services or Labour, they had discharged the Sums they owed. These poor Citizens were in all respects Slaves, but in Name. The latter were called *Servi*, and the former *Nexi*, i. e. *Bound*; because their Liberty was, as it were, *bound* up by the Chains put on them by their Creditors; and the Use of it suspended, tho' but for a time. A young *Plebeian*, of extraordinary Beauty, and of a good Family, if we may judge of it by his Name, which was *Publius*, had voluntarily made himself a Slave to *L. Papirius*, in order to pay his Father's Debts. *Papirius*⁸⁶ conceived a detestable Passion for the young *Roman*, and used all possible Means to get the better of his Virtue. The Beauty and Ingenuity of the Slave, should at least have excited the Compassion of his Master: but they only stirred up in him unlawful Desires. From Carresses he proceeded to Threatnings, and from Threatnings to ill Usage. The infamous *Papirius* looked on the Accomplishment of his Desires, as an additional Debt, which was to be paid him, besides the Money demanded; and pretended, that he would always treat him with the Rigour of a severe Creditor, till *Publius* should make himself an Accomplice in his Crime. But nevertheless, neither Solicitations, nor Fear, could shake the Constancy of the young *Roman*. The Master therefore vented all his Rage upon his Slave, and caused him to be whipped, till he had torn his Body all over. This cruel Treatment made *Publius* reflect, more than ever, both on his Birth, and his Education. He escaped out of his Creditor's House, all over bloody, complained openly of the base Usage he had met with, and published his Master's Crime to the World. The People crowded round the young *Publius*, who bore the Marks of the Rage of a passionate Master, in his Face and bloody Body; and were moved with Compassion towards the young *Roman*. Every one considered how far his own Interest, and the Honour of the Publick, were concerned in the Case; and to what Danger the Virtue of the Citizens was exposed by the Law. The unfortunate *Publius* was first brought into the *Forum Romanum*, and from thence led to the Door of the Temple, in which the Senate used to assemble. It seems to have been the Fate of *Rome*, to have great Revolutions brought about in her, by the Incontinence of private Persons. The *Regal* Power, and the *Decemvirate*, had already been abolished; the one, on Occasion of the Violence offered to *Lucretia*; the other, of the Attempts *Claudius* made on *Virginia's* Honour. So ardent a Love had the *Roman* People for Chastity! And now the Affair of *Publius* caused a Law to be abolished, which the Commons had long thought intolerable; tho' at first enacted with an Appearance of Justice. The tumultuous Populace were so clamorous, that they forced the Consuls to assemble the Senators. As soon as they came, the Citizens fell down at their Feet, held them by the Knees, demanded Justice, and shewed them the Wounds in *Publius's* Back: And the Senate had regard to the Cries of the People. They indeed decreed nothing against *Papirius*, whose Attempts on the Person of the young Slave, were not perhaps sufficiently proved: But they passed a Decree, which was readily accepted, and confirmed by the People assembled in *Comitia*. It enacted, *That for the future, no Person should be put in Irons, and provisionally corrected, at the Will of his Master, till the Fault was fully proved; and That Creditors should only have a Right to attach the Goods, and not to seize the Bodies of their Creditors.* If the Republick, by this means, weakened in some measure the Force of Contracts, it at least preserved the People from a very burdensome kind of Slavery. So that the Commons looked on the Repeal of this severe Law, as a Renewal of Liberty.

⁸⁶ It is uncertain, who this *Lucius Papirius* was, whose Incontinence made him the Curse of the *Romans*. The Historian has not given us his Surname. It is not probable, that the Consul of this Name,

who was now in his Office in this Year 427, should have been guilty of so monstrous a Crime. Besides, had he been the Man, *Livy* would doubtless have said so.

§. XIX. IN the mean time, *Rome* was embarrassed with the great Number of Enemies she had to contend with. Besides the *Lucani*, who had joined the *Samnites* the last Year, the *Vestini* likewise had taken Part with the Enemies of the Republick. The ⁸⁷ *Vestini* were indeed but a small Nation, having only five Cities under their Jurisdiction ; but they were brave, and originally *Sabines* ; and their Territory, which was watered with two Rivers, lay along the Coast of the *Adriatick* Sea. They were surrounded by the *Marfi*, the *Peligni*, and the ⁸⁸ *Marrucini*, all originally descended from the *Sabines*, as well as themselves ; and were more formidable on account of their Neighbours, than of themselves. As soon as the new Consuls, *L. Furius* ⁸⁹ *Camillus*, now chosen a second time, and *P. Junius Brutus*, entered upon their Office ; they made it their first Concern to consult the Senate, whether *Rome* should declare War with the *Vestini*. It was an Affair that required to be seriously deliberated, tho' it seemed to be of little Importance. It was equally dangerous to march Troops into the District of the *Vestini*, or to let them escape unpunished. Should the *Romans* enter their Country Sword in hand, it was natural enough for their Neighbours to take up Arms in their Defence : In which Case, the united *Marfi*, *Peligni*, and *Marrucini*, would bring a Body of Forces against the *Romans*, equal at least, both in Strength and Courage, to the *Samnites*. On the other hand, it was not consistent with the Honour and Dignity of the *Roman* People, to suffer a Confederacy to be formed against the Republick with Impunity. And at length, Pride prevailed over Precaution. The Event was what one could justify the Boldness of the *Romans* ; and Fortune made it prosperous. Two Armies were ordered to be raised, one to act against the *Vestini*, the other against the *Samnites*. The Generals chose their Commands by Lot, and the War with the *Vestini* fell to *Brutus*, that with the *Samnites* to *Camillus*. The whole success of the Campaign depended on the Care the Consuls should take, to hinder the *Vestini* and *Samnites* from joining : And this *Brutus* took upon himself. He came and encamped on the Frontiers, between the two Nations, while *Camillus* entered *Samnium*. Then *Brutus* made the *Vestini* repent of their Attachment to the Enemies of *Rome*. He had several Skirmishes with them, and always with Success. The Consequence of these first Advantages, was the Ravage of the Enemy's Country. All that the Soldiers could not carry away, was burnt. Neither Men, Houses, nor Corn, were spared. At last, the Ruin of their Country forced the *Vestini* to hazard a Battel. This rash People experienced, in the open Field, the Power of those invincible *Legions*, which was as yet unknown to them. The *Vestini* indeed long disputed the Victory, and made it cost their Enemies a great deal of Blood. But at last they were overcome, put to Flight, and retired into their Camp. Then they soon saw that they were not in a Condition to keep the Field, and marching out of their Entrenchments, they had no Refuge left but the Walls of their Cities. And the brave *Brutus* would not let them long enjoy that Security. The gaining of this Battel was followed by Sieges. The *Roman* Troops first attempted to take ⁹⁰ *Cutina* by Assault ; and perhaps never Consul found more Arrer in his Men, than *Brutus* did, when they were to begin the Storm. Most of them were yet sore with the Wounds they had received in the late Battel ; and the hopes of Revenge increased their Valour. In short, the Place was taken by As-

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Strabo speaks of the *Vestini*, as of a Branch of *Samnites* ; and consequently the former, as well as the latter, must have come originally from *Sabines*. Whilst others think they were originally descended from the People of *Illyricum*. *Suidas* calls them *Bucini* ; and says, this Name agreed perfectly with this savage and barbarous Nation. They inhabited that Part of *The Further Abruzzo*, which is bounded towards the North by the River *Matrinus*, towards the South by the River *Piomba*. It was bounded to the South-West by the *Alternus*, or *Pascara* ; and to the East, by the *Adriatic* Sea.

The *Marrucini* were a Part of the *Marfi*, (who themselves a Branch of the *Sabines*) and possessed the Territory of *Chieti* in *The Hither Abruzzo*. We have spoken of the *Marfi* and *Peligni* al-

The *Furian* Family was divided into two Branches, one of which was *Plebeian*, according to L. II.

to *Livy*. He speaks of one *Lucius Furius*, B. 9. who was a *Tribune of the People* ; a Dignity which is well known to have been appropriated to *Plebeians*. The other Branch of the *Furii* was *Patrician* ; and comprehended The *Camilli*, The *Philii*, The *Craffipedes*, and The *Purpureo's*. Whether the *Brochi*, whom we find mentioned on Medals, were *Plebeians*, or *Patricians*, is uncertain. Add to this, that the *Lucius Furius* here spoken of, was the Grandson of the great *Camillus*, who drove the *Gauls* out of *Rome*.

⁹⁰ *Livy* is the only Author who speaks of *Cutina*. We find no Footsteps of it in the ancient Geographers. *Cluverius* supposes, that an Error is crept into the Text, by the Mistake of the Copyists ; who might easily read *Cutina*, instead of *Aufina*, a City in the Country of the *Vestini*, which is now called *Osena*, or *Oseno*.

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 fault: And the *Romans* shewed the same Spirit before ⁹¹ *Cingilia*, a City which underwent the same Fate with *Cutina*. They were both plundered, and all the Booty given as a Reward for the Valour of the Soldiers, whom neither Walls, nor the Resistance of a formidable Enemy, could discourage. After so glorious a Campaign, it seems natural for *Brutus* to have triumphed. But we find no Traces of any Triumph he enjoyed, either in History, or on the *Capitoline Marbles*. Perhaps this War was considered only as an Appendix to that with the *Samnites*. The Senate might probably not think the Conquest of the *Vestini* completed, as long as their Allies were in a Condition to defend them.

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 L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.
 §. XX. THE Consul *Camillus* made it his constant Business to keep the *Samnites* upon the defensive, in their own Country. But a violent Fit of Sickness obliged him to quit both the Camp and the Command of the Troops. The Senate likewise forced him to nominate a *Dictator*, to take his Place in the Army, and carry on the important Enterprize committed to his Conduct. In this free Choice which *Camillus* had of a Successor, he did not regard those Suggestions of Jealousy, which a vain Love of Glory sometimes raises, in the Hearts of military Men. All the Passions of the *Romans* seemed at that time to be wholly subject to that single one of Love for their Country. Among the many Generals, which had then distinguished themselves in Arms, *Camillus* chose out the most brave, able, and steady *Roman*, to raise him to the *Dictatorship*. This Great Man was *L. Papirius*, surnamed *Cursor*; that is, *Racer*, because he excelled in *running*. The Vigour of his Mind, and Intrepidity of his Heart, were equal to the Strength of his Body. Tho' severe in punishing Breaches of Discipline, he knew how to moderate the Excesses of an extravagant Vigour, as there was Occasion. *Papirius* was of a sweet and affable Temper, loved Mirth and Gaiety, and often promoted it even to Pleasantry and Jocoseness. It is said of him, that when he was first Consul, he caused the *Prætor* of *Præneste* to be brought before him, against whom *Rome* had some Complaints. The Place where he received this Magistrate, was full of Roots of Trees, which made it uneasy to walk there. Here *Papirius* put on the Air of an angry Man, and after a bitter Invektive against the *Prætor*, whom the Consul's Discourse had much frightened, he cried out in a feigned Start of Passion, *Lictors, prepare your Hatchets!* At these Words, the Magistrate thought himself lost; and *Papirius*, leaving him a Moment in his Fright, added with a Sncer, *Lictors, cut up these Roots, which incommode us.* Such was the General whom *Camillus* chose to succeed him in his Command. Then *Papirius* chose another Hero to second his Designs, as General of Horse. This was, *Quintus Fabius Rullianus*, who was the first of the *Fabian* Family who merited the Surname of *Maximus*, which he transmitted to his Posterity. Tho' yet in the Flower of his Age, he was a good Officer. If the Love of Glory, or of his Country, made him once transgress the Rules of military Obedience, he made amends for this slight Fault, by his Valour, by his Frugality, by deserving the Esteem of his Soldiers, and by his Refusal of the Honours which were offered him, contrary to Rule.

THE Army appointed to engage the *Samnites* could not be in better hands. *Papirius* the *Dictator*, and *Q. Fabius*, his General of Horse, went to take Possession of it: But there was something obscure and uncertain in the *Auspices* they consulted before they set out: And this Scruple lay more heavily upon the *Dictator*, when he was in the Camp. He was, probably, troubled at it when he came to enter upon Action. In order therefore to remove his Uneasiness, he ⁹² returned to *Rome* to renew the *Auspices*: But before he returned, he committed the Command of the

⁹¹ *Cingilia* is no better known than *Cutina*.

⁹² The Report of the Person who was to take care of the sacred Chickens, was not a favourable one; or at least was thought equivocal by *Papirius*; and in order therefore to remove his Uneasiness, the *Dictator* returned to *Rome*, to consult the *Augurs*. Such was the Superstition of the *Romans*. They undertook no military Expedition, unless encouraged by *Auguries*. But in After-times, they neglected these superstitious Precautions, either because they discovered the Vanity of them, or because less attached to the ancient Practices of Religion, than their Ancestors. *Cicero de Divin. B. 2.*

confesses, that in his time, this Custom had been laid aside for many Years. *Bellicam rem administrant Majores nostri, nisi Auspicato, noluerunt. multi Anni sunt, cum Bella a Proconsulibus, et Prætoribus administrantur, qui Auspicia non habent. Itaque nec omnes transeunt Auspicato, nec Tripudiant.* The Reason he gives for this, is, that the Republick often placed *Proconsuls*, and *Prætors*, at the Head of her Armies; and these being deemed only Subalterns and Vicegerents of the *Consuls*, had consequently no Power to consult the *Auguries*.

Troops to *Fabius*, and forbad him coming to a Battel with the Enemy. 'Tis not uncommon for Subalterns to give a bad Turn to the Orders of their Generals, especially when they restrain their prevailing Passions. *Fabius* persuaded himself that Jealousy was the *Dictator's* only Motive to tie up his Hands, during his Absence. He therefore sought for an Opportunity of making Conquests, without sharing the Honour of the Victory with his General. Youth, and the Love of Glory, made him blind both with regard to the established Ceremonies of Religion, which he neglected, and the Rules of Discipline, which he broke. *Fabius* caused the Disposition of the Enemy to be enquired into; found they lived in great Security, since the Departure of the *Dictator*: and notwithstanding the Uncertainty of the *Auspices*, and the Prohibition of his General, thought himself obliged to take hold of the Opportunity which Fortune offered him. His martial Ardour supplied the room of *Auspices*, and of Orders: And as the *Roman* Army had an Affection for him, they made no Opposition to the Resolutions of their new Commander. The Cavalry especially, whose commanding Officer he was by his Commission, were much attached to him before the Engagement, and shewed him great Marks of their Zeal, in the Battel. The inconsiderate *Fabius* therefore, went to attack the Enemy, whom he found in less Disorder than he had expected: and the Success of the Battel had very like to have been as unfortunate for him, as the Attempt was rash. The Victory already inclined to the *Samnites*, the *Roman* Army was already upon the Point of being broken, when the *Roman* Cavalry acted ⁹³ a Part, of which there had been several Instances given, under former Generals. These brave Horsemen gave their Horses the Reins, and, like Men who had devoted themselves to Death, fell with an unexpected Impetuosity on the Enemy's Battalions. This revived the Courage of the *Romans*, and put the *Samnites* into Disorder: And then the young Commander pushed his good Fortune as far as was possible. Every thing gave way to his Valour; the *Dictator* himself could not have fought with more Courage, or more Success. It is said, the Enemy left 6000 Men dead upon the Field of Battel. But however that be, the Circumstances of this Action are differently related by the Historians. Some say, that *Fabius* fought two Battels in the Absence of *Papirius*. And this at least is certain, that the General of Horse gained a very great Advantage over the Enemies of the Republick. Such was the Success of the Battel of ⁹⁴ *Imbrinium*, so called from a Place, which is at present utterly unknown.

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§. XXI. AFTER this Victory, the young Conqueror even grew insolent upon It was customary for the *Roman* Armies, to lay up the Spoils of the Enemy, after a Defeat, and lodge them in the *Military Quaestors* Hands, to be by them sold for the Advantage of the Publick. But *Fabius* did otherwise. He caused the heap of Arms taken from the *Samnites*, to be burnt; doubtless, under Pretence of some Vow he had made of dedicating them to some God. But in reality, it was only to hinder the *Dictator* from having the Advantage of them, setting his name to them, and causing them to be carried with Pomp, in his triumphal Procession. At least, this was the Interpretation *Papirius* put upon it. Besides, he did not send the Messenger who carried the News of his Victory to the *Dictator*, but to the Senate. This was being wanting in respect to the General, under whose *Auspices* he had fought. This seemed to shew, he was unwilling the *Dictator* should have any Share of his Glory. These Proceedings highly incensed *Papirius*; and while all *Rome* rung with Joy and Acclamations, he alone burnt with rage. According to the Customs, and military Discipline, of the *Romans*, *Papirius* had a sure Means of revenging himself upon the presumptuous Youth. He was a *Dictator*, that is, the Sovereign of the Republick; and there lay no Appeal from his Decrees, especially in relation to Crimes committed in War. The Laws were express against *Fabius*; his Disobedience was incontestable; and there was something irreligious, in his Contempt of the *Auspices*. These Circumstances ta-

⁹³ Livy adds, that this Resolution was taken, at the Persuasion of *Ceminus*, one of the *Legionary Tribunes*.

⁹⁴ *Justus Lipsius* is mistaken, when he says, in his Commentary on the 11th Book of *Tacitus*, that he ought to read *Simbrivium*, and not *Imbrinium*; if this Battel was fought, near a Lake, which

Tacitus and *Celsus*, B. 4. ch. 5. call *Simbrivius Lacus*. He did not consider that this Lake was in *Latium*, near the *Anio*, and the City formerly called *Sublaqueum*, now *Sublaco*; or *Subiaco*; which Situation can only agree with that of the City of *Imbrinium*, which *Livy* places in the Country of the *Samnites*.

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ken all together, were enough to ruin the Offender, notwithstanding his Victory. The Example of a Father, who had ordered his own Disobedient Son to be cut off by the *Axes* of the *Lictors*, was a sufficient Precedent, to authorize a Rival, to condemn his Competitor to Death, in the midst of his Glory. And *Papirius* set out from *Rome*, in order to return to his Camp, with full Resolutions to execute Justice with Rigour upon *Fabius*: or at least, if he only designed to frighten him, as he formerly did the *Prætor* of *Præneste*, he dissembled his Intentions with a great deal of Art. He every where openly declared, that the Honour of the *Dictatorship*, and the military Discipline, had suffered more by this rash Action of *Fabius*, than the *Samnite* Army. Nevertheless, the young Conqueror had a great Party, both in the City and Army. What Care soever the *Dictator* took to get to the Camp before his Departure from *Rome* was known, he could not prevent the Advices which were sent to *Fabius* of it. Expresses came to him, to inform him, That *Papirius* was coming in great Wrath; That he talked of nothing but *Manlius*, and his Sons; and That he was to expect the most severe Treatment. This News made *Fabius* take another Step, which was yet more criminal. Before *Papirius's* Arrival, he assembled the Troops, and addressed himself to them in this manner. *The Dictator is just ready to arrive here. His Passions shew themselves openly, and seem to carry him beside himself. Jealousy transports him; and the Courage you have shewn in Battel, under another's Command, puts him into a kind of Madness. My Crime, and yours, is that of having beaten the Samnites in his Absence; and if he was to pursue the Dictates of his present Passion, he would willingly transfer the Victory to the Enemy you have overcome. He accuses us of having despised his Orders; as if those very Orders had not proceeded from the same Spirit of Jealousy, which makes him now envy your Victory. We have seen through his Designs. He only forbade us taking Arms, out of Fear of seeing us victorious. Brave as you are, you should have been, by his Consent, without Courage and Valour, during his Absence; and Fabius, his General of Horse, should have been no better, than one of Papirius's Lictors. He threatens me with Death: and could he have inflicted a severer Punishment, if I had happened to have been beaten by the Enemy? Is a Man criminal, for having served the Republick, under other Auspices than those of Papirius! And this he designs to do to his own General of Horse. Nay, he would willingly reach the Military Tribunes, the Centurions, and every private Soldier: He would destroy you all, if he could. But Jealousy is like a Flame, which always flies upwards. The envious Papirius will vent his Rage on the Chief of the Enterprize; on me. It is my Life which he at present aims at. But when he shall have punished the Author of the Victory, he will then shew his Resentment against those who helped to gain it. It is therefore the Interest of the whole Army, to stand up in Defence of our common Liberty. There is no Way of disarming the Revenger, who draws near to us, but by being as unanimous in defending the Victory you have gained, as you were in endeavouring to obtain it. If you all unite in favour of me, you will all preserve yourselves, and force the Dictator to incline to Clemency. To you alone I commit the Defence of my Life and Fortune.*

Thus spake the seditious *Fabius*; and his Discourse was applauded by the *Legions*, who heard it. They all promised him their Assistance, and protested, that nothing but Death should make them neglect his Interest. During these Transactions, the *Dictator* arrived; and made it his first Business to assemble the Troops. The Trumpet gave the Soldiers the Signal, and they came to the open Space before the *Prætorium*, that is, before the General's Tent. When the *Dictator* was seated on his Tribunal, an Officer summoned *Q. Fabius*, General of Horse, to appear. Way was made for him to draw near to the Tribunal: and when Silence was proclaimed, *Papirius* interrogated him, in this manner. *Answer me, Fabius. Are you ignorant, that a Dictator has a sovereign Power in the Republick; That the Consuls, who succeeded the Kings in their Authority, are subject to him; and That the Prætors, tho' consecrated by Auspices, owe him Obedience? Could you then imagine, that I would suffer a General of Horse, who has his Commission from me, and without Auspices, to disobey the Orders of his Dictator, with Impunity? Answer me. Was it lawful for you to hazard the Welfare of your Country, by giving Battel, without being assured of the Will of the Gods; and at a*

time.

time, when a well-grounded religious Scruple obliged me to return to Rome! Could those Auspices, which the Dictator thought dubious, be depended on by a Subaltern? But what need have I to bring Religion into the Question! Let the Cause of my Absence be what it would, and supposing that I had left the Camp, without leaving any Orders; would it not have been your Duty, to have tied up your own Hands, and not to have stirred, till you had known my Pleasure? But confess honestly, did I not, at parting, give you an express Prohibition, not to attempt any thing in my Absence; and above all things, not to give Battel? By whose Orders then have you dared to fight, in contempt of the Gods, and their Auspices; in defiance of military Discipline; and contrary to the express Prohibition of your General? To these Interrogatories you must answer, without Evasions, or Digressions. In the mean time, Lictors, surround him.

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FABIUS had a bad Cause to defend: and his Answers were dark and confused. He was often put into Disorder; and by endeavouring to excuse his Crime, allowed it. These rambling Exclamations were often heard to drop from him. *Yes; Papirius shall sooner take away my Life, than the Glory of the noble Action, which is all my Crime!* But all these Clamours were useless. The Dictator was both his Accuser and Judge. The Lictors instantly stripped off his Clothes, by Papirius's Order; and his naked Body appeared covered with the Wounds which he had received in the last Battel; and which, before they were quite healed, were going to be made bleed afresh, with Scourges made of knotted Cords. Then the Criminal begged the Assistance of the Soldiers with a loud Voice; and either by Chance, or the Help of those about him, found an Opportunity to escape out of the Executioner's Hands. Fabius saved himself among the Triarii, those invincible Soldiers, whose Affection for so brave a Man, began to move them. I am of Opinion, that in these military Assemblies, the same Order was observed, as in a Battel, in which the Triarii were near the General. But however that be, great Shouts were heard from the Place where Fabius fled for Refuge, and they spread throughout the whole Army. The Soldiers all favoured Fabius, but expressed their Sentiments in different manners. Some broke out into Threatnings against the Dictator; others asked Pardon for the Offender. Those nearest the Tribunal, who could be heard by Papirius, desired him to spare the life of his General of Horse, and not condemn all the Troops in him. Those at the greatest distance, and especially those round Fabius, were enraged at the Severity of the Dictator. The Uproar reached even to the Tribunal itself. The Lieutenant-Generals of the Army, who surrounded the Dictator, intreated him to put off the Execution till the next Day, to give the Soldiers time to cool, and take some time himself to calm his Mind. *The Imprudence of a young Man, did they to him, has been already very sufficiently punished, by the Indignities he has received. The Pride of the Conqueror has been sufficiently humbled, by the shameful and mortifying Condition to which you have reduced him. Remit the rest of the Punishment, in favour to a young Soldier of great hopes; out of regard to his Father, who has so often done himself Honour, by his Services to the Publick, and been so often honoured with great Posts; and lastly, in respect to a Family, which is had in so much Honour at Rome.* In the mean time, the Sedition increased; and the Dictator continued inflexible. It was in vain to represent to him, That Anger and Rage appeared in every Face; That it neither became his Age, nor his Wisdom, to blow up the Fire of a rising Revolt; That he would, by his Rigour, bring on himself the Odium of a Prosecution, which should turn only to Fabius's Shame; and lastly, That, if he was afraid of seeming to betray the Interests of the State, by pardoning the Offender, those about him were ready to testify to the Republick, that it was by no means proper to punish him. But these discourses were so far from appeasing Papirius, that they only enraged him the more. He, with an angry Tone, commanded his Lieutenant-Generals to leave the Tribunal. This increased the Outcries, and the Sedition grew more furious. The Dictator in vain endeavoured to make himself heard; and his Officers tried to make Silence with as little Success. The Soldiers were ready to offer Violence to

Val. Max. B. 2.
c. 7.

Liv. B. 3.

Eutrop. B. 2.

95 His Father was Marcus Fabius Ambustus, who was Prince of the Senate. He had been three times Consul, and once Dictator and Censor.

Year of their General, and to massacre him; when the Night coming on, it dispersed the
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THE Soldiers were indeed persuaded, that the Disturbances would revive with the next Day; and said, that the Night, instead of pacifying, would sowre the *Dictator* the more, his Rage having been only increased by Opposition. And they were not mistaken. *Papirius* lost nothing of his Zeal for supporting the military Laws, or his Obstinacy to revenge his own personal Injuries. But *Fabius* wisely avoided a second Trial; for he secretly escaped out of the Camp in the Night, and went for *Rome*, to present himself before less passionate Judges. As soon as the Offender arrived in the City, his Father, who had been thrice *Consul*, and once *Dictator*, thought it necessary to get the Senators to assemble without delay, and obtain a favourable Decree from them, before the Return of the *Dictator*. The *Conscript Fathers* were assembled; the young *Fabius* had already worked them up to a Passion, and made them think *Papirius* both unjust and barbarous: The Remembrance of his Victory, the Regard they had for his Family, and for his Father in particular, had already begun to stagger the Judges; when a great Noise was heard at the Door of the Temple, where the Senate was assembled. This was *Papirius* himself, who, attended by his *Lictors*, was dispersing the Crowd of People, who were gathered together at the Entrance into the Sanctuary. As soon as he had heard, that the Criminal had escaped out of the Camp, he followed him full speed, and came in Person to maintain his Cause; in which, he pretended his Country was as much concerned as himself.

UPON his entering into the Temple, the Scene changed. Great Reverence was paid to his Dignity, and his Presence cooled the Ardour of the *Fabii*. When he had taken his Place, he first ordered his *Lictors* to seize young *Fabius*; and he was immediately obeyed. The oldest and most venerable of the Senators in vain intreated the rigid *Dictator*, to moderate the Severity of his Decree; nothing could move him. So that the Father of the Criminal had but one Refuge left, to save his Son's Life, which was to appeal to the *Tribunes of the People*, and get his Cause heard in the *Comitia*. He therefore addressed himself to *Papirius*, and signified his Appeal to him, in these Words. *Since neither the Authority of the Senate, nor any Regard for my Age, my Person, and my Family, nor the miserable Condition to which you are going to reduce me, nor the Victory and Merit of my Son can have any Effect upon you, I appeal from you to the People, and claim the Protection of their Tribunes. Tho' you have despised the Judgment both of the Army and Senate, you will shew some Respect to the Tribunal of the Comitia, whose Authority is superior to yours. We shall see whether, tho' you are a Dictator, you will reject my Appeal, and carry the Power of a transient Commission further than King Tullus Hostilius formerly carried the Rights of the Regal Power. He referred the Case of young Horatius to the People, at his Father's Request; and the Punishment of that Conqueror was mitigated thereby.* It must be granted, that there had never yet been any Instance in the Republick, of an⁹⁶ Appeal from the Sentence of a *Dictator*. But nevertheless, *Papirius* did not think fit to pursue his Obstinacy so far, as absolutely to disallow the superior Authority of the *Roman People*. So that *Fabius's* Cause was brought before the *Comitia*, which were assembled in the *Forum*. Thither the *Dictator* came, with few Attendants; but the *Fabii* were guarded by all the People of Distinction in *Rome*. First young *Fabius* and his Father ascended *The Tribune of Harangues*, with the *Dictator*. The Son had Right to harangue the People from thence, as General of Horse. But the Father

96 The *Dictators* had hitherto had an absolute Authority, and there lay no Appeal from them; and this absolute, and almost unlimited Authority, was founded on what the Ancients, particularly *Cicero*, in his *Oration against the Agrarian Law*, and *Festus*, call *LEX OPTIMA*. These Magistrates were said to have been created *LEGE OPTIMA*, when their Decrees were deemed irrevocable, and had the Force of a Law; and no Appeal lay from their Tribunal, to the *Comitia of the People*. This is the Sense of these Words in *Festus*, *OPTIMA LEX* *In magistro populi faciendo, qui vulgo Dictator appellatur, quam plenissimum posset, suis esse significabatur*

Postquam vero provocatio, ab eo magistratu ad populum data est, quæ antea non erat, desitum est dicere OPTIMA LEGE, utpote immutato jure priorum magistratum. This Passage, tho' not entire, shews what was the Power of the *Dictator*, who was to be created *OPTIMA LEGE*. *Tully* expresses himself much in the same manner, in his *Oration against Rullus*. By establishing *Decemviri*, says he to his Audience, whose Authority, as to the Distribution of Laws, shall be equal to that of those Magistrates who created *OPTIMA LEGE*, you give us *Kings*, and *Decemviri*. *Reges constituuntur non Decemviri.*

who was then in no Office, had no Right to speak to the People from this Eminence, it being the Privilege of Magistrates only to appear there. *Papirius* therefore sternly commanded both, immediately to descend; the Son, as a Criminal; the Father, as not being in Office. The *Fabii* obeyed; and the Father placing himself at the Bottom of the Tribune, said, *We may at least make our just Defence from hence.* The Cause was carried on at first, not by formal Harangues, but by way of Question and Answer. But at length, old *Fabius* exalted his Voice, and the whole Assembly was very silent, whilst he burst out into vehement Invektives against the Barbarity of *Papirius*. *I have been Dictator, as well as you,* said he to him; *but what Plebeian in the City, or Soldier in the Army, can complain of my Severity? whilst you, Papirius, persecute one of our Generals with as much Invektivity, as if he was an Enemy; and would triumph over him, as over a Samnite. How different was the Conduct of our Forefathers from yours! Cincinnatus, when Dictator, no otherwise punished the Consul Minucius, who had suffered himself to be surrounded by the Volsci, than by reducing him to be Lieutenant-General of his Army, after he had delivered him out of his Danger. The Great Camillus was so far from punishing L. Furius, who gave Battle, contrary to his Advice, and lost it, that he made him his Associate, preferably to others, in the Command of the Troops which he led to Victory. The Roman People themselves, whose Authority has no Bounds, never condemned their negligent or ill-advised Generals, to any other Punishment than pecuniary Fines. The Loss of a Battel was never made a capital Crime. But you, Papirius, reward Conquerors with Scourges, Axes, and Death, instead of Triumphs. What worse Treatment could you have given my Son, if he had been beaten, and put to Flight, and lost both the Roman Army and Camp? O ye immortal Gods! shall he, whom you have prospered in Battel; who ought to make your Altars smoke with his Victims, in Thanksgiving to you; for whose sake all your Temples ought to be opened, and your Sanctuaries frequented; shall he be beaten with Rods, in the Sight of the Romans, and with his Face turned towards the Capitol? How will the Army, which was victorious under the Command of my Son, take the Indignity, which is going to be offered him! What Detraction will this cause in the Roman Camp! What Matter of Triumph will it be to our Enemies, whom he has conquered! These Words of the unfortunate old Man, were followed by Reproaches on the Dictator, bitter Complaints against his flexibility, affecting Prayers to the Gods, and Supplications to the Roman People. He sometimes threw himself on his Son's Neck, held him fast in his Arms, and bedewed him with his Tears. A Sight very capable of mollifying the Assembly; but *Papirius* had on his Side the military Laws, the Rules of Discipline which were deemed inviolable, the Dignity of his Office, which had been treated with contempt, and the Immutability of the Decrees of a Dictator. The Remembrance of *Manlius*, who had been courageous enough to condemn his own Son to Death, for a more pardonable Act of Disobedience, and the Example of *Brutus*, who had shed the Blood of his own Children, for the sake of the Publick Good, were fresh in all Minds. The Dictator, on his Part, maintained the Rights of his Office, and the Interest of the Republick with Dignity. The time, said he, is now more, when a Love for the Publick Good had the Ascendant over Paternal Affection. Fathers are now become more pliable, and more compassionate. But what am I saying? Perhaps the very Man, who out of Ostentation, would revenge to the utmost, even upon his own Blood, the Breach of his own Orders; is unaffected with Disobedience to the Orders of another. It is a mere Trifle, a little Fault; very pardonable in Youth. But for my part, Romans, I resolutely adhere to my Sentence. I will never remit any of the Punishment I have decreed against a Man; who, notwithstanding the Dubiousness of the Auspices, and the express prohibition of his General, gave Battel, contrary to all Law and Rule. I don't flatter myself so far, as to expect to be able to preserve our Laws always inviolate, and perpetuate military Discipline among us; but this I resolve, that as long as I continue in Office, I will punish those who transgress them. No; *Papirius* will never suffer the Strictness of Discipline to be relaxed, or the Rights of the Dictatorship to be invaded, during his Government. As I don't pretend to lessen the Dignity of the Roman People, or the Authority of their Tribunes; so neither will I suffer the Dictatorship to be debased, or its sovereign Power diminished. If that*

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tator.

must be the Consequence, I appeal to Posterity to acquit me of so weak an Indulgence; and to charge the unjust Usurpation, on the People and the Tribunes. And indeed, if Dictators are deprived of their sovereign Authority in their Armies, how will the Soldiers be kept in a due Subordination? The private Men will no longer depend on the Centurion; the Centurion, on the Tribune; the Tribune, on the Lieutenant-General; the Lieutenant-General, on the General of Horse; or the General of Horse, on the Dictator. Then Battels will be rashly fought, contrary to the Rules of Prudence, and without any religious regard to Auspices. Then Licentiousness will prevail among the Troops, who will desert when they please; and Ravages in the Territories of our Friends, will be as unpunished, as if committed in those of an Enemy. The Soldiers will leave their Colours, without Fear; and neglect to return to them, upon Command. Who will then concern himself, in case of a Battle, whether it be given by, or without the Consent of the General; by Day, or by Night; on a safe, or a disadvantageous Spot of Ground? Our Armies will then be no better than Gangs of Robbers, guided by Humour, and governed by Fury. These, Tribunes, are the Consequences of permitting Generals to appeal to your Tribunal. Have you foreseen, and considered them? Dare you charge yourselves with them, and take upon you the Odium of them, with Posterity? And yet these will be the necessary Effects of the Indulgence you seem inclined to shew young Fabius. Will you answer the Consequences of an illegal Pardon, with your Heads?

THESE Words threw both Tribunes and People into great Trouble and Perplexity. They compassionated the *Fabii*; but could not condemn the Severity of *Papirius*. By accepting of Appeals from the Sentence of a *Dictator*, they would indeed increase the Power of the *Plebeians*; but they were afraid of the Consequences of so dangerous an Encroachment on a sovereign Authority. At last, the People took a Method, which freed all Parties from their Perplexities. Instead of taking upon them to judge in the Affair, which they might have done, they were content with becoming Intercessors. The Assembly pressed the *Dictator*, in the most earnest manner, to pardon his General of Horse. The *Tribunes of the People* joined their Intreaties to those of the *Comitia*. They laid great stress, upon a violent Thirst for Glory, which so naturally dazzles the Eyes of young Noblemen, and tempts them to sacrifice even their Duty to it. They added, that after all, *Fabius's* Crime would not be altogether unpunished, if now forgiven; since he had already, in some measure, expiated it, by having been given up to the Rods of the *Lictors*. The *Fabii* themselves fell prostrate at the *Dictator's* Feet, and changed their Haughtiness into the most humble Supplications. Then the *Dictator* caused Silence to be made, and from *The Tribune*, spake these Words. *It is enough; both military Discipline, and the Authority of Generals, are preserved inviolate. The Proceedings of Fabius exposed both to great Dangers. But he has not been judged innocent; only Pardon is asked for him. This I readily grant in Deference to the Roman People, and the Intercession of their Tribunes. They have not pronounced him guiltless, as Judges; but interceded for him as Friends. I give you your Life, my dear Fabius; and you have gained more Glory, by having seen all Orders in the Republick concur, in endeavouring to save it, than by your Victory. Your Crime was such, that if your Father himself had been in my Place, he would have expiated it with your Blood. As for me, you shall soon be reconciled to me, if you please; and you can never express your Gratitude to the Roman People better, than by being continually, and implicitly, obedient to the Commands of your Generals. Go; You are at liberty.*

THESE Words were followed by universal Acclamations. Every Body left the Place of Assembly, some following the *Fabii*, to congratulate them; others with *Papirius*, to express their Gratitude to him; and thus attended they were conducted back to their Houses. The *Romans* acknowledged, to the *Dictator's* Honour, that his inflexible Steadiness in bringing *Fabius* to the Brink of the Precipice, without suffering him to fall down it, was as conducive to the Support of military Discipline, as the Death of young *Manlius*, who was condemned to die by his own Father. And it may be observed, that *Papirius*, by saving the Life of young *Fabius*, restored *Rome* an Hero, who will hereafter equal in Virtue the Great Man who preserved him from Destruction. The many Triumphs with which we shall see him honoured, will prove him worthy of the Zeal which *Rome* had shewn for his Deliverance.

§. XXII. BUT whilst *Papirius* was supporting the sovereign Authority of the Dictatorship in *Rome*, and labouring to keep up the Rigour of the Discipline among the Troops, the *Samnites* thought to have taken Advantage of his second Absence. They fully expected, that the *Romans* would not stir out of their Camp, to engage them, for fear of meeting with the same Fate as young *Fabius*. And indeed, *M. Valerius*, one of the Lieutenant-Generals of the *Roman* Army, commanded it in chief; and nothing could induce him to oppose the Hostilities of the Enemy. It happened, that as some *Romans* were conducting a Convoy of Provisions, they were surrounded by a Detachment of *Samnites*. *Valerius* could easily have rescued the Guard; but he dreaded the Severity of the Dictator so much, that he chose rather to let his Men suffer in a narrow Pass, than march out of his Camp to relieve them. And this Accident of losing a Convoy, and having its Guard beaten, did not a little contribute to increase the Hatred of the Soldiers to their General. These, said they, are the Consequences of this inflexible Severity against the brave *Fabius*. What likewise helped to exasperate the Troops the more, was the Dictator's having refused to grant the General of Horse his Life, at their Request; tho' he himself afterwards gave it him, at the Desire of the *Roman People* and their Tribunes. In the mean time, *Papirius* had left *Rome*, in order to return to the Camp. He had nominated one *L. Papirius*, his Relation, to command the Horse, in the room of *Fabius*, whom he had deposed, and strictly forbidden to exercise any Part of his former Office, in *Rome*. Which shews, that the Generalship of Horse was truly a magisterial Office; though not in the Choice of the People, but absolutely dependent on the Dictators, who nominated whom they pleased to it.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXVIII.
L. PAPIRIUS
CURSOR, Dic-
tator.

WHEN *Papirius* arrived in the Camp, he found all his Men so ill-affected towards him, that he was not at first in a Condition to make any great Progress. And the *Samnites*, doubtless informed of the ill Disposition of the *Roman* Army towards their General, came and offered him Battel, very near his own Entrenchments. The Dictator did not think it for his Honour to decline fighting; and at the same time knew how little inclined his Troops were to follow him to the Engagement. But what cannot so able an Officer as *Papirius* do? He thought himself obliged to supply the Want of Affection in his Soldiers, by his Skill in War: And he posted himself so advantageously, and drew up his Troops with so much Dexterity, that it was not possible for them to be entirely defeated. They indeed fought but faintly; during the Action, for fear of increasing the Glory of their General, by the entire defeat of the Enemy. But after all, they did as much as was necessary, to prevent losing their Lives and the Battel together; which was enough. The *Romans* had more wounded than the *Samnites*; but the *Samnites* had more killed than the *Romans*. And all that can be inferred from the Battel is this, that the latter might have gained a complete Victory, if they would have taken but little Pains to pursue the wise Measures, and imitate the Valour, of their General.

It is very difficult to discover the true Motives of Great Mens Actions. Who can say, whether the sudden Change in *Papirius's* Behaviour towards his Soldiers, proceeded from a Love for his Country, or a Desire of increasing his own Glory? He was naturally of such a Temper, that he could give way and comply, whenever it was proper. And now, he did not discover the least Remains of his former Severity. Not an Officer or Soldier who had behaved himself negligently in the Fight, was so much as reprimanded. He took the same Care of the wounded, that a Father could have done. He laid aside all the Severity of a Dictator, and even the Distance of a General. That Pride and Haughtiness with which he had been reproached, was changed all on a sudden into Familiarity. He often kept Company with his Lieutenant-Generals, and went to the Tents to visit the Sick. He came to the sides of their Beds, enquired how they did, and ordered the Tribunes and Prefects of the Army to take Care of them. By this means, he wrought a greater Cure upon the Minds, than the Bodies of his Soldiers. They had been exasperated against him, but their Rage was soon appeased; and as they had always had a great Esteem for *Papirius*, this soon grew up into the most tender Affection for him. But what most wonderful, *Papirius's* Prudence was so extraordinary, that he did not discover the least Affectation, in this sudden Change.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXIX.
L. PAPIRIUS
CURSOR, Dic-
tator.

§. XXIII. THE People in the City were informed of the Alteration made in the Dispositions of the Soldiers, with respect to their General; and when the six Months of *Papirius's Dictatorship* were very near expiring, they thought fit to continue him in his Employment. Most learned Men who have written upon the Chronology of the *Roman History*, agree, that *Papirius* 97 continued in his Office all the remaining Part of the Year; and that no *Consuls* were chosen in the Year of *Rome* 429, in order to leave the Government of the Republick entirely in the hands of this *Dictator*. I am not therefore at Liberty to contradict an Opinion so universally receiv'd; nay, I would chuse to conform myself to it, if it were only to preserve a little Order in the *Consular* Years. But after all, as this common Opinion is founded on no very certain Proof, drawn from Antiquity, I cannot deny Criticks the Liberty of thinking otherwise. It is possible, That *Papirius's Dictatorship* may not have taken up the whole Year; That *Consuls* may have been chosen before it ended; and That, (as there was then no Time fixed for entering upon the *Consulship*) the succeeding *Consuls* may have entered upon their Office before the *Dictator* had spent a whole Year in his. Nor can it be justly objected to this, that it would confound the Chronology. I am fully satisfied, there cannot be a more erroneous Way of reckoning the Years of the World, than that of computing them by the *Consular* Years. But to return to *Papirius*.

Liv. B. 8. c. 36.
Author. de Vi-
ris Illustr.
Eutropius,
Val. Max. &c.

THIS Great Man was yet to answer the Expectations the Republick had from him by his Exploits: And as he had now regained the Affections of his Soldiers, he thought himself in a Condition to undertake any thing. His Army likewise had had time to refresh itself; and he therefore marched to meet the Enemy. The Historians have not given us the Circumstances of the great Victory he gained; but only tell us, that he reduced the *Samnites* so low, as not to be able to make head against him any longer. After the Defeat of the Enemy, the *Roman* Army marched wherever the Hopes of Booty led it. It over-run *Samnium*, without finding any Opposition in its March, or so much as any Troops lodged in Ambush to dispute the Passage of the Defiles. The Ardour of the *Roman* Soldiers was the greater, in that the *Dictator* gave them all the Spoils in the Country: And these many Calamities together, forced the *Samnites* to desire a Peace of the Conqueror. This the *Dictator* consented to; but insisted on these three Preliminaries. 1st. That the *Samnites* should cloath all his Soldiers. 2^{dly}. That they should give his Army a Year's Pay. And, 3^{dly}. That they should go and get the Treaty he made with them confirmed by the Senate. All this the *Samnites* consented to, and referred it to the *Dictator* to take care of their Interests. The *Roman* Army therefore left *Samnium*: And as no Conqueror had ever yet more justly deserved the Honours of a Triumph, *Papirius* received them, on *The third of the Nones of March*. Immediately after his Triumph, the *Dictator* had Thoughts of laying down his Office; but the Senate desired him to preside in the *Comitia by Centuries*, wherein the new *Consuls* were to be chosen. The Choice fell upon *C. Sulpicius Longus*, now made *Consul* a second time, and *Q. Aulius* 98 *Cerretanus*. After

Fast. Capit.
Liv. B. 8. c. 37.

97 *Livy* confines *Lucius Papirius's Dictatorship* to the foregoing Year 428, and places the Events of this Year 429, in that. So that he makes *Papirius's* two *Dictatorships* to have been but one. But nevertheless, it appears that *Papirius* was continued in his Office, and created *Dictator* a second time. We have a convincing Proof of it, in the *Fasti Capitolini*. They say that *Lucius Papirius* triumphed over the *Samnites*, in the Year of *Rome* 429, on *The third of the Nones of March*; that is, on the fifth Day of that Month. This makes us believe, that *Papirius's Dictatorship* was prolonged to the Year 430; and *Livy's* Silence confirms us in this Opinion. Indeed he makes no Mention of any *Consuls* for the Year 429, which is omitted in the *Consular Annals*: Which made *Glarean* and *Haloander* conclude, that *Papirius's Dictatorship* held this whole Year.

98 In most Editions of *Livy*, *C. Sulpicius's* Colleague, is called *Quintus Aemilius Cerretanus*; but we believe this *Consul's* Name was *Aulius* for two

Reasons. First, because one of the two *Consuls* was at that time generally a *Plebeian*. Whereas the *Aemilian* Family was originally *Patrician*, as well as the *Sulpician* Family, as has been already observed; but the *Aulian* Family was *Plebeian*. Secondly, because no one of the *Aemilii* ever bore the Name of *Cerretanus*. At least we find no Account of any, either in History, or the ancient Monuments. Besides, some of the Editors of *Livy* honestly confess, that some Annals have the Name of *Aulius*, instead of that of *Aemilius*; and so have several authentick Manuscripts. And lastly, *Livy* himself says, B. 9. that *Quintus Aulius Cerretanus* was created *Consul* a second time, in the Year of *Rome* 434; and consequently, he had been promoted to this Dignity already, in the Year 430: for we cannot place his first *Consulate* in any other Year. *Cuspinian*, on the Authorities of some imperfect Copies of *Cassiodorus*, and of *Diodorus Siculus*, has changed the Name of *Aulius* into that of *Aemilius*.

which

which, the *Dictator* laid down his Employment, crowned with Glory, and equally beloved by the Citizens and the Soldiers.

§. XXIV. It is probable, that under the new *Consuls*, there was a *Census* taken of the People, which ended with the twenty fourth *Lustrum*, since their Institution. Historians indeed say nothing of it, neither are there any Traces of it to be found on the *Capitoline Marbles*. But since we find some Footsteps of a twenty fifth *Lustrum*, in the Year of *Rome* 435, it may be supposed that the twenty fourth was in the Year 430.

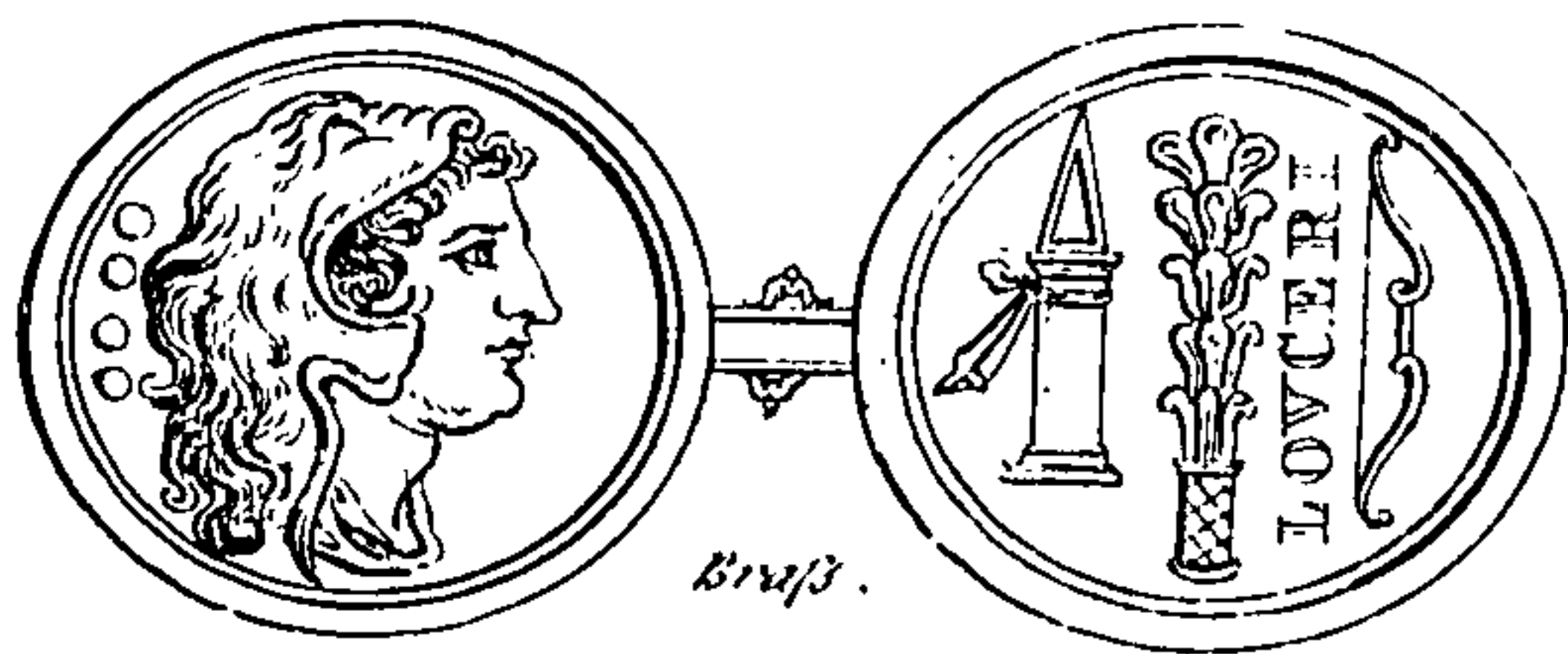
Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXX.
C. SULPICIUS
LONGUS, Q.
AULIUS CER-
RETANUS,
Consuls.

At the same time, a *Roman Colony* was sent to ⁹⁹ *Luceria*, a City of *Apulia*, but pretty far up in the Country, and near the *Hirpini*. As *Luceria* and the *Apulians* had submitted to the Republick some Years since, some *Romans* were transplanted thither to secure their Fidelity. But these Affairs were of little Importance; that of concluding with the Senate the Peace *Papirius* had begun to treat of with the *Samnites*, was of more Consequence. The *Conscript Fathers* did not like the Terms they offered in order to gain it; and therefore only granted a Truce for one Year; which was soon broken, by the Faithlessness of that warlike People. In short, as soon as the *Samnites* saw they no longer had the formidable *Papirius* to deal with, they took Courage again, and their former Ardour for the War revived. A new Enemy likewise rose up against *Rome*; the *Apulians*, who had heretofore voluntarily submitted to the *Romans*, now revolted to their Enemies. So that they obliged the *Romans*, who otherwise would have had only the *Samnites* to contend with, to divide their Troops. The two Wars employed the two *Consuls*; it fell to *Sulpicius's* Lot to command the Army which was to enter *Samnium*, whilst the *Consul Aulus* commanded that which was to punish the *Apulians*.

Val. Paternus, B. 1.

Liv. B. 8. c. 37.

THE two *Consuls* marched to their different Provinces, but found not a very plentiful Harvest of Glory. Both the *Apulians* and *Samnites* kept themselves in fortified Places, and did not appear in the Field, So that the whole Fruit of the Campaign, was no more, than taking a little Booty, and doing a great deal of Mischief. In the mean time, the *Romans* who were in the City, were struck with one of those Pannicks, which unforeseen Accidents often occasion, without Reason. In the midst of the Night, a Report ran through *Rome*, that some armed Men had seized the Walls, the Gates, and the Citadel. Upon this, the whole City took the Alarm; every one ran out of his House, crying, *To Arms, To Arms*;



⁹⁹ Authors disagree very much about the Name of this City. Most call it *Luceria*, some *Nuceria*; and of late Years, it has borne the Name of *Nocera*. The ancient Geographers place it below *Tecumum*, towards the South, at a little distance from the *Cerbalus*, now the *Cervaro*. The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, gives it the Surname of *Apula*.... *Luceria Apula*: and it is so called in the ancient Itineraries. It is the same Place which has since been called *Nuceria Saracenorum*; because the *Saracens* raised it out of its Ruins, and inhabited it, till the time of *Charles the Second*, King of *Sicily*. Hence it had the Names of *Nocera delli Saraceni*, and *Lucera delli Pagani*, to distinguish it from three other Cities of the same Name: one of which was in *Campania*, a second in *Umbria*, and the third in *Gallia Cispadana*. According to *Strabo*, *Luceria* was one of the most considerable Cities, for its Antiquity, of any in *Italy*. He says, B. 6. that in his time, there yet remained some sure Marks of the Arrival of *Diomedes*, and the Conquests he made

in this Country. There were in *Lucania*, especially in the Temple of *Minerva*, some ancient Monuments, which proved, that this City had been in being, several Centuries. But *Strabo* tells us, that under the Empire of *Augustus*, it had already lost much of its former Lustre. There are yet some Remains of it to be seen in *Apulia Daunia*, or *The Capatinata*, a Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*. We find the Name of this City on a Medal, the Face of which is the Head of *Hercules*; and the Reverse, a Quiver, a Club, and a Bow, with this Inscription, *LOUCERI*. As a great Number of Cities in *Italy* boasted of being founded by *Hercules*, they paid a particular Worship to this God; and took care to engrave his Name, Figure, and Symbols, on Marble and Brass. Thus *D. Hal.* tells us, B. 1. That Temples, or Altars, were erected in Honour to *Hercules*, in most of the Roads in *Italy*; and That his Memory was in great Esteem among the different Nations in this Country.

Year of and the Fright was not over, till Day appeared. And then, upon the strictest
 R O M E Enquiry, neither the Author, nor Cause, of the Report could be discovered.
 CCCCXXX. Thus, even the wisest of Men are often deluded and cheated, by their Fears and
 C. Sulpicius Precautions.

LONGUS, Q.
 AULIUS CER-
 RETANUS,
 Consuls.

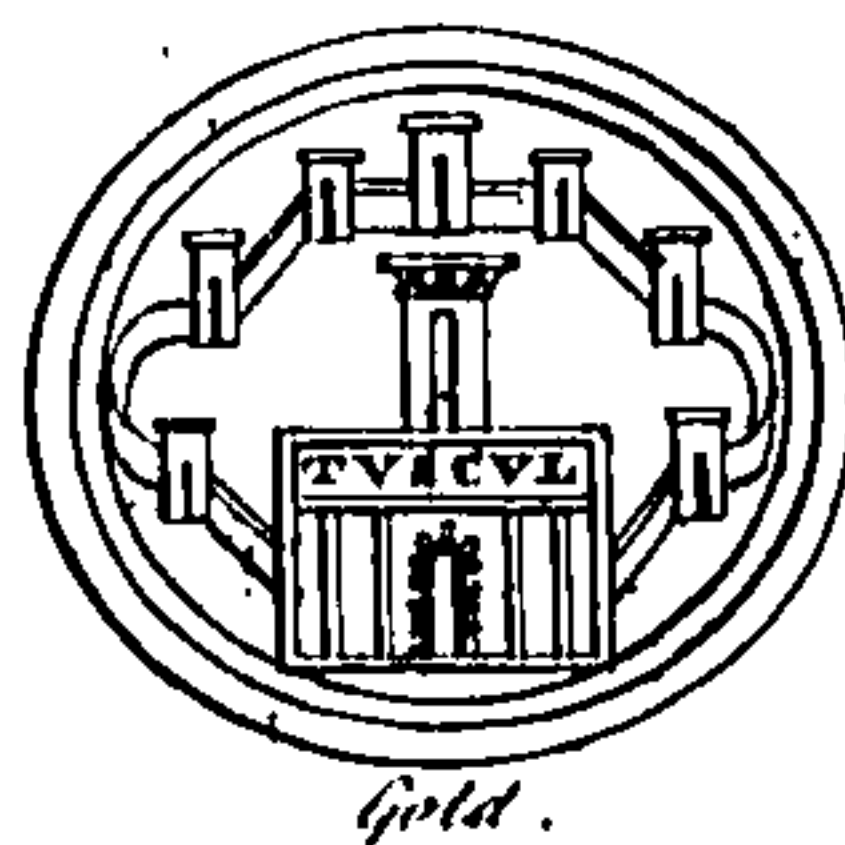
ANOTHER Accident sowed the Seeds of an eternal Quarrel between two of the
Roman Tribes. One of the *Tribunes of the People* thought fit, tho' a little too
 late, to accuse the *Tusculani* of having formerly betrayed the Interests of *Rome*;
 and he brought an Accusation against them before the People, for having been the
 Authors of the old Revolt of the *Veliterni* and *Privernates*, against the Repub-
 lick. At the Request of the *Tribune*, the *Tusculani* were cited to appear; and they
 came to *Rome*, with their Wives and Children, and presented themselves before
 their Judges. All the *Tribes*, by whose Suffrages the Affair was to be determined,
 were assembled in *Comitia*; and the unfortunate *Tusculani* appeared in Mourning,
 and threw themselves at their Feet, imploring their Assistance, and endeavouring to
 soften them. The City of *Tusculum* ¹⁰⁰ itself was comprehended within the
Tribes, as having been incorporated into the ¹⁰¹ *Papirian*; and this was a Reason,
 why the other *Tribes* should espouse its Interests: But it was really guilty; and
 there was no Way of screening it from the Punishment it had deserved, but by an
 Act of Grace. And when the *Tribes* came to vote, the *Pollian* ¹⁰² *Tribe* alone,
 was for treating the Accused with Rigour; and declared for punishing all the *Tuf-
 culani*, who had arrived at the Age of *Puberty*, with Death; and for making
 Slaves of all their Wives and Children. So severe a Judgment therefore, raised
 such Animosities between the *Pollian* and *Papirian Tribes*, as lasted as long as the
 Republick itself. From that time, no Candidate of the *Pollian Tribe* could ever
 obtain any Dignity, by the Consent and Suffrages of the *Papirian*.

Year of
 R O M E
 CCCCXXXI.
 Q. FABIUS,
 L. FULVIUS
 CURVUS, Con-
 suls.

Fast. Capit.
 Auth. de Vir.
 Illust.

§. XXV. But these Broils at home did not make the *Romans* forget their Ene-
 mies abroad. They changed their *Consuls*, and chose two of approved Valour, to
 oppose the *Samnites* and *Apulians*. These Heroes were *Q. Fabius*, who had lately
 signalized himself by a Victory, which he had gained, by acting contrary to the
 Orders of his *Dictator*; and *L. Fulvius*, surnamed *Curvus*. I know not from
 what Memoirs *Livy* took his Account of their *Consulate*; since he inclines, to de-
 prive them of the Glory of a Campaign, in which they entirely subdued the Ene-
 mies of *Rome*; and to refuse them the Honours of a Triumph, with which they
 were rewarded. But we shall, upon the Credit of better Monuments, relate the
 Part they bore in the Success of this prosperous Year; and not ascribe it to a *Dic-
 tator*, whom we shall see so far from engaging in Battels, as to continue in utter
 Inaction.

The *Samnites* and *Apulians* persisted in their Obstinacy; the one, in breaking
 the Truce they had made; the other, in making War on the Republick, whose
 Yoke they had shaken off. These Enemies to *Rome* had assembled together all the



Gold.

¹⁰⁰ *Tusculum*, already spoken of *Vol. 1. p. 208.*
Note 51. was a City of *Old Latium*, thirteen Miles
 East of *Rome*, as we have already observed. This
 City, which stood upon the Declivity of a Hill,
 had been built, according to ancient Authors, by
Telegonus the Son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*; it received
 the Right of *Roman Citizenship* in the Year of *Rome*
 373, (see above, *p. 55.* of this Volume) and was
 then one of the most considerable Cities of the *Ro-
 man State*. We find some Footsteps, and the Re-
 presentation or Plan, of this City, on the Medal a-
 bove, which we take from *Charles Patin*, who has

placed it among the Medals of the *Sulpician Fa-
 mily*.

¹⁰¹ The *PAPIRIAN TRIBE* took its Name
 from the Family of the *Papirii*, who were of it.
 We have elsewhere observed, that several *Roman
 Tribes* changed their first Names, which they had
 taken from the Places where they were situated, for
 others taken from the illustrious Families, which
 were enrolled in them.

¹⁰² We have already spoken of the *Pollian Tribe*,
 as well as of the *Papirian*, *p. 36.* of this Volume,
Note 97.

Nations

Nations in their Neighbourhood, and raised a formidable Army. And the *Consular* Troops were likewise more numerous than usual. *Fabius* and *Fulvius* marched together, without dividing their Army into two Bodies, and entered *Samnium*, reserving the War with the *Apulians*, till they had overcome the *Samnites*. They pitched their first Camp in a Place not very advantageous; because they thought the Enemy far enough off to give them time to fortify it at Leisure. But they instantly found themselves surrounded with all the *Samnite* Army; whose Boldness was such, that they ventured to march up quite to the advanced Guards of the *Romans*, and with Stakes in their Hands began to fortify themselves, close to the *Consul's* Camp. Their Numbers increased their Confidence; so that the *Romans* expected a Battel the next Day; for Night came on soon, and, for the present, suspended Hostilities on both Sides.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXI.
Q. FABIVS,
L. FVLIVS
CVRVVS, Con-
suls.

BUT as the *Consuls* were not yet ready to give Battel, and as their Post seemed neither well enough chosen for their Army to find Subsistence there, nor well enough fortified for them to be able to maintain it in case of an Attack, they resolved to decamp before Day. They therefore lighted Fires in several Parts of their Camp, to deceive the Enemy, and by the help of the Darkness retired out of it. But as silent as the *Romans* were in their March, the *Samnites* watched them too narrowly to suffer them to escape their Vigilance: The *Samnite* Cavalry followed close in the Rear of the *Romans*, without beginning any Attack in the Night, but with full Resolution to fall upon them as soon as it was Day. But the *Samnite* Infantry was not drawn out into the Plain till Break of Day. At length, the Light appeared, and the Enemy's Cavalry immediately entered upon Action, and fell upon the Rear-Guard of the *Romans*. It harraßed them chiefly in the narrow Passes, retarded their March, and by continually following and fatiguing them, gave the *Samnite* Infantry time to come up and join it. Then the *Romans* were press'd hard by the Enemy's whole Army; and it being dangerous for them to advance, for fear of exposing their Rear-Guard too much, the *Consuls* chose to halt in the Place in which they then happened to be. They had already marked out the Lines for forming a Camp; but the *Samnite* Cavalry, which was hovering about them, would not suffer the *Roman* Soldiers to come at the Wood to cut Pallisades. There was therefore no Remedy left, but to hazard a Battel. With this View, the *Consuls* began their Preparations with separating their Baggage from the Body of their Army, and ordering it to be placed at a Distance, without any Guard to defend it. This was a Bait for the *Samnites*. Then the Troops on both Sides were drawn up in Battalia, and the *Consuls* placed their *Legions* in the usual Order. The *Hastati* fought in the first Line, the *Principes* in the second, and the *Triarii* in the third: And Spaces were left between each of these Bodies, and between the *Manipuli* of which they consisted, to serve for Passes, in case of a Retreat. On the other hand, the *Samnites* drew up their Troops, according to their Way of fighting. Their Army was at least equal in Number to that of the *Romans*; and the Advantage they thought they had gained over them, in forcing them to decamp, flushed them. They are *Fugitives*, said they, *who are seized with Fear, and who would not fight, if Necessity did not compel them to it.* The Prepossessions of Soldiers are of great Weight in the Decision of Battels; and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that the Victory wavered so long between the two Parties. Besides, the *Samnites* had so often engaged the *Romans*, to be terrified at the great Shouts they made, when they gave the first Onset.

THE Battel was so furious from nine in the Morning till two in the Afternoon, that the *Romans* had not time, all that while, to renew their Shouts, which they usually did, when they renewed the Attack, after a little Cessation. The obstinate fury of both Armies continued without Interruption. Both *Romans* and *Samnites* continued the Fight, without giving themselves time to breathe, or look behind them. But it is surprizing, that during the whole time that this first long Attack lasted, the first Line of the *Romans* never changed its Post, its *Manipuli* stood their Ground without falling back into the Spaces in the second Line; and all its Colours continued fixed in their Places. The Animosity and the Resistance on both Sides were equal. In all Appearance, nothing but Fatigue, or the Night, could abate the Vigour of these brave Men, who were so desperately bent upon fighting.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXI.
Q FABIVS,
L. FVLIVS
CVRVVS, Con-
suls.

THE Desire of Victory kept both Generals in Suspence between Hope and Fear. After having exerted themselves to the uttermost, they saw that their Troops would lose their Strength before they lost their Courage, and that their Arms would be blunted, before they left off fighting. But at length, a false Step taken by the *Samnite* Horse, determined the Fate of the Battel, and gave the *Romans* the Victory.

ONE of the Enemy's Squadrons was advanced beyond the two Armies, and had discovered the Place, where the *Roman* Baggage was laid up, as it were, for Safety and Secrecy, during the Battel: and this was enough to rouse the Passion Soldiers generally have for Plunder. One *Samnite* Squadron drew on another, and they all hastened to get their Share of the Booty, which lay in their Way. One of the *Roman* Generals was informed of this, and foresaw, that it must in the end turn to his Advantage; and said to him, who brought him the News, *Let them go on.* In the mean time, the *Romans* took the Alarm; every one was afraid of being left destitute of his Provisions and Utensils, in an Enemy's Country. But the *Consul*, being under no Concern himself, encouraged them. He sent for the General ¹⁰³ of the *Roman* Horse, and said to him; *You see the Samnite Army is deserted by its Cavalry: Go you, and fall upon it with Tours. You will find it scattered about in Disorder, as is always the Case in a Plunder. Watch the Opportunity, when the Horses are loaded with Spoil, and the Pillagers have laid aside their Arms; and then attack them. Share the Glory of the Day, with the Consuls. We will be answerable for the Infantry: Do you take care of the Cavalry.* Then the *Roman* Squadrons, which were well armed, came and fell instantly upon the Enemy's Horse, which were out of their Ranks, and their Riders dismounted, and wholly intent upon pillaging. Being dispersed among the Bundles with which they were loading their Horses, they were not in a Condition to make any long Resistance. They were likewise as little able to fly as fight; and were therefore partly cut in pieces by the *Romans*, and partly trodden under foot by their own Horses, and those of the Enemy. In short, there was a terrible Slaughter made of the *Samnite* Cavalry: insomuch, that it may be said to have been then so entirely destroyed, as to have been never able to recover itself.

BUT this did not satisfy the *Roman* Cavalry. They, by Order of their General, marched a great way round about, after this happy Expedition, and came and fell on the Rear of the *Samnite* Infantry, which was yet fighting with great Bravery. Then the Shouts, which the first Lines of the Enemy's Army heard from behind their last Line, terrified them. The *Samnites* plainly perceived, that they were attacked in the Rear; and the *Consuls* suspected it. They saw the Line facing them, retire by little and little, lose Ground, and remove their Colours from Place to Place; which made the *Romans* wholly intent on pressing the Enemy with the more Vigour. The *Consuls* marched between the Ranks, encouraged the *Tribunes* and inferior Officers, and engaged them to renew the Fight. They made a great Shout, as a Signal of Joy, returned upon the *Samnites*, beat them down, broke into them; and the farther they came, the greater Consternation they found among them. And at length, the *Consuls* discovered the Cause of it. They saw their own Cavalry, mixed among the Enemy's Battalions, which it had broken through. This they discovered by their Standards, which they saw displayed, and made their Troops take notice of it. Upon which, the *Romans* depended on the entire Defeat of the Enemy: And indeed, it was no longer a Fight, but a Slaughter. The *Roman* Soldiers forgot their Wounds, and the Fatigue of a Battel, which had lasted almost the whole Day; and flew upon the Enemy with as much Vigour, as if they had but just marched fresh out of their Camp.

THEN the *Samnites*, being shut in on both Sides by the *Roman* Cavalry and Infantry, dispersed. Those who continued about their Colours, were cruelly slaughtered by the Infantry; and the rest, which were dispersed and fled, were cut

¹⁰³ According to *Livy*, neither of the *Consuls* was concerned in this important Action. The Stratagem here mentioned, was invented by the Dictator, *Anulus Cornelius Cossus Arvina*. And he adds, that *Marcus Fabius Ambustus* was entrusted with the

Execution of it, at the Head of the Cavalry, who had all the Glory of the Success. But he speaks agreeably to the Prejudices he had imbibed from faulty Memoirs, as we observe a little lower.

in pieces by the Cavalry, which pursued them. The *Samnite* General himself was found among the Dead.

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suls.

AFTER so terrible a Defeat, one would imagine that the *Samnite* Nation must have been brought into perpetual Subjection; but it nevertheless found a Remedy in its greatest Misfortunes: and we shall see it recover its Losses, and rise again, as it were, out of its Ashes. This Blow indeed staggered its Leaders, and made them reflect seriously on their Violation of their Oaths, and their having committed Hostilities, before the Truce expired. In all their Diets, the Deputies declared, that it was not at all surprizing, that their Affairs declined, since they had, by their Want of Fidelity, drawn upon themselves the Anger of the Gods. Our ill Success, said they, is not so much the Effect of the Valour of the Romans, as the Work of Heaven. The immortal Gods are only to be appeased with Blood. And it is therefore better to shed that of a few Criminals, than to expose a whole Nation to Slaughter, in unsuccessful Battels. Then the Authors of the Breach of the Treaty were enquired after; and *Brutulus Papius* was immediately thought on, and his Name was almost in every Mouth. *Brutulus* was a Man of great Distinction in his Country, but of a turbulent Spirit; and he had been the chief Instrument of violating the Truce, before it ended. The principal Magistrates of the *Samnites* were therefore forced, by the great Clamours that were made against him, to execute the Revenge of the Publick upon him, and pronounce a Decree against him, which was afterwards put in Execution. This Decree was, That *Brutulus* should be delivered up to the Romans; and That the Effects and Captives taken during the Truce, and in short, whatever their *Feciales* had demanded, should be restored them.

THE unfortunate *Brutulus* was immediately put into the Hands of some *Samnite* Ambassadors, who were deputed to carry him to *Rome*, and with him, all the Spoils taken from the *Romans*, in the last War. But the Prisoner would neither venture to try the Revenge, or experience the Clemency of the Senate, which was to judge him; for he killed himself before he came to *Rome*. Nevertheless, the Ambassadors of *Samnium* continued their Journey, and delivered up to the *Romans*, the dead Body of the Criminal, whom they could not surrender alive. As for the Spoil, *Rome* accepted of only a Part of it, received the Captives, and caused Restitution to be made to every private Person, of all that he could know to have been his own. The rest, the *Romans* rejected, tho' offered by way of Restitution; and it is surprizing, that the *Samnites* could not obtain a Peace, by so signal an Act of perfect Justice. It is probable, they still continued obstinate, in refusing to comply with certain Terms which the *Romans* required of them. However, so compleat a Victory well deserved a Triumph for the two *Consuls* who had gained it: but *Q. Fabius* was engaged elsewhere. At least, it's certain, that he went alone to reduce the *Apulians* to their Duty, and gained such Advantages over them, as afterwards gave him a double Title to a Triumph. And whilst he was winning Battels, *Fulvius*, his Collegue, returned to the City, which he entred in Triumph, on the seventeenth Day of ¹⁰⁴February, the Festival ¹⁰⁵of *Quirinus*. *Fabius* punished the *Apulians*, took a great deal of Booty from them, and returned

¹⁰⁴ The thirteenth of the Calends of March was, indeed, the Day appointed for the Festival celebrated in Honour to *Quirinus*. Some Compilers of the old Roman Calendar, are mistaken, in placing the *Quirinalia*, on The 12th of the Calends of March, that is, the 18th of February. Of this we need no other Proof, than the following Lines of *Ovid's Fasti*. After speaking of the *Lupercalia*, he adds, *Proxima Lux vacua est, at tertia dicta Quirino; Qui tenet hoc Nomen, Romulus ante fuit.* It is plain, that *Ovid* here puts but one Day between the *Lupercalia*, and the *Quirinalia*. Now the former was fixed to The 15th of the Calends of March, or to the 15th of February, which is the same thing. The *Quirinalia* must therefore fall on the 17th Day of that Month. It is fixed to this Day in an ancient Marble, on which we find some Footsteps of the Old Calendar. Besides, it is plain, from the *Fasti Capitolini*, which have conveyed down to us

the Knowledge of the double Triumph of the two *Consuls*, *Lucius Fulvius Curvus*, and *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, that the Day appointed for the *Quirinalia*, was the Day before The 12th of the Calends of March, which was the 18th Day of February. The Inscription is this. L. FVLIVS, L. F. L. N. CVRVVS COS. ANN. CDXXXI. DE SAMNITIBUS QUIRINALIBUS Q. FABIVS M. F. N. N. MAXIMVS RULLIANVS ANN. C.D.XXXI. COS. DE SAMNITIBUS, ET APVLEIS XII. K. MART. That is, *L. Fulvius, the Son of Lucius, and Grandson of Lucius, surnamed Curvus, triumphed over the Samnites, in the Year of Rome 431, on the Day of the Quirinalia; Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus, the Son of Marcus, and Grandson of Numerius, triumphed over the Samnites, and Apulians, in the Year of Rome 431, on The 12th of the Calends of March.*

¹⁰⁵ We have already spoken of the Institution of the

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returned to *Rome*, which he entred in a Triumphal Chariot, and with a particular Mark of Distinction. In the Monuments erected to the Glory of these triumphant Victors, it was said, that *Fulvius* had subdued the *Samnites*; but that *Fabius* had conquered both the *Samnites* and *Apulians*.

It is true, one *A. Cornelius* was chosen *Dictator* in this very Year, and *Fabius Ambustus* nominated by him to be his General of Horse; and hence comes the Mistake of some Memoirs which *Livy* followed. He had found in them, That the *Dictator* had the Government in his Hands, at the time of the Defeat of the *Samnites*; and That to him was ascribed all the Honour of this fine Action. But the *Fasti Capitolini* have informed us better; and upon their Authority, we have corrected the Relation of the *Latin* Historian. *Cornelius* was chosen *Dictator*, only to preside at the ¹⁰⁶ *Games*, in the Absence of the *Consuls*, and during the Sickness of the *Prætor* for the Year. He gave the ¹⁰⁷ Signal for the Chariots to start at the Race; and all he had to do, were things of a trivial nature. Thus have we cleared up an historical Fact, which embarrassed *Livy* himself. He ascribes the Obscurity of the History of ancient Times, to Funeral Harangues. It was then customary, as it still is, for every Family to magnify its Heroes, not only by asserting such things of them as were false; but such likewise as robbed others of the Glory, which they had deserved. What more fatal to History, than those Panegyrics, which abound more with Flattery, than Truth!

the Festival of the *Quirinalia*, which was celebrated at *Rome*, in Honour to *Romulus*, who was surnamed *Quirinus*, Vol. I. p. 51. Note 169; to which we here add, that the *Romans* commonly called this Festival, *The Festival of Fools*, *Feria Stultorum*. This was the Name given to those of the People, who had not solemnized the *Fornacalia*, a Festival instituted by *Numa*, in Honour to the Goddess *Fornax*, a Divinity of his own Invention: agreeably to these Lines of *Ovid Fasti*, B. 2.

*Tacita Dea est Fornax; læti Fornace Coloni
Orant ut Fruges temperet illa suas.*

She presided over Ovens. Her Offerings were usually parched Corn, and a kind of Cakes; the reason of which, *Pliny* gives us, B. 18. on the Authority of *Hemina*, an ancient Author. *Numa instituit Deos fruge colere, & mola salsa supplicare, atque far torrere, quoniam tostum cibus salubrior esset; id uno modo consecutum, statuendo non esse purum ad rem divinam nisi tostum; & Fornacalia instituit, farvis torrendis Feras.* As this Festival was fixed to no Day in the Year, it was one of those which were called *Indictivæ Ferae*, and *Imperativæ Ferae*. The chief *Curio* used to fix it for each *Curia*, on any Day the *Consul* or *Prætor* pleased. Those of the People, who knew not when the Festival-day was, or had neglected to solemnize it, transferred the Ceremony of the *Fornacalia*, to the *Quirinalia*; which was therefore called *Feria Stultorum*. *Ovid* says as much, *Fasti*, B. 2.

*Curio legitimis tunc Fornacalia verbis
Maximus indicit, nec stata sacra facit....
Stultaque pars populi, quæ sit sua Curia nescit,
Sed facit extrema sacra relicta die.*

Add to this, that the *Fornacalia* was one of those publick Festivals, which all the People were obliged to observe. *Popularia sacra sunt*, says *Festus*, *quæ omnes Cives faciunt, nec certis familiis attributa sunt*, *Fornacalia, Palilia, Lararia, &c.*

¹⁰⁶ As long as the Republick subsisted, the *Consuls*, and in their Absence, the *Prætor* of *Rome*, presided at the *Games*, and gave the Signal for beginning the Shews. This *Ennius* declares in *Tully's* first Book, *De Divinatione*.

.... *Veluti Consul cum mittere signum
Vult, omnes avidi expectant ad carceris oras.*

In default of these Magistrates, a *Dictator* was created in their room, to exercise the Office of President; as *Livy* tells us, in several Places. In the first Ages of the Empire, this Prerogative belonged to the *Prætor*, according to *Martial*, B. 12.

*Cretatam Prætor cum vellet mittere mappam
Prætori mappam subripit Hermogenes.*

Sometimes the Emperors performed this Office, or honoured some of their *Freed-Men* with it.

¹⁰⁷ This Signal was different, at different times. *Quintilian* says, it was a Napkin, or Piece of Stuff, which the Historians call *Mappa*. The Magistrate used to throw it up to the top of the Amphitheatre. *Cassiodorus, Cedrenus, Tertullian*, and *Suetonius*, speak of this Custom. Some pretend, that before *Nero's* time, a lighted Torch was the usual Signal for the *Games*; as it was among the *Greeks*. But however that be, the beginning of the Shews was always proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet.

*Inde ubi clara dedit sonitum Tuba, finibus omni
Haud mora profluere suis.* Virg. *Æneid.* 5.

T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XVIII.

§. I. **I**T was now time for *Rome* to experience some little Change of Fortune, in her Turn. An uninterrupted Prosperity would have lulled her into a Security. The *Romans* had indeed been always haughty and imperious; but they had pursued one very sensible Maxim; which was to pardon the Nations which submitted, and to treat none with Rigour, but the proud and the untractable. But they were now grown a little neglectful of this noble Rule of Conduct. Repeated Exploits, and too constant a Success, had just blinded them. The last Year, the proud Republick had seen the *Samnites* at her Feet, begging Pardon, and restoring what they had taken from her. The Senate had accepted of the greatest Part of what they offered; and yet had rejected their Petition. So that the *Samnite* Nation was reduced to Despair. Being therefore too proud to submit absolutely to the *Romans*, and too weak to resist them by Force, they resolved to make War, but with Caution; and to try what Cunning could do against an Enemy so formidable in Battel.

WHILST the *Romans* were chusing *Titus Veturius*, surnamed *Calvinus*, and *Sp. Postumius*, *Consuls*, in their *Comitia*; the *Samnites*, in their Assembly, placed an able General at the Head of their Troops. His Name was *Pontius*: and as skilful as he was in the Art of War, his Father *Herminius* surpassed him in Wisdom. He had commanded the Armies of his Country in his younger Days, but now led a private Life; and without assisting at publick Councils, he only sent them prudent Advice; being ambitious of no other Glory but that of supporting his Republick, when attacked, by his Wisdom. The Diet of the *Samnites* was then assembled; and the Ambassadors made their Report to it, after their Return from *Rome*; and as soon as it was known what an haughty Reception the Envoys had met with at *Rome*, *Pontius* harangued the Deputies, and exhorted them not to fear Success, in a War which Necessity alone obliged the Nation to carry on, with an inexorable people, who refused them a Peace. *By no means imagine*, said he, *that our Embassy to Rome has been wholly without Effect. By this equitable Proceeding, we have averted far from Samnium, all those Calamities which the Anger of Heaven had in Reserve for us. The having nothing more to fear from the Gods, is a great step towards Success in Arms. The immortal Gods are now no longer our Enemies. As many Misfortunes as the Injustice of breaking a Treaty contrary to the Law of Nations, has brought upon us, so many Calamities will the Inhumanity of the Romans, who received our Restitution with Haughtiness, draw upon them. What could have been done to appease the Gods, or pacify Men, which we have not performed? We have restored the Spoils which were unjustly taken away. We have delivered up the Author of the Injustice dead, since we could not surrender him*

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Neither *Livy*, nor *Cassiodorus*, nor the Greek *ables*, tell us how many times either of these *Consuls* had been raised to the *Consulate*. But it is nevertheless certain, that this happened the first time in the Year of *Rome* 419; so that this Year 432, was their second *Consulship*. *Tully* confirms this, *De* *off. B. 3.* where he says these Magistrates were *Consuls* a second time, when the *Romans* were overcome near *Caudium*. *T. Veturius* & *Sp. Postumius*,

cum iterum Consules essent, &c. *Zonaras* has given *Veturius* the false *Prænomēn* of *Tiberius*; nor is the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men* less mistaken, in giving him that of *Gaius*. So if their Names are any Proof of it, both these *Consuls* seem to have been *Patricians*, contrary to the Custom of that Time, which was, equally to divide the Honours of the *Consulate* between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*.

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alive; and what could Rome desire more? Let all the Nations of Italy be our Judges. Or if our past Misfortunes, and the Credit of the Romans, should incline our Neighbours to condemn us, I would appeal from them, to the Tribunal of the Gods, whose Judgment is not to be corrupted. What Punishment will they not think due to an insatiable People, whom our most humble Acknowledgments and Reparations could not satisfy? Is it necessary that we should submit to have our very Bowels torn out, to glut their Rage? The War we are going to undertake is therefore just, because necessary; and will be successful, because just. I am not at all surprized at our ill Success in the preceding Campaigns. The Gods would not countenance Enterprises which were contrary to the Law of Nations. But now, that Justice accompanies our Arms, and Heaven conducts them, what Success have we not Reason to expect!

THE Samnite General, doubtless directed by his Father, reasoned upon sound Principles; and his Predictions proved but too true, as the Romans unhappily experienced. Pontius took the Field with his Troops without Delay; and thought the Country about ² Caudium a proper Place to be the Seat of the War. This was a little City of Samnium, encompassed with a weak Wall: But the Ground about it was judged very convenient for laying Ambushes. The City was surrounded with Mountains, environed with Woods, and the Marshes, with which the Valleys about it were filled, made it difficult of Access. The Samnite Army therefore hid itself behind the Mountains, and lay in Ambush in the Woods, till the Romans arrived.

Frontinus de
Coloniis.

As soon as Pontius understood, that the Consuls had brought their Legions to Calatia, a City of Campania, which was little more than a large League distant from Caudium, he gave the Romans time to encamp, before he appeared in the Plain. He did not propose to subdue them by Force; but hoped by Address, and his Knowledge of the Country, to surprize them. He let them loiter away some time in their Entrenchments, and tire themselves with Inaction; and then privately spread about a Report, that the Samnite Army was at a great Distance from Caudium, and busy in laying Siege to Luceria, in Apulia. The Roman Generals must surely have been at little Expence in Spies, since they did not know the Enemy was so near, but thought them employed in a Siege, in another Place. Pontius indeed used Artifice to deceive the Consuls: He dispersed ten of his Soldiers, Men of Spirit and Resolution, between Caudium and Calatia, who dressed themselves like Shepherds, and led several Flocks into the Plain. These were often taken by the Romans, and brought before the Consuls, and they all agreed in one Account, that Pontius had marched his Samnites towards Luceria, and besieged that City. Upon the Testimony of these suborned Men, the Council of War thought it proper to march the Legions to the Defence of this besieged and faithful Town. It was not a Question whether they should march to meet the Enemy; the only Difficulty was, what Rout they should take. Some, and those the wisest, were for marching the farthest Way about, for passing the Apennines, coasting for some time along the Adriatick Sea, and falling down upon Luceria that Way. Others, and those the greater Number, preferred the shortest Way to the safest. So that the latter Opinion prevailed; and the Romans were so little apprehensive of any Interruption in their March, that they ventured to lead their Troops into terrible Passes, and to climb up Rocks which seemed unpassable. The Passes seemed at first to be open, till they came near Caudium. But there the Enemy waited for them in the Woods, and kept a

Liv. B. 9. c. 2.
Eutropius,
Florus, Zonaras,
Orosius,
&c.

² Caudium, which Authors incorrectly call Claudium, was a City belonging to the Hirpini, according to Pliny the Naturalist; or to the Territory of the Samnites, according to Rutilius. Cluverius supposes it stood in the Place now called Airola; and near it, he places The Caudian Forks, in a very strait Passage, at a little Distance from the City of St. Agatha. A little River, called by the ancient Geographers Isclerus Amnis, now the Isclero, runs thro' the middle of this Strait, and discharges itself into the Volturnus. Holstenius is of Opinion, that Caudium stood on the Ground where the Town of Arpaia, formerly Harphadium Hirpinum, now stands, in The Further Principality, on the Confines of Terra di Lavoro. In Proof of this, he quotes Eriembert's History of Lombardy, Leo of Ostia's Chronicle,

and several ancient Inscriptions which have been dug up there. As for The Caudian Forks, he finds them in a very narrow Passage, which leads from Arpaia to Argentum, or Arienzio. This Pass is near a Village which the Natives call Le Furchie to this Day, and some Ruins of The Appian Way are to be seen in it. But others think The Caudian Forks are two very narrow Passes of the Val de Gardano, in The Further Principality.

³ Cluverius takes old Calatia to have been the same City which is now called Caiasso, or Caiasso in the Terra di Lavoro. Holstenius mentions two Calatias; one between Capua and Beneventum vulgarly called Galazze; the other a Fortress below Caserta. Appian tells us, that Julius Caesar planted a Roman Colony in the City of Calatia.

profound

The first camp of the Romans.



Caudium.

The Passage of the
Roman Army, through
the Caudian Forks
Year of Rome

profound Silence. At length, the *Roman* Army came to the fatal Place, which has been known to Posterity by the Name of *The Caudian Forks*. The *Consuls* marched their Troops thro' a narrow hollow Way, beset on each Side with thick Forests, and from thence descended into a spacious Valley, so surrounded by Nature with Hills, that it looked like an Amphitheatre. It was bounded on all Sides with high Mountains, which were so covered with Trees and Briers, as to be utterly unpassable. The Flat of the Valley was a marshy Meadow, which was always moist with the Torrents which came rolling down from the Mountains. There was but one Way out of it, which was narrow and steep; and the *Samnites* had taken Care to stop it up, and guard it with a Body of Troops. When therefore the *Consuls* gave Orders to clear it, they found it impracticable, by means of the Trees which were thrown down cross it, and the Heaps of Stones with which it was filled. And then, and not before, the *Romans* began to fear an Ambuscade, and to suspect that the Enemy was not far off. For fear of being invested, they instantly turned back again, and endeavoured to get out of the Valley by the hollow Way thro' which they entered it; but in vain. The *Samnites* hastily built up a dry Wall with the Trees they had prepared, and the Stones they gathered together in haste; so that the *Legions* at last found themselves shut in, without a Possibility of escaping. Then the Soldiers and Officers fixed their Eyes upon one another, wishing to discover some Signs of Hope in their Companions Faces; and all were so seized with Fear, that they continued immoveable. Nevertheless, the *Consuls* put a good Face upon it; and, as if they had a mind to continue there, ordered the Valley to be measured, in order to encamp and fortify themselves in it. The Soldiers laughed at their Precaution; but, lest they should add their Disobedience to the Faults of their Generals, none refused to work. They threw up Entrenchments at the Edge of the Water, notwithstanding the Hisses of their Enemies, who from the Tops of the Mountains insulted them for their fruitless Labours.

WHEN the *Romans* were encamped, the chief Officers of the Army, that is, the Lieutenant-Generals, and *Legionary Tribunes*, came to the *Prætorium* of the *Consuls*, to hold a Council there. They had not been sent for; either because the Confusion of the Generals had made them forget it, or because they thought all Deliberations useless in so great an Extremity. But nevertheless, it was at least necessary, to satisfy the Clamours of the Soldiers. They crowded round the *Consuls* Tent, and demanded a Deliverance; which Heaven itself could not give them, without a Miracle: And the time of the Consultation was rather spent in Lamentations, than in finding out wholesome Expedients. At length Night came on, and separated the Officers before they came to any Determination. But the Soldiers, instead of taking their Rest, spent it in discoursing about the unhappy Situation of their Affairs; every one reasoning according to his Inclinations, or Humour. *Why don't we march thro' these Forests, said some, and climb up these Rocks, as long as we are able to carry our Arms? Will the Enemy be able to resist the desperate Fury of the Romans, if we can once come to engage them? Can these Cowards, who have been so often overcome, withstand the Valour and Steadiness of their Conquerors, upon even Ground? Whilst others said, If we would come at the Samnites, we must remove these Mountains, or dig our selves a Passage thro' these impenetrable Rocks. As long as they continue in their Places, we have no Battels to fight; or Enemies to encounter. The Samnites will see us perish with Hunger here, without giving themselves the Trouble of stirring out of their Posts. We are utterly undone, Fellow-Soldiers; our Lives will be very short.*

Thus the *Romans* expressed their Despair in different Ways; and their Dejection made them neglect both Sleep, and Nourishment. On the other hand, the *Samnites*, elated with such surprizing Success, could not agree among themselves, what use to make of it. What were they to do with the *Romans*, whom they kept shut in? In this Irresolution, it was the unanimous Opinion of the whole Council of War, that old *Herminius*, the General's Father, and the Oracle of their Nation, should be consulted. His Age exempted him from military Labours, and he lived retired in his own House, far from *Caudium*. A Courier was therefore dispatched to him, with a Letter, informing him of the Extremity, to which his Son had reduced the *Roman* Army, by his Address; and desiring his Advice, what they were to do with an Army hitherto invincible, but now entirely at the Mercy

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Zonaras, B. 7.
c. 26.
Orosius, B. 3.
Liv. B. 9. c. 3.
Eutropius, &c.

Mercy of its Enemies. To this, the wise old Man sent the following Answer, which the Officers by no means expected, and which, by its Novelty, surprized them. *I advise my Son, said he, to act an humane Part, open a Passage for the Romans, and let them return to Rome, without either killing, or enslaving them.* But as much respected as *Herminius* was; his Advice was rejected. Perhaps they thought there was some Mistake in expressing it, or that they misunderstood him. At least, the Courier was sent back to him a second time; and then the old Man gave a very different Answer from the former. *Tell the Council from me, said he, that I would not have them spare the Life of one Roman; but put them all to the Sword, without Mercy.* These seemingly contradictory Opinions therefore surprized the *Samnite* General. He thought his Father's Understanding impaired by his great Age. But the Officers of the Council saw there was some Mystery in this seeming Contradiction; and the Ambiguity itself, made them reverence the Answer, like that of an Oracle. They therefore pressed *Pontius* to bring his Father to the Camp, and he at length complied with it, but not without difficulty. The old Man himself consented to be brought to the Army, in a sort of covered Carriage: and when he came, the Council was assembled, and the wise *Herminius* was introduced into it. And then, he said, *The two Answers, which I sent you, one after another, contain no Contradiction, if taken separately. I am still of opinion, that you should either freely give the Romans, who are in your Power, their Lives and Liberty; or else exterminate them all, and not spare one of them.* The first is the wisest Advice; but if you reject that, the other is necessary. Rome is a powerful State, from whose Affection we may hope for the greatest Benefits, and from whose Enmity we have reason to fear the greatest Misfortunes. If we gain her Esteem by a signal Act of Generosity, we secure ourselves in a happy and lasting Tranquillity. And if, on the other hand, we cut off all the Flower of her Youth, at one Blow, we ensure our Safety at least for a time. So that there is no Medium between these two things. Either save the Romans in such a manner, as to make them your Friends; or destroy them so effectually, as to render them impotent Enemies. But *Pontius*, and the Officers of his Army, proposed a middle Way, neither altogether so generous as the former Opinion, nor so rigorous as the latter. They were for saving the Lives of the Romans, but treating them as conquered Persons, and imposing such Laws upon them, as should restrain their Ardour for Conquest. *Trifling!* replied the wise old Man. *If you do that, you will neither make Rome your Friend, nor diminish the Number of your Enemies. To what purpose will it be, to have saved brave Men, whom you have provoked? You have reason to fear the Return of a fierce and revengful Nation. If the Restraints of a Treaty stifle their Revenge for a time, their Resentments will soon revive; and then nothing will appease their Rage, but the Blood of their Conquerors.* However, *Pontius* would not hearken to the Reasons of his Father. The most agreeable Fruit he could reap from his Victory, was to see the Romans humbled in his Presence. *We have sometimes happened to conquer them, said he; but we never yet had it in our Power to force them to surrender to us. It will be a great Pleasure to me, to humble their Pride in this respect.* Thus the Vanity of a young Conqueror prevailed against the true Interest of his Country.

WHILST the *Samnites* were deliberating in their Camp, about the Fate of the Romans, the Consular Army was terribly overwhelmed with Despair. It had already languished for some Days in the Valley in which it was shut up, without Hopes of being able to escape. The Scarcity in the invested Camp increased daily, and no Possibility appeared, either of getting Provisions, or escaping out of the Snare. Some Soldiers had indeed endeavoured to get away, but their Attempts had been in vain. The only reasonable Method seemed to be, to send a Deputation to the *Samnites* to desire a Peace upon equitable Terms; or in case of a Refusal to invite them to a Battel. *Pontius* gave the Deputies an haughty Reception, and answered them in these Terms. *We have no Battels to fight, the Victory is already gained. Nevertheless, since you will not acknowledge your Defeat, tho' in reality conquered, this I declare to you, that not a Man of you shall escape out of our Hands, till you have all been disarmed, and passed one by one under the Yoke. This is a Preliminary from which I will never depart. As to other Matters, we can settle them with the Romans upon equal Terms. They shall all leave Samnium;*

They shall withdraw their Colonies from the Cities they have invaded from us; and then both Nations will live in Peace, each according to its own Laws. Tell your Consuls this from me; and if they don't accept my Offers, appear no more in my Presence. These Words, when reported in the Roman Camp, sunk the Legions into Despair. They were in as great a Consternation at it, as if they had received an Account that they must die. The Camp was full of Sighs and Lamentations. But the Consuls continued in Silence. How durst they declare themselves in favour of the shameful Treaty, which was proposed to them? And yet, could they refuse it in the Extremity to which their Army was reduced? Whilst they were hesitating, and keeping a profound Silence, *L. Lentulus* extricated them out of their Difficulty, and spoke. He was a considerable Officer in the Army, whose Wisdom had raised him to the chief Posts in it; and he seems to have been at the Head of the Deputation to the Samnites. His Words were these: *I have heard my Father say, that he was the only Man who opposed the Redemption of the Capitol, when, during its being besieged by the Gauls, it was deliberated, whether it were proper to purchase its Deliverance with Gold. Our Enemies, said he, have thrown up no Entrenchments round us; and tho' it be difficult to get out from hence, yet it is not impossible to elude their Vigilance, or make our Way thro' them by our Valour. And in our present Circumstances I should by no means degenerate from the Sentiments of my Father, but be of his Opinion, were it possible for us to make Sallies upon the Samnites, as our Romans formerly did on the Gauls. Nay, if we could but so much as fight the Enemy, tho' with ever so great a Disadvantage of Ground, I would exhort you to exert your Valour, and animate you to it by my own Example. I would with Joy devote myself for my Country's sake, and would seek Death in the midst of the Battalions, which I would break into before I fell. But these are vain Projects! useless Wishes for the Good of our Country! I see before me, in a manner, the whole State; all the Strength of the Republick consists in the Legions which form this Army. And can they attempt to escape, without inevitable Destruction? Or will their Deaths turn to the publick Good? It will perhaps be said, that by their Deaths the Walls of Rome will be preserved, and the rest of the Citizens saved by our Destruction. But this is a strange Paradox, which tends to the Ruin of those whom we would preserve. If we perish, who shall defend our Walls in a Siege? Will a confused Multitude of disheartened Men be able to sustain the Attacks of the Samnites with more Valour than our Fathers formerly did those of the Gauls, who had before defeated them? Will the Republick now find another Camillus, and the Remains of another Army retired for Refuge to Veii? The whole Power, and all the Resources of Rome are shut up with us in this Valley. I will venture to affirm, that if we perish, our Country will perish with us; if we escape Death, it will revive with us. Now there is no way of saving our Lives, but by surrendering at Discretion. This is very grating to Roman Pride. How reproachful, say you, how ignominious! I grant it: But nothing is shameful, which the Love of one's Country makes necessary. You would save it at the Expence of your Blood; preserve it when by sacrificing a little Glory to it. For the Love of Rome, bear Ignominy itself; which should be the more tolerable, because absolutely necessary. The Gods themselves submit to Fate. Go then, Consuls, and don't think it more shameful for you to redeem your Country by stripping yourselves of your Arms, than it was for your Fathers to deliver Rome with Money.*

If the Advice *Lentulus* gave was not the most honourable, it was at least wholesome. Rome would have been utterly lost, if it had not been followed; the Republick could never have born up after so terrible a Blow. The Consuls therefore resolved to grant the Samnite General his Preliminary. They determined to lay down their Arms, and pass under the Yoke: And after signifying their Resolution to *Pontius*, they obtained a Conference with him. At the Interview, the Samnite demanded to have a Treaty of Peace concluded with Rome; doubtless on the Conditions he should prescribe. But the Consuls entrenched themselves in Formalities.

Our Dependance on the People and Senate, said they, limits our Power, and the Laws prescribe us certain Ceremonies, one single Defect in which makes our Conventions useless. We can determine nothing without the Approbation of the People, and the Ministry of the *Feciales*. Our Powers, at best, extend no farther than to secure the Conditions we agree upon by Promises, and a simple Contract, which we will further

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ther strengthen, by giving Hostages. From whence we may infer, contrary to the Opinion of some Historians, that the Result of the Conference was not an actual Treaty made in form. Hostages were, it seems, necessary to assure the Execution of what was stipulated; and one essential Ceremony in making a Treaty was wanting, which was that of sacrificing a Sow, and loading the Violaters of it with a thousand Imprecations. However, the Stipulation was accepted, and the *Samnites* satisfied. On the Day appointed, the principal Officers of the *Roman Army*, the *Consuls*, the Lieutenant-Generals, the *Quæstors*, and the *Legionary Tribunes*, went to the Camp of the *Samnites*, to sign the Convention. They promised to leave *Samnium*, evacuate the Places possessed by the *Roman Colonies*, and leave the *Samnites* in Peace, under the Government of their own Laws. Nothing seemed wanting to make the Convention a formal Treaty, except the Sanction of Publick Authority, and the Ceremonies of Religion. But to secure the Performance of what was stipulated by the *Romans*, the *Samnites* demanded of them 600 *Knights*, for Hostages; and with this Condition, that they might cut off their Heads, if *Rome* did not accomplish what the *Consuls* promised. *Pontius* fancied, that by taking so many Sureties, he should for ever secure the Glory and Liberty of his Country. But the Event shew'd, that the Views of the wise *Herminius* were more extensive than those of his Son.

§. II. UPON the Return of the *Consuls*, Sorrow and Rage filled the Hearts of the *Roman Soldiers*. They had like to have offered Violence to their Generals, and cut them in Pieces. *It is their Imprudence*, said they, *which has brought us into an inextricable Labyrinth; and now they, like Cowards, bring us out of it with Ignominy. Their Fault in suffering us to come hither, thro' a Want of Caution, was greater than that of purchasing our Liberty at the Expence of our Honour. Shall then these Instruments of our Valour, cried they, looking on their Arms, be surrendered up into the Hands of a proud Enemy? Shall the Samnites see us pass in Files, and disarmed, thro' their Battalions under Arms! Must we bear the Exultations and Shouts of a proud Conqueror! How great will their Insults be, when they see us all pass under a shameful Yoke; and when, having us in their Power, they shamefully strip us! How shocking will be our Return to our native Country! What Confusion will even the Pity of our Allies, when we pass thro' their Cities, create in us! And when we return to Rome, with what Face can we appear before our Fathers and Fellow-Citizens, who formerly never entered Rome, but in the Trains of triumphant Victors! The Wounds they received in the Battels they gained, were Proofs of their Bravery. Whereas they can only look on us, who are conquered without fighting, and disarmed without drawing a Sword, as Men of no Resolution, Strength, or Courage.*

THESE Discourses, which were so suitable to the Pride of the *Romans*, were spread thro' the whole Camp; and the Ideas they formed of their future Dishonour fell very short of the Distraction they felt when they underwent it. At length, the

4 *Livy* himself, B. 9. says, that this Convention made between the *Samnites* and the *Roman Army*, was not a real Treaty. *Itaque non, ut vulgo credunt, Claudiusque etiam scribit, Fœdere; Pax Caudina, sed per Sponsionem, facta est.* Indeed the *Civilians* say, there were three different sorts of Treaties, which the *Romans* called by the Names of *Sponsio*, *Pactio*, and *Fœdus*. *Sponsio* was a mutual Promise between private Persons, with Security. *Pactio* was a plain Contract, founded only on the Fidelity of the contracting Persons, and not drawn up in the Forms of Civil Law. But *Fœdus* signified among the *Romans*, a publick Treaty between two Nations, authorized by the Senate and People of *Rome*, confirmed by Oaths and Imprecations on those who should break it, attended with all the usual Ceremonies of Religion; and lastly, drawn up, and executed, with all the Forms necessary to render a solemn Act valid. In the Treaties which were made *per Sponsionem*, Respondents and Hostages were given, as Securities for the Performance of them. But in the Conventions *ex Fœdere*, every Clause of the Treaty was ratified by a *Fecialis*, who engaged to perform it, in the Name of the Republick.

Then a Hog, or a Sow, was offered in Sacrifice and this Form of Words, which *Livy* records in the same Place, was repeated with a loud Voice. *PE- QUEM POPULUM FIAT, QUO MINUS LEGIBUS SIT- TUR, UT EUM ITA JUPITER FERAT, QUEMAD- DUM A FECIALIBUS PORCUS FERIATUR.* This is, *May Jupiter strike that Nation of the two, who shall violate the Conditions of the Treaty, as the Feciales strike the Hog.* From whence *Livy* concludes, that the Agreement made between the *Samnites* and the *Romans*, was not, strictly speaking, a real Treaty. His Reason for it, is this; *Sponsio- runt Consules, Legati, Quæstores, Tribuni Militum Nominaque omnium, qui sponderunt, extant. si ex Fœdere acta res esset, præterquam duorum fecialium non extarent, &c.* The *Consuls*, says the Historian, The Lieutenant-Generals, The *Quæstors*, and The *Legionary Tribunes*, signed the Treaty and engaged to see the Articles of it performed. This was not the Way of proceeding, in Treaties *ex Fœdere*. It was sufficient for them to be signed by two *Feciales*; who represented the *Roman Senate* and People.

fatal Hour came. It had been fixed by the Enemy's General: And the Conditions to which the *Romans* submitted were these. First all their Officers, and then their Soldiers, were ordered to march out of their Camp, with only one Garment on, and without their Arms. The 600 *Knights*, who were to be the Hostages, went first; and as soon as they were put into the Enemy's Hands, they were conducted to a Place of Safety. The *Consuls* next appeared in the Presence of their Conquerors, and were first ordered to pull off their military Cloaks, which were the Marks of their Dignity. At this Sight, those very Soldiers, whose Indignation had made them murmur against their Generals, turned away their Eyes, and their Anger melted into Compassion. They could not see Officers of so high a Rank treated with so much Indignity, without Regret: And whilst the *Legions* were lamenting their hard Fate, the *Consuls* passed first under the Yoke, stripped off their Habits, and half naked. Then the same Affront was put upon the rest of the Officers, according to their Rank. Last of all, the private Men followed, every one in his Turn. The unfortunate *Romans* were surrounded with armed Enemies, who insulted or struck them, as they passed: And if any of them gave a *Samnite* but a fierce Look, they were knocked down, or killed.

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SUCH was the miserable Case of these unhappy *Romans*, who did not begin to breathe, till they were delivered out of their Prison. But though they thought themselves escaped out of a kind of Hell, they found their Condition almost insupportable. They could have reached *Capua* the same Day: but partly out of Distrust of that City, though allied to *Rome*, and partly out of Shame to be seen there in so miserable a Condition, they chose rather, to lay down, and sleep, upon the bare Ground, without Food or Refreshment. The News however, was no sooner brought to the City, but the haughty Temper with which the *Capuans* had always been reproached, changed into Humanity. They sent the *Consuls* Habits, Horses, and all the Ornaments belonging to their Office. They provided them with Arms, *Fasces*, and *Lictors*. They sent Refreshments for them and their Army: and when they came near *Capua*, the Militia and People went to meet them. In short, these beneficent Allies were not wanting in any publick or private Act of the most friendly Hospitality. But to how great a Dejection does such an Humiliation sink those Men, who have been accustomed to Success from their Infancy, and habituated to Triumphs! The *Consuls*, and their Troops, were unaffected with all the Marks of a sincere Friendship. A kind of wild savage Grief appeared in their Faces. With their Eyes fixed on the Ground, they persisted in Silence, and all consolatory Discourses seemed irksome to them. Their profound Silence proceeded not so much from Vexation, as Shame. In a word, all Company seemed troublesome to them; they thought every New-comer, ready to vent fresh Reproaches against them; and therefore left *Capua* the next Day, in order to return to *Rome*. The Choice of the young *Campanian* Nobility accompanied them, out of Respect, to the Frontiers of their Country: and when the young Nobles returned, the Senate of *Capua* assembled, and enquired how the *Consuls*, and their Army, appeared in their March. *Time*, said they, *has not at all diminished their Dejection. They kept the same Silence, and shewed the same Consternation on the Road, as at Capua. The fierce Romans are discouraged, and have laid down their ancient Valour with their Arms. Not one of them made any Return to our Civilities; nay, they scarce perceived them. One would have said, that they were carrying the Yoke, under which they passed, on their Shoulders. How great is the Glory of the Samnites! Their Victory is not transient; for they have not only vanquished the Romans, as the Gauls formerly did; but have even triumphed over Roman Valour.*

THESE Discourses in the Senate of *Capua*, gave many People a Contempt for the Republick, and thereby paved the Way for a Revolt. But there was one Man in

This military Cloak was called *Paludamentum*. See what we have said of it, B. 16. p. 143, of this Volume, Note 13.

The Pride of the *Campani*, and *Capuans*, in particular, was so well known, and so remarkable, that it became proverbial, *Campana Superbia*. *Tullius*, Orat. post redit, speaking of *Capua*, says, it was the Seat of Pride; and in his Oration against *Rullus*, says, that this Vice had its Rise there. *Capua Do-*

micilium Superbiae Capua nata Superbia. In this Sense, *Aulus Gellius* says of this Epigram of *Nevius*,

*Immortales Mortales si fas foret flere,
Flerent Camena Nevium Poetam, &c.*

That it favours of the Pride and Arrogance of the *Campani*.

the

Year of the Assembly, who had good Sense enough to form a right Judgment of the
R O M E Consternation of the *Roman* Army. The Name of this wise Man was *Ostilius Ca-*
 CCCCXXXII. *lavius*, whose Age, Birth, and Services, gained him great Respect in his Country.
 T. VETURIUS I judge quite otherwise, said he, of this dumb Confusion of the Romans, than the
 CALVINUS, SP. generality do. I perceive, in this obstinate Silence of theirs, the Marks of a Rage
 POSTUMIUS, which ferments, without evaporating. The fixing their Eyes on the Ground, shew
 Consuls. how much their Thoughts are bent on Revenge; and their refusing to be comforted
 is a Proof, that they will never forget the Affront they have received. The Taciturnity of so many brave Men, will soon produce loud Lamentations among the
Samnites. The Romans will always have the unworthy Treatment they have received from their Enemies before their Eyes; but the *Samnites* will not always have
Caudian Forks to shut them in. Such were the different Sentiments and Discourses of the Allies of the Republick.

AT *Rome*, the People began to be in pain for the *Consular* Army. News had been brought thither, I know not how, that it was surrounded by the *Samnites*; and some Levies were already made to march to their Assistance. But a stop was put to all Preparations, when an Account was brought of the shameful Peace the *Consuls* had made with the Enemy. The Indignation of the *Romans* at this News, was greater than their Fears had been, at the Danger to which the Flower of their Youth was exposed. Without waiting for the Orders of the Senate, all, as it were, by a tacit Consent, put on the Marks of the deepest Mourning. The Administration of Justice was neglected; the Shops in the *Forum Romanum* were shut up; the *Roman* 7 Ladies laid aside their Gold-Rings, and the Magistrates their Habits 8 of Ceremony. In short, the City seemed to be in as great a Consternation, as the Army. Nor was this all. Every one burst out into bitter Invektives against

7 *Pliny* tells us, B. 33. c. 1. that Gold-Rings came very late into Use among the *Romans*. They, for a great while, wore only Iron ones. These Rings of a more valuable Metal, were not suffered to be worn by any, but those whom the Republick sent on an Embassy, to whom they were given as a Badge of their Dignity. Nor did they ever wear them on their Fingers, except on Days of Audience, when they were upon their Duty as Ambassadors. Nay, even those who triumphed, *Marius* himself not excepted, were not allowed this Privilege, any more than private Persons. Being therefore very uncertain, whether the *Roman* Nobility wore Gold-Rings, at the time we are now speaking of, we thought it allowable to confine the Use of them to the *Roman* Ladies, and to make them lay them aside, as a Proof of their Grief; tho' *Livy* says nothing positive about it. We shall hereafter give a full Account of the Antiquity, and different Uses of Rings, among the *Romans*.

8 *Livy* calls these Habits of Ceremony, which the Magistrates laid aside, *Lati Clavi*. Those who are ever so little acquainted with the *Roman* History, cannot but know, that the *Latus Clavus* was a Tunick, or sort of Vest, which the Senators wore, to distinguish themselves from the *Roman* Knights. The Tunick worn by the latter, was called *Angustus Clavus*. The most plausible Account which can be given of the Name of these Habits, (which is a Subject, on which many learned Men have much differed in Opinion) is, that they were so called from some Ornaments of Purple put on the Tunicks, which looked like Studs, or Heads of Nails. *Sigonius*, B. 3. de *Judiciis*; and *Zamoscius*, B. 1. de *Senatu Romano*, have falsely imagined, that these *Clavi*, with which the Tunicks of the Senators, and *Roman* Knights, were adorned, were nothing else but Flowers, either embroidered, or interwoven in the Stuff itself. And this Opinion, which has hitherto been received by very considerable Men, we adopted, Vol. 1. p. 120. Note 58. But besides, that it can never be reconciled with the Crowd of ancient Authors; it is easy to discover, that *Clavus* was never used among the *Latins*, to signify the Figure of a Flower. Others, as *Lazius*,

B. 2. and 3. *Commentar. Reipub. Rom.* and *Pacirollus*, Lib. 1. *Rerum memorabilium*, take the *Clavi* to signify the Buttons, or Clasps, with which the Tunick was fastned together before. But this Opinion refutes itself. Who can imagine, that the *Romans*, who called their Napkins, and Table-Cloths, *Clavate Mappa*, *Clavata Mantilia*, and *Laticlavie Mappa*, should put Buttons or Clasps upon them, to make them finer. Besides, such Ornaments as these would have been very improperly placed on a Tunick, which was all of a Piece, and had no Opening, as we shall demonstrate the *Lati Clavi* to have been, in its proper Place. And lastly, we find no Marks of any such Buttons, or Buckles, on any antique Statues of the *Consuls*, or *Roman* Senators. Nor has *Cujus* succeeded better in his Conjecture, when he takes the *Clavus*, as well as the *Epauls* of the *Greeks*, to have been a kind of Scapulary, which reached from the Shoulders to the Breast. What Resemblance has such a Piece of Stuff to the Form of a Nail? And yet *Scaliger* seems to incline to this Opinion, only with this difference, that he thinks this sort of Scapulary was spotted with Purple-Spots, like the Heads of Nails. We likewise reject the Opinion of *Budens*, who has injudiciously confounded the *Latus Clavus* with the *Prætexta*. He did not consider, that the one was the *Toga* worn by the Magistrates, the other simple Vest. As for *Le Ferrari*, he glories in having found out the Etymology of the *Laticlave*, and the *Angusticlave*, in those purple Figures, which he says were scattered all over them, without Number and were like the Heads of Nails; only with this difference, that those on the *Laticlave* were broader than those of the *Angusticlave*. He endeavours to support his Opinion by a multitude of Quotations which he turns to all Senses, in order to make them favour it. But all his Labours amount to no more than to shew the little Solidity there is in the Proof he produces with such a Confidence, as had hitherto imposed on those, who had not read *Albert Rutenius's* Treatise, on *The Habits of the Ancients*. All things considered, the Opinion of the latter seems to us, to be most agreeable, to what the *Roman* Writers have told us, of the *Laticlave*, and the *Angusticlave*.



A. *A Roman Knight in his Angusticlave.* . . .
B. *A Roman Senator in his Laticlave.* . . .

against the Authors of so shameful a Treaty: and as Anger is often unjust, the publick Hatred reached even to the Soldiers themselves, tho' entirely innocent. *They are a Parcel of Cowards*, said the People, *who don't deserve to see their native Country again; we ought to shut them out of our City.* Such are the usual Murmurings of a Multitude, at ill Success; but it is very inconstant in its Resolutions. The Indignation of the *Roman People* soon turned into Pity. As soon as their unfortunate Countrymen appeared at *Rome*, so far were they from being insulted, that their Misfortunes were lamented. Nevertheless, they did not enter the City, with an Air of Joy, as is usual, after an unexpected Deliverance from great Danger: the Mortifications they had felt at the Place where they were shut up Prisoners, followed them to the Place, where they had most Liberty. They tarried till Night, before they would enter the City; and then every one stole home, and hid himself in his own House. None appeared in publick for several Days; the *Forum* was entirely deserted. They looked on themselves, as disgraced, degraded, and utterly ruined. Even the *Consuls* banished themselves from publick Society. They performed only one Act of their Office, which was indispensable; that is, they nominated a *Dictator*, to preside in the *Comitia by Centuries*, wherein new *Consuls* were to be chosen. They thought themselves unworthy to appear at the Head of the Republick, in the *Campus Martius*. The *Dictator* they nominated was *Q. Fabius Ambustus*, who chose *Ælius Pætus* to be his General of Horse. But there was some Defect found in *Fabius's* Nomination; *Æmilius Papus* was substituted in his room; and the General of Horse he chose was *Valerius Flaccus*. And so dissatisfied were the People of *Rome* with all the Magistrates of this unfortunate Year, that the latter Promotion was as much disliked as the former: And it therefore became necessary to let the Republick fall into an *Interregnum*, in order to have a more fortunate President of the *Comitia* than either of the *Dictators* which such cowardly *Consuls* had named. The Government fell into the Hands of two

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Angusticlave. He thinks the *Clavus* was a purple Stripe, which terminated in a Point, and reached from the top of the Vest, to the bottom, before. In this Sense, *Horace* says, *Latum demisit pectore clavum*. According to *Rubenius*, the *Prætexta* differed from the *Laticlave* and *Angusticlave*, only in this, that the former was bordered with a Stripe of Purple at the bottom; whereas this Stripe was placed on the upper and most visible Part of the latter. Besides, the *Greeks* called a *Laticlave*, *μεγαλοπορφυρον*; whence our Author draws a strong Proof in favour of his Opinion. He observes, that the *μεγαλοπορφυρον* of the *Greeks*, was a Garment, which was bordered with Purple at the bottom; and therefore their *μεγαλοπορφυρον* must have been a Garment, which had a Stripe of Purple in the middle of it. And *St. Jerome* favours this Interpretation, in B. 2. of his *Commentary on Isaiah*, where he renders the Greek Word *μεγαλοπορφυρον*, by *Tunicam clavatam purpurâ*. *Festus* calls a Stripe of Purple, *Clavus Purpureus*. *Isidorus*, B. 19. ch. 22. Of *Etymologies*, compares the purple Stripes, with which the ancient *Dalmatian* Vests were adorned, with those the *Latins* called *Clavi*, or rather he gave them that Name. His Words are these. *Dalmatica Vestis primum in Dalmatia Provincia Græcia texta est, Tunica Sacerdotalis candida cum Clavis ex purpura*. These are the same Stripes, which *Aleuin*, cap. 4. de *Celebr. Miss.* calls *Virgulas coccineas*. *Amalarinus*, Lib. 2. de *Ecclesiast. Offic.* calls them *coccineas Lineas*. So that, the *Latin* Words, *Clavi*, *Virgula*, and *Lineæ*, were by them thought synonymous. *Rubenius* conjectures, with probability enough, that the *Laticlave* of the Senators had only one very broad Stripe of purple in the middle of the Vest before: and he gives this Reason for it; because, says he, the *Laticlave* is called *Latus Clavus* in the singular. And he supposes, at the same time, that the *Angusticlave* had two Stripes, which were narrower than that of the *Laticlave*, and placed, one on the right Side, the other on the left of the Tunick: in proof of which, he quotes the Authority of *Quintilian*, who

calls the Purple used in the Tunicks of the *Roman Knights*, *Purpureæ*, in the Plural. *Quintilian's* Words B. 11. 3. are these. *Cui Lati Clavi Jus non erit, ita cingatur, ut Tunica, prioribus, infra genua paulum; posterioribus, ad medios poplites, usque perveniant: nam infra, Mulierum; supra, Centurionum. Ut PURPURÆ recte descendant levis cura est: Notatur interim negligentia. Latum habentium Clavum modus est, ut sit paulum cinctis submissior*. That is, *Let him who has not a Right to wear the Laticlave, gird up his Tunick in such a manner, that it reach down a little below the Knees before, and to the middle of the Leg behind; for Women only ought to wear their Tunicks longer, and only Centurions shorter. It is easy to manage the Tunick so, as that the Stripes of Purple shall fall strait, and answer one another exactly, in such a manner as not to look slovenly. As for those who enjoy the Honour of the Laticlave, their Tunicks ought to come down lower, than those which are tied up with Girdles*. From this Passage of *Quintilian*, *Rubenius* infers, 1st, That the *Angusticlave*, or Tunick of the *Roman Knights*, had two Stripes of Purple reaching from the top to the bottom of it: and he confirms this Conjecture by these two Verses of *Horace*, who does not give any more to the *Roman Tunick*.

*Purpureus late qui splendeat unus & alter
Assuitur Pannus....*

2dly, That excepting only the *Laticlave*, it was customary for the *Roman Knights* and *Plebeians*, to tie up their Tunicks with a Girdle. And, 3dly, That those of the Senators were more full and long, and consequently more suitable to the Gravity of a Magistrate. The adjoining Plate will shew the Form of the *Laticlave*, and *Angusticlave*, among the ancient *Romans*. Add to this, that the Right of wearing the Habits which were called *Clavate Vestes*, was not confined to the Senators, or *Knights* only, as we shall observe hereafter. For we shall often have occasion to speak of the *Roman Habits*.

Year of illustrious Men, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Valerius Corvus*, who was then *Prætor* the third time; and during his Administration, the *Comitia* were held, wherein the People made a most judicious Choice of new Governors.

CCCCXXXII.
T. VETURIUS
CALVINUS, SP.
POSTUMIUS,
Consuls.
Plin. B. 7. c. 48.

§. III. IN order to repair the Glory of *Rome*, and fill the Places of two *Consuls*, who were too inconsiderate, and too little skilled in the Art of War, it was necessary that two Men of known Wisdom, and approved Valour, should be chosen. The first Person pitched on was the famous *Papirius* ⁹ *Cursor*, who had been for some time forgotten. It often happens in Republicks, that in Times of Prosperity great Men are neglected; and their Merit, which is often opposed by Factions, sometimes lessened by Jealousy, and at other times suspected, thro' the general Distrusts of the People, sinks into Obscurity. But when the Misfortunes of the State open the Eyes of those who govern it, Men of extraordinary Virtue regain their former Lustre; Necessity makes Governors do Justice to their Talents, and they become the Refuge of their Country. Thus, the Victories, the Constancy, and the Address of *Papirius*, in managing the People, were forgotten, till *Rome* met with this Misfortune. And it was much the same Case with the famous *Q. Publilius*, surnamed *Philo*, who was given him for his Colleague in the *Consulship*. He had been twice *Consul* already, and was now promoted to that Dignity a third time. He had triumphed over the *Latins* in his first *Consulship*; and afterwards, when he was only *Proconsul*, *Rome* had granted him a Triumph, contrary to Custom, for having subdued the *Palapolitans*. Tho' a *Plebeian*, the Republick had always distinguished him; the Commons had raised him to all those Offices, which before his Time had been filled only with *Patricians*: And he had, by his Bravery and Conduct, all along shewn himself worthy of the great Posts to which he had been advanced. Nevertheless, for these six Years last past, his Name seemed to have been forgotten, and he was no longer found in the List of *Roman* Magistrates. Nothing less than so terrible a Blow, as that of *The Caudian Forks*, could make the People think of him, and raise him from the Obscurity of a private Life, in which his Merit was buried.

Year of THE same Day that these two Great Men were chosen in the *Comitia*, the *Consul* *script Fathers* ordered them to enter upon their Office. They did not wait till the Time of their Predecessors was expired. This was a Sort of Degradation, which the latter had deserved by their ill Conduct: And this again shews how uncertain a Method it is to reckon the *Roman* Years by the Number of the *Consulships*, the Beginnings and Endings of which, then often varied. *Papirius* and *Publilius* made it their first Business to get themselves invested in their Office, according to Law, by a Decree of the Senate; wherein it was declared, that they took Possession without any Defect in Point of Religion. Then they resolved to report to the Senate the Stipulation the preceding *Consuls* had made with the *Samnites*, in order to deliver the *Roman* Army. The Senators were assembled, and the greatest Part of those who had signed the Convention were present. *Publilius* presided, because it was his Month to have the *Fasces*, and do the Office of first *Consul*. The first of the *Consul Fathers* whom *Publilius* ordered to speak, was *Postumius*, one of the unfortunate Generals who had suffered himself to be surprized in *The Caudian Forks*. He spoke thus.

I am very sensible, that my being called upon first to give my Opinion concerning the unhappy Affair in which I bore so great a Part, is not so much to do me Honour, as to overwhelm me with Confusion. I shall therefore speak rather as an Offender, than as a Senator. You have not indeed made it a Part of the Business in hand, to consider, either the Nature of our Crime, or the Punishment we deserve; it not being your Design to prosecute us as Criminals. If it were, I should have Reason to say, that it would be unjust to make Generals responsible for unforeseen Events; and that

⁹ *Livy* himself confesses, that this was *Papirius Cursor's* second *Consulship*; tho' he does not mention his first, as we have observed, under the Year of *Rome* 420. The *Greek Tables* call this his third *Consulship*; which is a Consequence of the Mistake which is in those *Tables*, under the Year 431. They call the *Consuls*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, and *L. Fulvius Curvus*, only by the Surnames of

Cursor, and *Rullus*. The former of which Surname being that of *Papirius*, this has occasioned the Mistake in those *Annals*, about the Number of *Consulships*. It seems probable, from the History itself, that the *Consuls* of the last Year, laid down their Offices before they expired. But as no Historian expressly concerning it, we reckon the Years of *Rome* according to the *Consulships*, as usual.

the capricious Turns of Fortune are not in their Power. But I shall at present only declare my Opinion of our unfortunate Campaign, and the shameful Peace we have just made with the Enemy: And by my Sentiments which I shall declare to you, you will judge whether I had my own Interest, or that of my Country, most at heart, in concluding an infamous Treaty. No; the Stipulation we have signed, does not at all oblige The Roman People, because we did it without their Orders. In order to fulfil it therefore, nothing more is wanting, than to deliver up the chief Authors of it to the Samnites. This is all that our Enemies can, in strictness, require of Rome. Let us be stripped, put in Chains, and conducted by Eccials to the Enemy's Camp; and let the Obligations which we alone have entered into, be discharged, wholly at our Expence. Happy shall we be, if Heaven is appeased by the Sacrifice of our Lives, and if Religion does not obstruct the Renewal of the War with the Enemy! I am therefore of opinion, that Papirius and Publilius should raise a new Army, and lead it into the Field, but not enter upon Action, till we are delivered up to the Samnites, according to the strictest Rules of Equity. O ye immortal Gods! If Veturius, and I, have incurred your Displeasure, be at least satisfied, to have forced us to pass naked, and unarmed, under the Samnite Yoke, and to see us this Day loaded with Chains, and delivered up into the Enemy's Hands! But be ye more propitious to the new Consuls, and lead them on to as great and constant Victories, as any of our Predecessors obtained! Inspire them with the same Courage, by which the Generals before us, so often gained themselves Triumphs.

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POSTUMIUS said this with an Air of as great Humility and Dejection, as he shewed when he passed under the Yoke: and the Assembly was moved by it. The Senate judged, that he made sufficient amends for the Shame of his Treaty, by the heroick Advice he gave. *Is this that Postumius, said they, whose Conduct and Cowardice have caused so much Murmuring? What a Misfortune is it to the Republick, to lose so great a Man! Must a Man of such high Virtue be delivered up to an Enemy, which will exercise Vengeance with the greater Fury upon him, as he has broken the Peace, he himself had signed! How terrible are the Punishments destined for him!*

NOTWITHSTANDING the universal Compassion of the Senators, for the great Number of Officers, which were delivered up to the Samnites, all were of Postumius's Opinion. Only two Tribunes of the People, named L. Livius, and Q. Mælius, made any Opposition to the Decree which was going to pass. These two Men had, in all appearance, been Legionary Tribunes, in the Troops which returned from The Caudian Forks, and had been chosen 10 Tribunes of the People since their Return. Being therefore comprehended in the Number of those which were to be delivered up into the Hands of the Samnites, they did their utmost to divert the Blow which threatened them. *Don't imagine, Conscript Fathers, said they, that you have discharged all your Obligations, when you have delivered us up to the Enemy. You cannot do all that in strict Justice is required of you, without placing your whole Army, in that Situation out of which our Promises delivered it. You ought to send all your Troops, and their Commanders, to The Caudian Forks; and not barely abandon a few Officers to the Rage of the Samnites. What Punishment have we deserved, for having saved the Roman Army? Ought we alone to pay, with our Lives and Liberty, for the Advantage we have gained the Republick? Will you put a Cheat upon the Gods, and neighbouring Nations, by discharging only the least Part of the Demands the Samnites have upon Rome? Besides; with regard to us, whatever becomes of the other Victims, which you reserve for the Fury of our Conquerors, we at least, as Tribunes of the People, are not subject to your Decrees. You know our Office is sacred, and our Persons inviolable. Both the Laws, and Religion, have put the Tribunes of the People out of the reach of*

10 It is past doubt, that Lucius Livius and Quintus Mælius, did not begin to exercise the Office of Tribunes, till after the unhappy Affair of Caudium; tho' Livy does not tell us when they were created. It was not lawful for the Tribunes of the People, as Aulus Gellius observes, to be absent from Rome a whole Day. These two new Magistrates could therefore be at The Caudian Forks, only as inferior Officers in the Roman Army. Tully, de Offic. lib. 3.

speaks of the Opposition the two Tribunes made, with this Difference, that he gives the former the Name of Titus Minucius, and not that of Lucius Livius; and calls the second Tribune, Quintus Æmilius, instead of Quintus Mælius. But this is a manifest Mistake. The Æmilii were Patricians; and consequently could not stand for the Tribuneship of the People.

Year of the Senate, and other Magistrates. Be not therefore guilty of a double Crime, *depriving the Samnites of the best Part of their Pretensions, and at the same time wounding the Authority of the Roman People.*

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INDEED, if maturely considered, one of the Reasons urged by *Livius* and *Ma- lius*, was agreeable to natural Equity, and the other to the Roman Laws. But in the present Extremity, the Senate was not inclined to confine itself wholly to regard for Justice, and an Observance of the Laws. Those who govern States often make the Publick Good a Pretence for acting contrary to the Dictates of right Reason. And *Postumius* now endeavoured, in a long Harangue, to remove the Scruples the two *Tribunes* had raised in the Minds of those who were naturally inclined to follow the strictest Rules of Equity. It was indeed out of a Principle of Magnanimity, and Love for his Country, that this old *Consul* persisted in his Opinion: but his Virtue was defective in the most essential Part. He spoke in this manner. *Delay not, Conscript Fathers, to send back us, who are now more than common Persons, to the Enemy. And the time will soon come, when you may deliver up these (as is pretended) sacred Persons, these inviolable Magistrates, in their Turn. You may promise the Samnites to do it, as soon as the Term of their Tribuneship is expired. And if you will hearken to me, you shall cause them to be beaten with Rods here in the Forum, by way of making amends, for delaying to surrender them. These Tribunes pretend, that your delivering us into the Enemy's Hands, is not discharging the Whole of your Obligations. But who does not see, that their Fear of being given up to the Samnites, is what alone suggests to them a Pretence, so little agreeable to the Laws of the Feciales, and the military Code? I allow, that Treaties, and even bare Promises, are held sacred and inviolable by all Nations, who are governed by Religion, and act agreeably to Law. But is it not likewise granted, that Conventions which are not agreed to by any Nation, don't oblige that Nation? What if the Samnites had required of us, the Surrendry of Rome, and all the Roman State, and had even forced us to promise to give them Possession of them, by the same Form¹¹ of Words, which is used in the Surrendry of besieged Cities; would the Republick have been bound, in that Case, by our Oaths? Would you yourselves, Tribunes of the People, have consented, to have given them our Towns, our Temples, our Sanctuaries, and our Lands? But why should we put a simple Promise upon an equal foot with a formal Surrendry? Suppose we had agreed with the Samnites, to get Rome deserted by its Inhabitants, to reduce it to Ashes, to abolish the Senate, Magistracy, and Laws, and to re-establish Kingly Government here; would you have thought yourselves bound by our Promises? The bare Thoughts of it make you tremble. Does then the Obligation of Promises depend on the Importance of the Things promised? Is not a Man equally obliged to perform what he lawfully promises, whether it be of little, or much Consequence? Besides, what signifies it, whether the Person promising be a Dictator, a Consul, or a Prætor, if the Promises he makes in your Name, be without your Consent? No one Magistrate in Rome, how great soever, is empowered to represent the whole Republick. Of this the Samnites themselves were so fully convinced, that they required the principal Officers of the Army should sign the Stipulation, as well as the Consuls. Nor let it be asked, Why then did you, as Consul, promise the Samnites, what you had no Right to promise them? Why did you, without any Commission, enter into Engagements, which you could not perform? These are impertinent, and trifling Questions. Were we conducted by Reason, in the Affair of Caudium? The Gods deprived both us, and our En-*

¹¹ We may judge of this Form, by that pronounced at the Surrendry of *Collatia*, in the Reign of *Tarquin the First*; which Form *Livy* gives us, B. 1. The King, says the Historian, addressed himself to those who were empowered to treat with him, in the Name of the City, in these Words. ESTIS NE VOS LEGATI, ORATORES QUE MISSI A POPULO COLLATINO, UT VOS POPULUM QUE COLLATINUM DEDERETIS? SUMUS. EST NE POPULUS COLLATINUS IN SUA POTESTATE? EST. DEDITISNE, VOS, POPULUM COLLATINUM, URBEM, AGROS, AQUAM, TERMINOS, DELUBRA, UTENSILIA, DIVINA, HUMANAQUE OMNIA, IN MEAM

POPULIQUE ROMANI DITIONEM? DEDIMUS. A EGO RECIPIO. That is, *Are you the Deputies sent by the People of Collatia, in order to surrender yourselves and them to us? We are. Have the People of Collatia an absolute and free Power of disposing of themselves? They have. Do you absolutely submit to become obedient to me, and do you surrender up to me, yourselves, your Citizens, your City, your Lands, your Dependencies, your Temples, your Moveables, and in short, every thing that belongs to you, whether sacred or profane? We do. And accept of them.*

mies, of the Use of it. The Samnites, by a strange kind of Fatality, made no use of their Advantage. They were as imprudent, in being so hasty in disarming us, as we were rash in running into their Snares. If they had had any Presence of Mind, could they not have sent Deputies to Rome, and entered into a regular Treaty with the Republick? Could they want time for it, when they had enough, to fetch old Herennius to their Camp, from a great distance? They might have concluded a solid Peace with the Senate and People of Rome, to their Advantage, in three Days, had their Envoys made but the least Dispatch. And in that case, they must have gained, either a Truce, or a Peace, or a certain Victory. But what am I saying? You never would have consented to the Terms, which they required of us. The Gods determined, that this perplexed Affair should only end in deceiving the Samnites, as they had deceived us. Their Victory has been only an empty Dream to them, which gave them a little Joy for the present; and the Peace they made with us, is as vain, as their Conduct was imprudent. In a word, they entered into such a Treaty with us, as obliges only the Authors and Guarantees of it. The Senate and People of Rome, are absolutely free from the Engagements which oblige us only. Who will think you responsible for them? The Enemy? You entered into no Treaty with them. The Roman People? We had no Commission to act in their Name. We alone then are bound by our own Promises, and we are able to discharge our Obligations. Our Heads shall answer our Engagements: we submit to the Fury of the Samnite. Let him treat us with all the Severity his Rage can inspire. As to Livius and Mælius, it is your Business to consider, whether it be most proper, not to deliver them up, till their Magistracy is expired; or to send them away with us, and put them into the Enemy's Hands, immediately. Do you, Veturius, my old Colleague, and you the brave Officers of an unfortunate Army, come with me; and offer up those Victims to the Samnites, which are devoted to them. Happy shall we be, to have saved the Flower of the Roman Youth, at the Expence of our Lives!

THE Senate was charmed with this Discourse, in which there was more Art than Eloquence, and more Magnanimity than true Justice. The Romans acquiesced in these Reasons, which were clothed with the Appearance of Equity: they were both prejudiced in favour of Postumius, and transported to see themselves delivered from a shameful Peace, at the Expence of only a few Officers, who could easily be spared. Postumius's Advice was confirmed, and all the Senators, the two opposing Tribunes themselves not excepted, came into it. Livius and Mælius did not refuse to follow the Fate of those who had signed the Stipulation. They abdicated their Office, and joined the Company, which was to be conducted to the Enemy. The Republick, till that time sunk into an Abyss of Sorrow, found some way to revive, as soon as the famous Decree, for delivering up the Consuls for the last Year to the Samnites, was passed. The Romans talked of nothing but Postumius. They looked on his Surrender of himself, as a Devotement for the Good of his Country, and equalled his Glory to that of Decius. It is Postumius, said they, who has freed us from the Subjection to which a shameful Treaty would have reduced us. He has restored us our Arms; let us therefore turn them against the Samnite. Will not the time soon come, for us to retaliate upon our Enemies! We shall soon subdue those by Force, who have conquered us by Artifice. These Discourses animated the Roman Youth so much, that there needed no Orders to raise an Army. Almost all who took Arms, were Volunteers; and of them were formed new Legions. The Army marched from Rome, and came and encamped under Caudium. At the Head of it, marched the two Consuls for the last Year, and the unfortunate Company which was to be delivered up to the Samnites. At length, they arrived near the Enemy's Camp; and then Preparations were made for conducting the Roman Officers which were to be given up, to the General Pontius.

§.IV. CORNELIUS ARVINA was the *Fecialis* deputed by the Republick, to perform the Ceremony of the Surrendry. He began, with causing Postumius's hands to be tied; but the Officer, who was to do it, did not tie the Cord hard enough, out of respect to so great a Man. But the generous Consul reproved him for it. Why do you spare me? said he; tie me in such a manner, that the Enemy may have nothing to suspect in my Surrender. In this captive State, the Roman

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Officers came to the *Samnite* Camp. As soon as they were brought into *Pontius'* Presence, the *Roman Fecialis* expressed himself in these Words, as he was commanded. *Since these Men undertook, without any Commission, to conclude a Treaty of Peace with you, and committed a Crime in so doing; we deliver them up to you in order to free ourselves from any Share in the Punishment which they alone have deserved.* Upon which, *Postumius*, as if offended at what the *Fecialis* said, immediately gave him a hard Blow on the Thigh with his Knee, and sternly said: *I am now a Samnite, and you an Ambassador of Rome. I have therefore by this Blow violated the Law of Nations; and you are thereby the better authorized to make War upon us.* But the *Samnite* General did not suffer himself to be imposed on, by these Appearances of Equity, and this premeditated Artifice. He replied *No; I neither accept of such a Surrendry, nor will my Republick be satisfied with it. As for you, Postumius, why don't you either absolutely break your Word, or else wholly discharge it? You ought either to deliver up the whole Army, which was surrounded at Caudium, or bring Rome to consent to the Treaty you have signed. But why do I complain of you? You have indeed personally acquitted yourself of your Engagements to us, by surrendering yourself up a Prisoner. I must therefore address myself to the Roman People. If they disown the Stipulation of their Consuls, let them at least send a whole Army, to the same Place, where we kept one invested. They will by that means restore every thing as it was. We shall then have no more Complaints to make, no Deceit to charge them with. We will return your disarmed Soldiers their Arms, and their Camp shall be restored them. There they may brave us, and threaten us with War, as much as they please. They may there, either treat of Peace, or fight. The faithless Republick will then have no Promises of her Consuls to disavow. Go, perfidious Men; you recover a bad Step, by Breach of Faith, as usual. It was thus that you took away the Hostages which you sent *Porfena*, when he besieged Rome. It was thus, that you suddenly fell upon the Gauls, when you were paying them the Money stipulated for your Redemption. In this manner, you elude the Execution of a Treaty, you have entred into with us, under the appearance of Law. You say, you will have no Peace with the Samnites; it is an ignominious one. Very well; reject it, since you dislike it: but then, surrender up to them the Legions, which they had in their Power. Your Honour will then be untainted; and your Fidelity, as well as the Law of Nations, will be preserved inviolate. But shall the Lives of your Troops be saved, and you enjoy all the Advantages of the Peace, whilst we alone shall be deprived of the Benefits of our Conventions? Where is the Justice, or Equality of this? Is this the Justice you perform to other Nations? Are these the equitable Maxims, upon which your *Feciales* are ordered to act? For my part, I will not be so deluded. No, *Cornelius*; no; I will not accept of a fallacious Surrendry. Carry back these unfortunate Men, to the City, which is not discharged of its Obligations; and which the Gods must punish, with the utmost Severity. Make War upon us, since *Postumius* the Roman, has given the Signal for it, by the Blow he has given an Ambassador who is a Roman, as well as himself. Will you be able to impose on the Gods themselves, by these thin Disguises? Will they take *Postumius* for a Samnite, and consider the Blow he has given, as an Insult offered to the Roman People by a Samnite? Is this the only Pretence, upon which you think you have a Right to declare War? Is it thus, that you sport with Religion and Fidelity? Are such ludicrous Transactions becoming the Gravity of a Consul, and the Dignity of a great Nation?*

PONTIUS had no sooner ended his Reply to the *Roman Fecialis*, but he ordered his *Lictors* to untie the Romans which were offered him, and send them home, refusing to accept of the Surrendry: but the *Roman* Officers seem to have accepted their Lives and Liberties which were restored them, with Joy, and without Scruple. They had indeed acquitted themselves of their personal Obligation but could the *Roman People* persuade themselves, that they had discharged the Duty? So true is it, that the so much boasted Virtue of the Romans, was always subordinate to the Interests of their State, in extraordinary Cases!

S. V. POSTUMIUS, and his Company, returned safe and sound to the *Roman* Camp, where all things were getting ready for entering upon Action. On the other hand, the *Samnites* sheltered themselves in their Entrenchments, a

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foresaw the Evils which threatned them. They repented, but too late, of not having hearkned to the wise Counsels of old *Herennius*. They had not gained the Friendship of Enemies they ought to have feared, by their gentle Behaviour towards them; nor had they weakned them, by letting them perish. So that *Pontius*, tho' Conqueror, lost much of his Reputation, and *Postumius*, tho' conquered, and made to *pass under the Yoke*, had gained an immortal Glory, among his Countrymen. The *Romans* looked on the Liberty he had gained them, of making War, as a certain Victory; and the disheartned *Samnites* looked on themselves as already overcome, by having been disappointed of the Fruits of their Success. But many Cities, allied to the *Romans*, doubtless disgusted at the *Roman* Government, for its want of Fidelity, had Thoughts of withdrawing themselves from under the Dominion of so artful a People. *Satricum*, a City of *Latium*, near *Corioli*, and famous for its frequent Revolts from the *Romans*, declared openly for the *Samnites*; and its Inhabitants signalized themselves by a cruel Expedition in favour of their new Allies. It may be remembered, that *Fregella* had been the Occasion of the War, the *Samnites* had declared with the *Romans*. The latter had sent a *Colony* thither, sufficient to defend it, and it was a Garrison to it: and this very City, the revolted *Satricani* supported by a Detachment of *Samnites*, resolved to take from the *Romans*. They entred it by Night; and as long as that lasted, Fear kept both them, and the *Fregellani*, from coming to a Battel. But as soon as it was Day, Hostilities began: And tho' the Assailants were superior in Number, the *Fregellani* made a brave Resistance. They fought for their Houses, their Lands, their Altars, and their Household-Gods; and therefore all the People, Women and Children not excepted, stood up in Defence of their City. They killed many of their Enemies, who were below, from the Tops of the Houses; and then the *Samnites* thought of a Stratagem to surprize the brave *Fregellani*, and disarm them. They made a Proclamation by an Herald, that as many as laid down their Arms, should have their Lives saved: and this Hope abated the Ardour of the *Fregellani*, and a great Number of their brave Men left off fighting. But this was a vain Precaution, against enraged Enemies, who would not keep their word! The *Samnites* surrounded those who had voluntarily disarmed themselves, with Fires, and without any Compassion for their Cries, and the Complaints which they made to the Gods, burnt them alive. Only a few of the bravest of the *Fregellani* escaped; who stuck close to their Arms, retired fighting, and got out of a Gate behind them.

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§. VI. ON another Side, *Capua* formed pernicious Designs against *Rome*, and prepared for a Revolt. The chief Heads of this great City, entred into a secret Plot, and resolved to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. But the Senate had timely notice of this dangerous Conspiracy. The *Consuls*, *Papirius* and *Publius*, were then absent from *Rome*, and usefully employed in War. Nevertheless, these Commotions in the *Roman* Cities, gave the Republick Uneasiness; and the wavering Condition of her Allies, made her fear great Insurrections: for which Reasons, she had recourse to the usual Remedy, in Times of great Danger. She nominated *C. Mænius* to be ¹² *Dictator*, and he chose *M. Fostius*, surnamed *Flaccinator*, for his General of Horse. The *Dictator's* Commission was, contrary to Custom, confined to the Execution of Justice, and extended only to his enquiring into Crimes against the State, and punishing them; but did not reach to the Command of the Troops.

Liv. B. 9.
c. 12.

Fast. Capit.
under this
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¹² The *Fasti Capitolini* mention three *Dictators* one after another, under the Year of *Rome* 433. and *Livy* is here again defective. Being deceived by imperfect Memoirs, and incorrect Annals, he entirely omits two of these Magistrates. That *Caius Mænius* was one of the *Dictators* for this Year, is a questionable Matter of Fact, tho' the *Roman* Historian says not one Word of it. This is sufficiently evident from the *Fasti Capitolini*; in which we find the same *Caius Mænius* promoted to the *Dictatorship* a second time, six Years after this 433d Year of *Rome*, in order to settle the Affairs of the Republick; *REI GERUNDÆ CAUSA*. He must therefore have been invested with the supreme Magistracy six Years before, that he might administer Justice with

absolute Authority; *QUÆSTIONUM EXERCENDARUM CAUSA*. *Livy* has confounded these two *Dictatorships*, and made them but one, which he places under the Year of *Rome* 439. *Mænius* was then, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*, elected *Dictator* a second time, and *Rome* entrusted him with the whole Administration. She then promoted him *REI GERUNDÆ CAUSA*; and not in order to his making an Enquiry into the Crimes committed against the State; not *Quæstionum exercendarum causa*, as *Livy* expresses it: For that was the Business of his first *Dictatorship*, in the Year of *Rome* 433. Thus the *Latin* Historian is doubly mistaken; first, in making *Caius Mænius* to have been but once *Dictator*; and secondly, in misplacing his first *Dictatorship*, which was in the Year 433, and

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Troops. However, the Terror of a Judge without Appeal, spread itself through all *Campania*: and the Heads of the Conspiracy of *Capua*, were so much alarmed with it, that they killed themselves, to avoid Punishment. Among these Conspirators who punished themselves, are reckoned, several *Calavii*, one *Ovius*, and one *Novius*; that is, some of the chief Nobility of the Country. And as it is common for Persons, who are charged with an extraordinary Commission, to stretch their Power to its utmost Extent; the *Dictator* interpreted his Orders to enquire into State-Crimes, to relate not only to the *Capuans*, but to all the Citizens of *Rome* in general, who had made any Attempt prejudicial to the publick Welfare. *Intrigues*, said he, *are Treason against the Republick, which I have a Right to punish*. So that Informations were brought him against those Assemblies which were held in City and Country, in order to canvass for the Offices in the Republick: and the *Dictator* countenanced these Proceedings, declaring, that his Power extended to all sorts of Crimes against the State, and to all sorts of Persons. *Mænius* was a *Plebeian*, as well as his General of Horse; and his chief Aim seems to have been levelled against the Nobility. A great Number of *Patricians* were cited to appear before him: and it was in vain for them to claim the Protection of the *Tribunes of the People*. Nothing could screen them against an absolute Power. As many as were accused, were ranked among Criminals: and this raised the Murmurs of the *Patrician* Faction. Not only the Accused, but the whole Body of the Nobility, retorted the Accusation upon the *Plebeians*. *Where is the Necessity*, said they, *for us to form Intrigues for obtaining great Employments? Our Birth alone leads us to them, if we are not prevented by Artifice. It is only for the common People, and * Upstarts, to form Intrigues to raise themselves. Is not this Dictator himself, who usurps a Power of condemning us, one of those ambitious Plebeians, who, notwithstanding his judicial Authority, ought to be ranked among the Criminals? As soon as his Dictatorship is expired, we shall prosecute him, and his Fossius, in their Turn.* And these Discourses of the Nobility terrified the *Dictator*. Not that he thought himself guilty; but he was afraid his Reputation would suffer, by the Reports, which they began to spread abroad: and he therefore assembled the People, and addressed himself to them, in this manner. *All Rome can witness the Innocence of my past Conduct; and the Dictatorship, which has been conferred upon me, is a notorious Proof of it. When I was chosen Dictator, no Regard was had to my Skill in the Art of War, as usual; all the Romans had in View, was to place a Judge at the Head of the Republick, who, being an Enemy to Faction and Intrigue, could boldly enquire into the Misdemeanors of bad Citizens. But what has been the Consequence? The Patricians immediately rose up against the Commission I bear; and you know well enough the secret Motive of their Opposition; tho' it ill becomes me, in my present Station, to declare it, without full Evidence. After this, the Nobles used their utmost Efforts, to avoid being tried at my Tribunal; and were not ashamed to have Recourse to the Tribunes of the People, and appeal even to the old Enemies of their Faction. When their Appeal was rejected, they impeached my Conduct and Behaviour; and have accused me, the Judge, of the same Crime of which they were conscious themselves. So true is it that they found it safer to have Recourse to any thing than their own Innocence. And as for me, in order to prove, before the Gods and Men, that this last Attempt of the Patricians is groundless, and that it ought not to screen them from the Trial they dread, I abdicate the Dictatorship. Being therefore now deprived of a Dignity which protected me from any Citation to appear in a Court of Justice, I am ready*

* *Novi homines.*

and carrying it on to the Year 439. In both these Promotions, *Mænius* chose *Marcus Fossius Flaccinator* for his General of Horse; and History likewise informs us, that *Luceria* was taken twice by the *Romans*; once in the Year 433, which was *Mænius's* first Dictatorship; and again in the Year 439, which was the Year in which he was Dictator a second time. So that the Resemblance of the Names and Events of these two Years, might probably lead *Livy* into this Mistake and Omission. Besides, he himself makes *Publius Sempronius*, a Tribune of the People, say, in the Year 443, that it was then ten Years since *Mænius* was Dictator, with an absolute

Power only to make Enquiry into State Crimes, and settle the Disorders which had crept in among the Nobility, *QUÆSTIONUM EXERCENDARUM CAUSA*. Whereas, if with *Livy* we place this Dictatorship before the Year 439, it will scarce have been four Years before the Year 443. In order therefore to make this Space of ten Years, we must necessarily call *Mænius's* first Dictatorship, which was given to *QUÆSTIONUM EXERCENDARUM CAUSA*, to the Year 433; and place his second, with which he invested *REI GERUNDÆ CAUSA*, to the Year 439; the *Fasti Capitolini* direct us.

give an Account of my Conduct. I here present myself before my Enemies, without any Support, but my Innocence; and let the Consuls, when empowered by the Senate, try Fostius, and me; and convince the whole World, that we have not made use of our Offices to screen ourselves from Correction.

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THUS spake *Mænius*; and immediately he and *Fostius* resigned their Offices. It is probable, That these domestick Broils recalled *Papirius* and *Publilius* from the Army; and That, after *Mænius's* Abdication, they appeared in *Rome* again, to restore her Tranquillity. The *Dictator* had desired to have the *Consuls* for his Judges, and the Senate granted them an extraordinary Commission for that Purpose. The Cause of *Mænius* and *Fostius* was heard; those of the Nobility who appeared as Witnesses against them, were examined; and upon a full Hearing, the two accused were acquitted in a very honourable Manner.

It is difficult to reconcile the *Fasti Capitolini* with *Livy*, or *Livy* with himself, in this Place, without supposing that the *Consul Publilius* likewise laid down the *Consulship*, for the same Reason that *Mænius* had abdicated the *Dictatorship*. He had probably shewn some Warmth in Defence of *Mænius*, who was a *Plebeian*, as well as himself; and therefore the Nobility reproached him with having been guilty of Intrigues, in order to obtain the Offices with which he had been so often honoured. Tho' History does not positively declare, that *Publilius* did thus voluntarily abdicate; yet it is necessary to suppose it, in order to digest the Events of this Year in a regular Order. At least it is certain¹³ that this *Consul*, who was hated by the Nobility, submitted to a Trial, and was acquitted of that Ambition, which was laid to his Charge. And if it be true, which can scarce be doubted, that it was in the Year of his *Consulship*, it will follow, that he laid down his Office, before he could be brought to his Trial.

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§. VII. THE Republick had then but one *Consul*, the famous *Papirius*; and therefore thought it necessary to chuse a *Dictator*. *Papirius* could not nominate himself to the *Dictatorship*; tho' it was indeed absolutely necessary for the State to continue the War with the *Samnites*. In order therefore to do his best in the present Circumstances, he raised one to this supreme Dignity, who was a Man of Sense, and without Ambition. This, I believe, was the same¹⁵ *Cornelius Lentulus*, who in the Camp in *The Caudian Forks*, had persuaded the *Roman Army* to save themselves, by consenting to pass under the Yoke. He chose the *Consul Papirius* for his General of Horse; and thereby took a Man for his Second, who was infinitely more able to conduct Armies, than himself. It is probable, he pursued

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¹³ *Livy* having found the Account of *Publilius's* Trial, in the ancient Memoirs immediately after the Decree which was passed in favour of *Mænius*, after his *Dictatorship*; it is not to be wondered at, that he has placed both these things under the Year 39, tho' they belong to the Year 433, which was *Mænius's* first *Dictatorship*, as we have observed in the preceding Note. This second Mistake is a Consequence of that beforementioned. Now the Year 433 was remarkable, in that *Publilius* was then *Consul*, and *Mænius Dictator*, who were both formally and honourably acquitted of the Accusations brought against them. It is therefore natural to believe, that the *Consul Publilius*, as well as the *Dictator Mænius*, abdicated the Magistracy. It is well known, that the *Consuls* were supreme Magistrates, they were not subject to the Censure of the People, whilst in Office. And therefore their Accusers waited till their Office was expired, before they brought them to the Tribunal of the People.

¹⁴ *Livy* frankly owns, that some ancient Annals reckoned one *Lucius Cornelius*, who chose *L. Papirius Cursor* to be his General of Horse, among the *Dictators* of the Year 433. And he at the same time confesses, that the Credit of some Memoirs made it doubtful whether these new Magistrates had not all the Honour of the Expeditions which were undertaken against the *Samnites*, all the rest of the Year 433. Supposing then, as we with some Probability have, that the *Consul Publilius* abdicated, we have divided the Honour of the following Events between *Lucius Cornelius* the *Dictator*, and *L. Papirius Cur-*

for his General of Horse, exclusive of *Publilius*. And here again, the *Fasti Capitolini* confirm us in our Opinion. In them, the *Dictatorship* of *Lucius Cornelius* follows immediately after that of *Caius Mænius*, in the same Year 433. All the Difference between these two *Dictators* was, that one was created to take the Reins of the Government into his Hands, *REI GERUNDÆ CAUSA*; the other, to inquire into Crimes *QUÆSTIONUM EXERCENDARUM CAUSA*. But why should the Republick choose a *Dictator*, if, as *Livy* supposes, the *Consuls* continued still in their Office? We have therefore, with Reason, left *Livy*, to conform ourselves to the *Fasti Capitolini*. We have made all these Reflections, only to give some Light to the Relation of those Facts, which are displaced, and confounded together, in *Livy*.

¹⁵ *Livy* has not given us the Surname of *Cornelius*, who was promoted to the *Dictatorship*; neither have the *Fasti Capitolini* preserved his Name, or *Prænomen*. Some think it was one *Cornelius Lentulus*, who had been *Consul* in the Year of *Rome* 426; and this Conjecture is confirmed, by the Surname of *Caudinus*, which some of the *Lentuli* affected, after the Victory gained over the *Samnites*, near *Caudium*. At least, some Authors have borrowed that Surname from thence. This is the same *Lentulus*, who in the Extremity to which the *Roman Army* was reduced, persuaded the *Consuls* to accept of the mortifying Conditions proposed by the *Samnites*.

S f f

Papirius's

Year of *Papirius's* Advice in all Cases; and that to the latter, were owing all the Victories of the Campaign. This we may judge of by this Circumstance, which ought not to be omitted, That *Cornelius* had not the Honours of a Triumph conferred upon him: Which the Republick would have done, had he been the Author of the Advantages, we are going to relate. I know *Livy* divides them between *Papirius* and *Publius*; but he was probably misled, by uncertain Memoirs.

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THE new *Dictator* therefore, and *Papirius* under him, returned to the Army, which they divided into two Bodies. *Papirius*, with his Detachment, marched towards *Apulia*, in order to lay siege to *Luceria*, where the 600 *Roman Knights* given in Hostage, were detained Prisoners. The chief Aim of both the Generals, was to deliver them: in order to which, it was necessary to divide the Forces of the *Samnites*. *Cornelius* therefore halted near *Caudium*, with the same Troops he had delivered out of *The Caudian Forks*; and there kept the Enemy in play, whilst *Papirius* marched a great way round, in order to come and fall upon *Luceria*. Tho' History has informed us, how this City became *Roman*; yet it has not told us in what manner it submitted to the *Samnites*. But it is at least certain, that it did not come under the Dominion of the latter, till after the Peace of *Caudium*. It was doubtless offended, as many other Cities were, at the Breach of Faith of the *Romans*. The Continuance of the *Dictator* in *Samnium*, gave the *Samnites* some Uneasiness. Their General would very willingly have marched to the Relief of *Luceria*; but how could he leave his Country open to the Pillage of the *Romans*; or how could he take a long March, without having the Enemy in his Rear? In this Uncertainty, *Pontius* chose to hazard a Battel, and try his Strength with the *Romans*. As soon then as the *Samnites* appeared in Battalia, the *Dictator* assembled his Troops round his Tent, in order to exhort them to behave themselves valiantly. But he in vain attempted to harangue them. The Soldiers demanded a Battel with so much Earnestness, and so great Clamours, that the General's Discourse was not heard. Their Desires of Revenge animated them more, than the General's Words could have done. As soon as they were in sight of the Enemy, the *Roman* Soldiers themselves pressed their Ensigns to march faster, that they might engage the Enemy the sooner. It was then customary to begin general Actions, with throwing Darts and Stones. But the Ardour of the *Romans* to fight, was now so violent, that they neglected to begin the Charge that way. They threw down the Darts they had in their Hands, and, without Orders, immediately drew their Swords. Then they rushed on the Enemy with an Impetuosity, which looked like Madness. The *Legions* were not disposed in their usual Order, nor did they wait for the General's Commands; the Rage of the Soldiers supplied the Place of both. Yet their irregular Animosity alone, did more than could have been expected from the wisest Conduct. The *Samnite* Army was put to the Rout, and did not fly to their Camp. They were afraid of being invested by these furious Men, whose Attacks might more safely be avoided, than sustained. So that the dispersed *Samnites* took the Road to *Apulia*, in order to relieve *Luceria*. In the mean time, the *Dictator* led his Troops into the Camp of the Vanquished, where they put all the *Samnites* they found to the Sword, and made as great a Slaughter of them, as in the Battel. The whole Camp was sacked and pillaged; whatever the Soldiers could not remove, they broke in pieces, and thereby spoiled more than they carried off.

§. VIII. *PAPIRIUS*, on his Part, having marched along the Sea-Coast, was now entering *Apulia*. ¹⁶ *Arpi*, an ancient City, formerly founded by *Diomedes* and at first called *Argyrippa*, received the *Romans* without Opposition. Nor the *Rome* had entered into a new Alliance with *Arpi*, or that the *Apulians* had received any signal Benefit from the Republick; but they were the old Enemies of the *Samnites*, their nearest Neighbours. The latter, who inhabited the Mountains and the Barbarity of whose Temper, favoured of the Hardness of the Rocks on which they dwelt, often came down into the Plain of *Arpi*, made Incursions there

¹⁶ *Stephens* calls this City *Lampe*, and *Argos Hippium*; and says the latter Name was given it by its Founder, *Diomedes*, King of *Ætolia*. *Pliny* mentions this City, B. 3. c. 11. *Arpi aliquando Argos Hippium, Diomede condente, mox Argyrippa dictum.*

Virgil shews us the Origin of this City, in his *Æneid*.

Ætolis surgit ab Arpis
Tydides

spread themselves all over the maritime Countries, and committed Rapines in them. So that these *Apulians* being Enemies to the *Samnites*, at once became Friends to the *Romans*; and this Disposition of theirs, favoured *Papirius's* Designs. Had there been a good Correspondence between the Inhabitants of *Arpi*, and the *Samnites*, the *Roman* Army could not have passed beyond, or even reached *Luceria*. Nay, it would perhaps have perished with Hunger ¹⁷ between *Luceria* and *Arpi*. It did not want much of it, as it was. As much as the *Arpinates* were Friends to the *Romans*, the latter suffered a great deal, for Want of Provisions, in their March to *Luceria*. This City itself was indeed in great Want; but it was soon supplied by the *Samnites*, who sent Convoys of Provisions thither. As for the *Romans*, they immediately laid Siege to it. They had no Provision, but what was brought from *Arpi*, which was able to furnish them with only small Quantities: and therefore, as the Infantry only were concerned in the Labours of the Siege, so the Cavalry alone were employed in getting Provisions. And these often returned loaded with only small Sacks of Corn, and were sometimes forced to quit them, upon the Approach of the Enemy, either that they might be lighter for Flight, or less encumbered in Action.

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So that the *Dictator Cornelius's* Arrival at *Luceria*, after his Victory, was very seasonable for *Papirius's* Army. He let the Troops, commanded by his General of Horse, carry on the Siege: whilst he dispersed his *Legions* all over the Country, intercepted the Convoys, which were going to the Besieged, and facilitated the Conveyance of Provisions to *Papirius's* Army. The *Samnites* likewise had a Camp near *Luceria*. And when they found, That the Besieged were reduced to a Want of every thing; That their Fatigues were excessively great; and That it seemed impossible they should hold out long; they then chose to give the Besiegers Battel. They collected all their Forces together, in order to fight; and *Papirius* did not decline engaging with an Enemy so often overcome, and which was always inferior to the *Romans*, in pitched Battels. But whilst every thing was getting ready for a general Action, Embassadors arrived from the *Tarentini*, who had sent them to put a stop to Hostilities on both Sides. These Embassadors had Conferences sometimes with the *Romans*, and sometimes with the *Samnites*, and threatened both, that they would declare themselves against that Nation, which should obstinately persist in carrying on the War. *Papirius* was not a Man to be terrified with the Threatnings of *Tarentum*. But he nevertheless pretended to pay regard to them, and answered the Embassadors, That he would confer with the *Dictator* upon the Matter. And indeed, the two *Roman* Generals had a Conference, but without so much as deliberating, whether they should regard the *Tarentini*; they only considered what Measures were most proper to be taken for the



Diomedes was the Brother of *Meleager*, who killed the *Caledonian* Boar. For this Reason, the *Arpinates* placed the Figure of a Boar, with an Hunter's Spear, on the Reverse of the Medal above, to perpetuate the Memory of the Founder of their City. The Horse which we see on another Medal, alludes either to the Birth of *Diomedes*, who was born at *Argos*, according to the *Scholiast* of *Pindar*, on the *10th Ode*; or to the same Name of *Argos Hippium*, which this Hero gave to his new Colony, perhaps in Honour to his native City, which was called *Argos Hippium*, on account of its Studs, which furnished Greece with excellent Horses. *Horace* explains the Greek Word *Hippium*, in this Line,
Aptum dicit equis Argos, ditescque Mycenae.

The Fruitfulness of the Soil of *Arpi* is pointed out by the Ear of Corn we see on the second Medal, which, as well as the other two, has this Inscription, *ΑΡΠΑΝΩΝ*. This ancient City, formerly one of the most considerable of *South-Italy*, was in *Apulia*, between *Luceria* and *Sipontum*. We find some Footsteps of it remaining to this Day, six Miles from *Foggia*, in the Place the Natives now call *Arpe*, on the Banks of the *Cerbalus*, or *Cervaro*.

¹⁷ *Livy's* Words are, *Inter Romam & Arpos*; i. e. between *Rome* and *Arpi*. But we think there is a Mistake crept into the Text of this Place; and judge it more natural to read *Luceria*, instead of *Rome*; otherwise the Author's Reflection is childish.

Battel.

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Dictator.

Battel. When every thing was got ready, *Papirius* gave the Signal for the Engagement; which, among the *Romans*, was done, by hanging up a red Coat over the General's Tent. The *Dictator*, and his General of Horse, had already offered up the Sacrifices usual before a Battel. They had already consulted the *Auguries*, when the Embassadors of *Tarentum* came to them, and found the *Romans* just ready to march into the Plain. *Papirius* accosted them, and with an Air which shewed them, how much *Rome* despised their Menaces, said; *Our Auguries are favourable; and the Entrails of our Victims shew, that the Victory will be ours. You see it; the Gods are for us. We are marching to meet the Enemy.* *Papirius* was naturally a Man of Pleasantry; and by this insulting Raillery, mortified the Vanity of an inconsiderable People, who had Insolence enough, to undertake to mediate a Peace between two powerful Nations, at a time when *Tarentum* had much ado to support herself under her domestick Dissentions. The *Romans* then marched out of their Camp without delay; and the *Samnites* were seized with a sudden Fright at their Approach. They had no Expectations of a Battel; nor had they made any Preparations for it. Perhaps they desired a Peace, or at least pretended to wait for one, in order to draw *Tarentum* into their Party. When they saw the *Romans* drawn up in Battalia, they cried out; *That they referred themselves wholly to the Negotiation of the Tarentini; That they would not fight, unless their Lines were forced; That they had been deceived, by the Hopes Papirius had given them; and That they were resolved to suffer any Extremities, rather than render fruitless the Advances the Embassadors had made towards a Peace.* The *Roman* Generals answered; *That the Fearfulness of their Enemies was an happy Omen of the Success of the Romans; who had only one Prayer more to make the Gods; which was, That the Samnites might not dare defend their Camp.*

AFTER these Discourses, the two *Roman* Generals divided their Troops, in order to begin their Attack on the Enemy's Entrenchments, in two different Places. Some of these brave *Legionaries* were employed in filling up the Ditch, others in making a Breach in the Ramparts; and all were equally animated by a Desire of Revenge. *We are now*, said they, *no longer in The Caudian Forks, into which we were drawn by Artifice, and where it was easy to overcome us. The Success of this Day depends on Valour only. We have now no Woods, and impenetrable Passes, to break through. We have nothing but Ditches and Ramparts in our Way; Difficulties by no means unsurmountable by Roman Bravery.* Which was no sooner said, but the Thing was done. The Entrenchments were forced. The *Romans* cut in Pieces both those that resisted, and those that fled. They gave no Quarter, either to those whom they found disarmed, or armed. Neither Men, Children, Slaves, nor Beasts, were spared. Not one single Person would have escaped this terrible Slaughter, if the Generals had not, by their Orders and Threatnings, forced the Soldiers, who were thirsty of Blood, to leave the Entrenchments. They sounded a Retreat. And after the Troops were returned, the Generals found it necessary to address themselves to their Soldiers, in the following manner, in order to appease their Fury, and assuage their Thirst of Vengeance. *You cannot doubt, dear Fellow-Soldiers, but your Leaders rejoiced as much as you, at the Destruction of these perfidious Men: and have shewn as much Anger against the Samnites, as yourselves. By our Ardour in pursuing the War, we have given you sufficient Proofs of our Impatience to revenge the Ignominy thrown on the Republick. And if we have spared some miserable Remains of the Enemy's Army, we were induced to it, wholly by this single Consideration, that 600 of our Roman Knights are now detained as Hostages in Luceria. We were afraid of reducing the miserable People we besiege to Despair, lest they should rashly resolve to cut off the Heads of those illustrious Citizens, for the sake of having the barbarous Pleasure of sacrificing them, before they perished themselves.* This Discourse satisfied the *Legions*. They were well pleased that their Commanders had put a Stop to their Fury, and said; *That they could not shew too tender a Regard for the most illustrious of the Roman Youth.*

NOTHING now remained, in order to put a glorious End to the Campaign, but to take *Luceria*, and to secure the Fidelity of the *Apulians*, who had hitherto been wavering. A general Council of War was therefore called, in which it was considered, whether it was proper to pursue the Siege with all the Forces of the two *Roman* Armies, or to divide them, and continue their Attacks on the City with

one Army, whilst the *Dictator* made Incursions into *Apulia* with the other: And the latter Opinion prevailed. *Cornelius* marched away with Part of the *Romans*, found no *Samnites* to oppose him, over-ran all *Apulia*; and in this single Expedition, made himself Master of many Cities, which he constrained, some to surrender at Discretion; others to capitulate, and all to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*. As for *Papirius*, he lost no time, in endeavouring to force *Luceria* to surrender. The Remains of the last Rout, had taken Refuge in the besieged City; and according to some, even *Pontius* had shut himself up in it. And if so, these Succours only helped to increase the Famine in *Luceria*; so that it was soon obliged to capitulate. It sent a Deputation to the *Roman* General, to offer him the 600 *Roman* Knights detained there as Hostages, in case he would raise the Siege. But *Papirius* was not inclined to be satisfied with so little; and with his usual Raillery, gave the Deputies this Answer. *The Samnites must have learnt from the Son of Herennius, how a conquered People ought to be treated. He thought it glorious to make them pass under the Yoke; and he shall therefore pass under it himself. In short, since Luceria chuses rather to have this Condition imposed upon her by us, than to impose it upon herself; let her know, That all the Soldiers in her Garrison, shall leave their Horses, Arms, and Baggage behind them, and pass under the Yoke. I am content, with retaliating upon her, the Affront offered us at Caudium, without adding any thing to it. The Citizens of Luceria, who have not taken up Arms, may continue there in Safety.* These Conditions were accepted by the *Lucerians*; and 7000 of their Soldiers passed under the Yoke, with *Pontius* at the Head of them. *Papirius* had the Satisfaction, of thus retaliating upon him, the Ignominy he had cast on the two *Roman* Consuls, and their Army: but what gave him most Pleasure, was the Recovery of the Hostages, which the Consuls, his Predecessors, had given the *Samnites*, for Securities for a shameful Peace. It may be affirmed, that no Victory, since that of *Camillus*, had delivered *Rome* out of greater Disgrace; and a Triumph was due to *Papirius* at his Return to *Rome*: but he had fought under the *Auspices* of another. He did not then triumph, whatever *Livy* may say to the contrary: this Honour was reserved for him, till the next Year.

§. IX. As soon as *Papirius* had led back his Troops to the City, *Cornelius*, doubtless, because his Time was expired, laid down the *Dictatorship*; and another *Dictator* was nominated, probably, only to preside in the *Comitia by Centuries*, which were to chuse new Magistrates. The *Dictator* was *T. Manlius* ¹⁹, surnamed *Imperiosus*. He chose the late Conqueror *Papirius* ²⁰, to be his General of Horse; and that evidently with the Good-will of the whole Republick, since *Papirius* was again promoted to the *Consulship*. He had been nominated *Consul* the last Year; but several Changes had obliged him to act only a second Part, almost all his time. He was known to have been the main Spring of all the Transactions of the former Campaign; but he had neither reaped all the Fruits, nor received all the Honours of it. Besides, the Republick wanted so great a General, to carry on a War of Importance. *Papirius* ²¹ was therefore declared *Consul* the third time; and *Q. Fabius* ²² *Cerretanus*, who had been *Consul* once already, was made his Collegue. The two Collegues, either drew Lots, what Province they should take, in the next Campaign, or else agreed amicably upon it. At least it is certain, that the *Consul* *Fabius* marched towards ²³ *Ferentum*, or *Forentum*, a City of *Apulia*, which was

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXIII.
L. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS,
Dictator.

Orsius, B. 3.
c. 15. and
others.

Fast. Capit.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXIII.
T. MANLIUS
IMPERIOSUS,
Dictator.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXIV.
L. PAPIRIUS
CURSOR, Q.
AULIUS CER-
RETANUS,
Consuls.

¹⁸ The Silence of the *Fasti Capitolini*, as to this Triumph, is a strong Proof against *Livy*.

¹⁹ *Livy* seems to have known as little of the Dictatorship of *T. Manlius Torquatus*, as of that of *Manlius*.

²⁰ At least we guess so. He had merited this distinction, by the Glory he had lately acquired. The *Fasti Capitolini* indeed don't give us the Surname of this General of Horse; and for want of evidence, we must therefore have Recourse to Conjecture. *Pighius* inclines to believe that this *Papirius* was not the same who conquered the *Samnites*. He gives him the Surname of *Crassus*. But this is Guess work.

²¹ According to *Livy*, some ancient Annals make *Lucius Papirius*, surnamed *Mugillanus*, *Consul* this Year 434, and not *Lucius Papirius Cursor*. The Authority of the *Fasti Capitolini* leaves us

no room to doubt of the Promotion of the latter to the *Consulship*, which he now enjoyed a third time. This Office was the Reward of the Services he had done the Republick in reducing *Luceria*. *Cuspinian* is therefore mistaken, in giving him the Surname of *Mugillanus*.

²² In several Editions of *Livy* the Name of this *Consul* is disfigured. In some he is called *Æmilius*, in others *Aurelius*; which are the Mistakes of the Copyists.

²³ *Ferentum* was formerly a City of *Apulia* *Penetia*, a little beyond *Venusium*; so that Mount *Vultur*, a Part of the *Apennines*, lay between these two Cities. According to this Verse of *Horace*,

Et Arvam
Pingue tenent humiles Ferenti,

Ferentum stood in a Valley. It is now called *Fiorenza*.

Year of then subject to the *Samnites*, or at least in Alliance with them : and one Battel
 R O M E was sufficient to put him in Possession of it. The conquered *Samnites* who had
 CCCCXXXIV. retired to *Ferentum*, surrendered at Discretion to the *Consul*, who took Hostages,
 L. PAPIRIUS to secure the Fidelity of the Inhabitants.
 CURSOR, Q. IN the mean time, *Papirius* was already arrived before *Satricum*. This City
 AULIUS CER- had openly declared for the *Samnites*, after the Affair of *The Caudian Forks*, tho' it
 RETANUS, enjoyed the Privileges granted to the Citizens of *Rome*. Not content with having
 Consuls. assisted the *Samnites* in surprizing *Fregellæ*, it had likewise received them ; and,
 as it was not far from *Rome*, had opened the Enemies of the Republick, a Way
 into the Center of her Dominions. It was therefore necessary to punish the re-
 bellious *Satricani*, and take this advantageous Post from the *Samnites*. *Papirius*
 appeared before *Satricum* with his Troops ; and his Name alone filled these faith-
 leſs Friends with Terror ; upon which, they employed all their Thoughts about
 preserving themselves from the Destruction with which they were threatned. In
 order to appease the *Consul*, they sent a Deputation to him, which was received
 with that haughty Air, which *Papirius* very well understood how to assume, when
 he treated with Rebels. *Expect*, said he, *to receive no Favour at my Hands, till*
you either deliver up to me, or put to death, the Samnite Garrison you have received
into your City ; Nor presume to appear any more in my Presence, till my Orders are
obeyed. These Words filled the *Satricani* with more Terror, than the Siege with
 which they were threatned. Nevertheless, they ventured to represent to the *Con-*
sul, that it was difficult for them to put his Commands in Execution. *How can*
we, said they, *compass the Destruction of so many Samnites, as we have brought*
into our City ? Ask Advice, replied *Papirius*, with his usual Vivacity and Inge-
 nuity, *of those who engaged you to receive more Strangers among you, than you*
have Citizens. Before they withdrew, the Deputies promised to report the Affair
 to their Senate ; and desired leave to return to the *Dictator's* Camp, to bring
 their Answer. This the *Consul* made some difficulty of granting ; but at length
 complied.

SATRICUM was divided into two Factions. One consisted of those, who
 were faithful Subjects to the *Roman* Republick, and who had been concerned to
 see their Countrymen deliver themselves up to Strangers. The other was made up
 of those, who were Malecontents with respect to *Rome*, and had been the seditious
 Authors of the Revolt. However, both Parties now agreed, that it was very necessary
 to satisfy the *Consul*, and obtain a Peace of him ; and in order to this, the Rebels
 thought it would effectually reconcile *Papirius* to them, if they informed him before-
 hand of the Departure of the *Samnites*, who were to leave *Satricum* the next Day ;
 the Place being really unable to sustain a Siege. They likewise let him know, by
 what Gate they were to march out, that he might wait to intercept them.
 But the Friends of *Rome*, on the other hand, did something more. They intro-
 duced the *Romans* into the City, and put the *Consul* in Possession of one of the
 Gates. And the General made his Advantage of both the Information and Sur-
 rendry. A Detachment of *Romans* hid in Woods, by his Orders, fell suddenly on
 those *Samnites*, who came first out of *Satricum*, whilst those who were hindmost
 were cut in pieces, by the Troops which had been brought into the City. Thus
 the Treasons of the two Factions made the *Romans* Masters of the Place, which
 they took Possession of, without the Fatigues and Expence of a Siege. *Papirius*
 entered *Satricum* as a conquered City. He informed himself of the Authors of
 the Revolt ; and such as he found guilty, were first whipped with Rods, and then
 beheaded by his *Lictors*. Thus ended the *Consul Papirius's* Campaign. That of
 the former Year was indeed more glorious than this ; but he did not receive the
 Honours of a Triumph till now, on *The tenth of the Calends of September*. The
Romans thought themselves indebted to him for the Services he had done his
 Country the last Year ; and rejoiced to see him enter *Rome*, with all the Pomp
 due to a Man who had recovered the Lustre of the *Roman* Name, after it had been
 obscured by the *Samnites*. The Fame of this great Man is celebrated by all the
 Writers of his Nation. It is pretended, that if *Alexander the Great*, who was
 then dead, had come to attempt the Conquest of *Italy*, *Papirius* would have been
 a proper Hero, to have opposed the Conqueror of *Asia*. But be that as it will,
 it is at least certain, that no General in *Italy*, in his time, equalled him in Strength

Fast. Capit.

Liv. B. 9. c. 19.

of Body or Mind, or in Courage. The Surname of *Cursor* was hereditary in his Family; but he likewise personally merited it, by his Swiftneſs in *running*. He was a Man of a tall Stature, and maſtack Mein. And as he was always in Motion, continual Exerciſe gave him a great Appetite, and no Man eat more, or drank ſo much as he; and he was indefatigable in military Labours. The Armies he commanded were often harrasſed, by the fatiguing Duties he required of them. But he himſelf bore a Part in them, like the meaneſt of the Soldiers; and yet the Strength of his Conſtitution was not abated by the ſevereſt Fatigues. He kept his Troops continually in Action. It is ſaid, that his Cavalry one Day deſired a little Reſpite after an Expedition, in which they had ſucceeded; and he pleaſantly answered, *With all my Heart; nothing is more juſt. I excuſe you from caressing your Horses, or putting your Hands round their Necks, when you diſmount. You may ſpare yourſelves this Trouble.* Such was the Great *Papirius*! He gave himſelf up ſucceſſively to Pleaſure and Labour: But his Pleaſures never made him forget his Duty. And as great a Captain as he was, we ſhall now ſee *Rome* let him lie idle for ſome time; and ſhall not find him appear upon the Stage again, till he comes to experience the unaccountable Humour of the People, in their Judgments.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXIV.
L. PAPIRIUS
CURSOR, Q.
AULIUS CER-
RETANUS,
Conſuls.

§. X. THE *Conſuls* who ſucceeded the illuſtrious *Papirius*, were two Men, who had never yet been raiſed to this firſt Dignity. The one was ²⁴ *L. Plautius*, ſurnamed *Venno*; and the other that *M. Foflius Flaccinator*, whom the Nobility had, a little while ago, accuſed of canvaſſing illegally for Offices. Theſe reaped the Fruits of the Victories which *Papirius* had gained. Deputies came to *Rome* from a great Number of the *Samnite* Cities, to entreat the *Romans* to admit them into an Alliance with them, as formerly. It is eaſy to judge, with what Joy the Senate ſaw theſe haughty Enemies humbly proſtrating themſelves at the Feet of the *Conſcript Fathers*: And the latter were ſoon wrought upon by the Prayers and Proſtrations of the *Samnites*; but it belonged to the People, to judge of Affairs of Peace and War. The Deputies were therefore referred to the Tribunal of the *Comitia*; and there they found Men more intractable than in the Senate. The People long deſpiſed their Intreaties, and were unmoved at their Complaints; tho' they were very earneſt and importunate in their Sollicitations. But at length the *Romans*, more to get rid of their Importunities, than out of any regard to them, granted them, not indeed the Renewal of an Alliance they had ſo often broken already, but a Truce for two Years. The *Caudian Legions*, which were a Part of theſe Aſſemblies of the *Roman* People, were too much exaſperated, to grant them a laſting Peace.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXV.
L. PLAUTIUS
VENNO, M.
FOSLIUS FLAC-
CINATOR,
Conſuls.

THE *Conſul Plautius* led an Army into the Field, to carry on the Reduction of *Apulia*; where he ſpread ſo much Terror, that the two Cities of ²⁵ *Teanum*, and *Canuſium* ²⁶, to prevent their being pillaged, ſurrendered to the *Romans*, and gave them Hoſtages. *Capua* was ſo divided by intestine Seditions, that it was not in a Condition to govern itſelf; and therefore the *Capuans* deſired the *Romans* both to give them an Head to govern them, and new Laws to keep them in order. Then the *Romans* firſt turned *Campania* into a *Roman Prefecture*, and ſent thither a *Prefect* to govern it. All the Cities the Republick had ſubdued were not put upon the ſame Foot. Some were called *Colonies*, ſome *Municipia*, and ſome *Præ-*

Liv. B. 9. c. 20.

Diod. Sic. B. 20.

²⁴ The *Faſti Capitolini* give us the *Prenomina*, Names, and Surnames, of theſe two *Conſuls* entire. But ſeveral Authors have much diſfigured them, for want of conſulting this ancient Record.

²⁵ *Teanum* was the firſt City to be ſeen in *Apulia*, as it ſtood on the right Banks of the River *Frento*, which is ſuppoſed to be the preſent *Fortore*. This City was called *Teanum Apulum*, to diſtinguiſh from another *Teanum*, in the Country of the *Silerni*. We have already ſpoke of it, under the Name of *Teanum Sidicinum*. The *Teanum* here ſpoke of, ſtood, according to *Strabo*, B. 6. near Mount *Garganus*, not far from two Lakes, which are now called *Lago di Varano*, and *Lago di Leſina*. There are ſome Ruins yet to be ſeen, ten Miles from the Mouth of the *Frento*, which are thought to be the Remains of *Teanum Apulum*. *Hofſtenius* thinks this City ſtood near the Place now called *Ciſſia*, by the Natives.

²⁶ Old *Canuſium*, now *Canofa*, ſtood 25 *Stadia*,

that is, 3125 Geometrical Paces, above *Cannæ*; with which ſome Authors have very improperly confounded this City of *Canuſium*. They did not conſider, that *Livy*, B. 22. ſpeak of the latter as a City ſurrounded with Walls; and of the former, as a Town famous for nothing but the total Defeat of the *Romans* by *Hannibal*. *Canuſium* was not far from the Sea, according to *Strabo*, B. 6. and *Philoſtratus* ſays, that *Herod of Athens*, who lived in *Adrian's* Time, conveyed ſweet Water to this City, thro' ſubterraneous Canals, for the Convenience of the Inhabitants. *Diomedes* was thought the Founder of it. *Horace*, ſpeaking of the People of *Canuſium*, gives them the Epithet of *bilingues*; *Canuſini more bilinguis*, Sat. 10. B. 1. becauſe they ſpoke both *Greek* and *Latin*. *Dicebantur bilingues quia utebantur Græco & Latino ſermone; unde totus ille tractus olim Magna Græcia dicta eſt.* For this Reaſon, the whole Country, ſays *Horace's* Commentator, was called

ſectures.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXV.
L. PLAUTIUS
VENNO, M.
FOSLIUS FLAC-
CINATOR,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 9. c. 20.
D. Sic. B. 20.

Fast. Capit.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXVI.
Q. ÆMILIUS
BARBULA, JU-
NIUS BRUTUS
BUBULCUS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 9. c. 20.

fectures. The *Colonies* chose their Governors out of their own Inhabitants, and being subject to the *Roman People*, were, as it were, so many little Republicks, modelled after the Plan of *Rome*. The *Municipia* kept their old Laws, and governed themselves by the Customs they had among them, before they became *Roman*. The *Præfectures*²⁷ were in a worse Condition than either the *Colonies*, or *Municipia*. The *Præfects* sent to them annually from *Rome*, had a Power of changing their Laws, and wholly swallowed up all the Authority of the other Magistrates. Some of these *Præfects* were chosen by the *Roman People*; and others received their Commission from the *Prætor of Rome*, and were, properly speaking, no more than his Substitutes in the *Provinces*. To this time, the Republick had not established *Præfects* in any Country. But the Discord of the²⁸ *Capuans* gave her Room to make a new Institution for *Campania*: And afterwards, the *Romans* established this Form of Government in several Parts of *Italy*. However, it seems probable, that either in order to make the *Campani* some Sort of Amends for their Liberty, which they had voluntarily given up, or rather, in order to keep them to their Duty, *Rome* erected a new *Roman Tribe*, in their Country, and called it the *Falernian Tribe*, doubtless from the Name of the Hill *Falernus*. It possessed the delightful Plains which surrounded that Hill. Another *Tribe* was also established on the Borders of the²⁹ *Ufens*, which was therefore called *Ufentina*. So that the *Romans* now first had thirty one *Tribes*, which all had a Right of Suffrage, in the *Comitia by Tribes*.

It generally belonged to the *Censors* to create *Tribes*. These were at present *L. Papirius Crassus*, and *Caius Manius*, who likewise signalized their Office, by a *Census*, and a *Lustrum*, which was the 25th since their Establishment. It is very probable, that the Number, now taken, of Men fit to bear Arms, amounted at least to 250000; since *Livy*, speaking of the Soldiers at this time, makes them amount to that Number; tho' he does not expressly mention this *Lustrum*.

§. XI. THIS happy Year was followed by another as prosperous. The new *Consuls* were *Q. Æmilius*, surnamed *Barbula*, and one *Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Bubulcus*. The latter was indeed of the same Family as the famous *Brutus*, the first *Consul* of *Rome*, who had expelled the *Tarquins*; but he was descended only from a collateral Branch of it, which was *Plebeian*. When the two *Consuls* entered upon their Office, they found *Apulia* almost subdued. The Inhabitants of³⁰ *Teanum*, (who had the last Year given the *Romans* Hostages, as Pledges of their Fidelity, and whose Example had pacified almost all the rest of *Apulia*, and drawn them off from the *Samnites*) hoped they should therefore obtain the better Terms of the new *Consuls*. They flattered themselves, that the great Services they

²⁷ *Festus* says there were two Sorts of *Præfectures*. One, governed by *Præfects*, who were chosen by the *Roman People*, to whom that Right belonged; and another, whose *Præfects* received their Commission from the *Prætor*, who appointed them to administer Justice in his Name, and according to the *Roman Laws*. So that the Cities which were reduced to *Præfectures*, were entirely subject to the Jurisdiction of *Rome*, and no Regard was had to their former Privileges. Nevertheless, in order to preserve some Appearance of a Republick, they still continued, with the Consent of the *Roman People*, to choose themselves *Ædiles*, a Sort of Magistrates, whose Office was like that of Mayors or Aldermen. They were to inspect the Streets, Ways, Edifices, and Provisions. The Inhabitants of a City which was a *Præfecture*, had also the Privilege of choosing themselves a *Quæstor*, or Receiver of the publick Money. To which *Ulpian* and *Festus* add, that they had a Right of having Markets every nine Days. *Præfectura appellantur ex eo quod in diversis regionibus Magistratus ad Coloniarum jurisdictionem mittere soliti sunt. Etenim in Italia Præfectura vocabantur, in quibus & jus dicebatur, & nundine agebantur, neque tamen Magistratus suos habebant, sed in eas Præfecti mittebantur. Ulp.* Moreover, the Office of *Præfect* expired at the End of the Year, as those of *Consuls*, *Prætors*, &c. did at *Rome*. Nor must we forget, that the *Præfectures*

enjoyed more or fewer Privileges, according to the Offence they had given the Republick. They were sometimes restored to their ancient Privileges, and the Rights of a *Roman Colony*, or *Municipium*, which they had forfeited by their Unfaithfulness.

²⁸ *Capua* was indeed the first City which had the Title of a *Præfecture* given it by the Republick; but it must be granted, that *Tarquin* had introduced much the same Sort of Government in *Collatia*, which he had forced to surrender to him. The King, says *D. Hal. B. 3.* disarmed the Inhabitants of this City, and in order to keep them to their Duty, made *Arunx* their Governor, in the Quality of a *Præfect*.

²⁹ The *Ufens*, now the *Anfente*, discharged itself into the Sea, not far from *Terracina*, on the confines of *Latium*.

³⁰ Instead of the Inhabitants of *Teanum*, *Livy's* Words are, *Theates Apuli*; i. e. *The Inhabitants of Theate in Apulia*. Probably the Copyists mistook, in taking the Word *Theates* for *Teanenenses*. It is certain, the City of *Theate* was not in *Apulia*. Its Territory was Part of the Canton of the *Marrucini*, in *The Hither Abruzzo*. It is surely no easy Matter to believe that *Livy* was guilty of such gross Mistakes in Point of Geography. Besides, if he had meant the City of *Theate*, he would not have used the Word *Theates*, but rather that of *Theatini*, as *Gronovius* and *Sigonius* have very judiciously observed.

had done, would procure them so much regard from the *Romans*, as to prevail on the latter to leave them upon an Equality; that is, to admit them among her Friends, and not to make them a Part of the Demesnes of the Republick. But *Rome* did not think proper to grant all that was desired. They indeed were ranked among the Friends of the *Roman People*, but with some Dependence upon them; and, if I may be permitted to guess, *Rome* obliged them to furnish their Contingent of Troops for the *Roman Armies*, as the other Allies did. *Forentum* was now the only Town left unsubdued in *Apulia*. It was a strong City, situated a little above ³¹ *Acherontia*. After *Junius Brutus* had made himself Master of it, he led his Troops into *Lacania*. There the two *Consuls* joined their Forces, fell upon ³² *Nerulum* together, and took that important Place by Assault. Thus the *Romans* enlarged their Conquests, after the Adventure of *The Caudian Forks*; and surrounded the *Samnites*, their eternal Enemies, with the Nations they brought into Subjection to *Rome*. The Dominion of the *Romans* began likewise to extend itself, in several Parts of *Italy*. *Capua* had desired the Republick to give her a *Præfect*, and Laws; and the *Antiates* had followed her Example. The latter, dissatisfied with the ill Conduct of their City, and the continual Quarrels among their Magistrates, had recourse to *Rome*. Their Request did Honour to the Republick, and it was therefore granted. *Antium* was not indeed made a *Præfecture*; nor was any one single Person sent thither, to give her new Laws. This was left to the Care of the *Patrons* of the *Colony*. It was then customary, not only for private Families, but likewise for Cities, and whole Provinces, to have their *Patrons*, which were often taken out of the principal Nobility in *Rome*. The *Patrons* of the *Municipia*, were generally of the Families of those *Consuls*, who had conquered them: and the *Protectors* of the *Colonies* were the Children of those, who had received the Commission to plant them. And the Laws and Regulations, by which the Magistrates of the *Antiates* were to govern them, were given them by these *Patrons*.

§. XII. TOWARDS the End of their Year, *Barbula* and *Bubulcus* presided in the *Comitia* which elected new *Consuls*, who were *P.* ³³ *Nautius*, and *M.* *Popilius*. But almost as soon as they entred upon their Office, they were obliged, contrary to Custom, to nominate a *Dictator*. Perhaps the People had but an indifferent Opinion of their Ability in warlike Affairs. At least it's certain, they did not appear at the Head of Armies; but continued in *Rome* all the time of their Administration. *L. Æmilius*, who was nominated *Dictator*, and who chose *L. Fulvius* for his General of Horse, received the Command of the *Roman Legions*, immediately from the preceding *Consuls*. The *Dictator* began his Expeditions with investing the City of ³⁴ *Saticula*. It was in *Campania*, and by the Right the *Romans* had acquired over that Province, belonged to them. But its Neighbourhood to the *Samnites*, had drawn it into the Party of these Enemies of *Rome*: and the Danger this City, now in Alliance with them, was in, drew the *Samnites* out of that Inaction, in which they had continued, during the two Years of the Truce which had been granted them. The *Roman* Historians wrongfully accuse them of Breach of Faith, in this Case: the Time of the Cessation of Arms was expired. Besides, the *Romans* were come to lay Siege to a City in Alliance with *Samnium*. The *Samnites* therefore raised a great Army; and came and encamped near the *Roman* Camp. As for *Saticula*, it was well provided with Men and Provisions. So that, all things considered, the Enemy was equal in Strength to the *Dictator's* Army. The Troops which defended the City, and which came to force them to raise the Siege, appeared formidable to the *Romans* themselves. The wise *Æmi-*

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CCCCXXXVI.
Q. ÆMILIUS
BARBULA, JU-
NIUS BRUTUS
BUBULCUS,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXVII.
P. NAUTIUS,
M. POPILIUS,
Consuls,

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXVII.
L. ÆMILIUS,
Dictator.

³¹ The City of *Acherontia* in *Apulia*, is now generally called *Chirenza*, or *Cirenza*; but some call *Acirenza* and *Agerenza*.

³² This ancient City, which *Cluver* calls *Episcopia*, stood near the River *Siris*, or *Senno*. *Holfste-* proves by the ancient *Itineraries*, that it stood ver-against the *Apennines*, near the River *Latis*, now *Laino*, and the Place now called *Rotunda*.

³³ The *Nautian*, was a considerable *Patrician* family in *Rome*. *Varro*, in his Book of the *Trojan* families, derives it from one *Nantes*, who, accord-

ing to the fabulous Traditions of those Times, received the *Palladium* from *Diomedes*, and conveyed it to *Aeneas*, whom he had followed in his Travels. The *Popilian* Family seems to have been *Plebeian*. At least, it was then always customary to take one of the *Consuls* out of the *Plebeians*.

³⁴ *Saticula* stood on the Frontiers of *Samnium* and *Campania*, at a little Distance from *Suessula*, towards Mount *Tifata*. *Cluver* thinks it was not far from a City now called *Caserta*, which stands upon an Eminence.

Year of *lius's* Deliverance from the Danger which threatned him, was wholly owing to his Skill and Precautions. As he was apprehensive, that the Enemy would attack him on both Sides, he chose convenient Posts, and faced both the *Samnites*, and the Besieged, in case they should make a Sally. And indeed the Enemy marched out of their Camp, and the *Saticulani*, at the same time, came out of their City, endeavouring to join them, and surround the *Romans*; but they found them every where upon their Guard. The Battel was indeed doubtful, on the Side of the *Samnites*; and the *Dictator* was distressed by the Number of his Enemies: but the Body of Troops he had appointed to act against the *Saticulani*, gained great Advantage over them. The timorous Garrison did not hold out long against the Besiegers; they fled within their Walls for Refuge. And then *Æmilius* came with his whole Army, and fell on the *Samnites*, who had got some Advantage over the *Roman Legions*. But at length, the Victory declared for the latter; and tho' it was somewhat late first, it was so complete and durable, that the Enemy was discouraged by it. The *Samnites* fled in Disorder; returned to their Camp: and after they had lighted great Fires in it, to conceal their Decampment, they marched out of it in the Night, and left the *Dictator* to continue the Siege he had begun. Nevertheless, the Place made a long Resistance. *Æmilius* in vain attempted to make himself Master of it; his *Dictatorship* expired, before *Saticula* was taken.

Year of *R O M E* *CCCCXXXVII.*
L. ÆMILIUS, Dictator.

S. XIII. THE *Romans* had then taken up a new Custom, which I cannot account for, of not suffering any but *Dictators* to command their Armies. It cannot be said, that the new *Consuls* were Men unexperienced in War. They were the same *Papirius Cursor*, and *Publius Philo*, who had more than once triumphed over the *Samnites*, and who were now ³⁵ both chosen *Consuls*, the fourth time. The Injustice the *Romans* did them, was thought so incredible by *Livy*, that he has omitted both their Names. At least, if we examine his Words only, we shall be apt to imagine, that the Republick was solely governed by a *Dictator*, all this Year. But it is certain, *Rome* chose two *Consuls* of distinguished Merit, probably, on purpose to give them the Mortification, of having no Part in the War. Nay, a Man was raised over the Head of the great *Papirius*, who could not but be his implacable Enemy. This was the same *Q. Fabius Maximus*, whom he had prosecuted so far, as to have endeavoured to make him lose his Head, for having fought a Battel, (in which he was victorious) contrary to his Orders. *Fabius* was named *Dictator*, doubtless by the *Consuls* of the preceding Year, and he set out to finish the Conquest of *Saticula*; whilst the two greatest Generals in the Republick continued ingloriously, and in a manner out of Office, in *Rome*. Such Mortifications are often given to Men of the greatest Merit, in popular Governments. After he had chosen *Q. Aulus Cerretanus* for his General of Horse, the new *Dictator* led a Reinforcement, to carry on the Siege, which had been long begun. As soon as he arrived in the Camp, he received the Command of the *Legions*, not from the *Consuls*, but *Æmilius* the *Dictator*, whose Office was expiring. No sooner had the *Roman Army* changed its General, but the *Samnites* returned, to attempt the Deliverance of *Saticula*. They had already experienced the Valour and Ability of *Æmilius*; and after having been beaten by him, had fallen upon ³⁶ *Plistia*, a City in Alliance with the *Romans*. They had laid Siege to it, in order to recover an Equivalent for *Saticula*, which they feared would be lost. But upon *Fabius's* Arrival, they abandoned their Enterprize upon *Plistia*, and came to try their Strength with the new General. However, *Fabius* was not alarmed, at the great Number of the Troops, the *Samnite* General brought with him; he rather seemed

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Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS, Dictator.

Liv. B.9 c.22.

³⁵ *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 19. reckons *Quintus Popilius* to have been now made *Consul* the second time, in this Year 438. And we find the same Mistake in *The Greek Tables*, which give *Papirius's* Colleague the Surname of *Lenas*, with the Addition of II. to signify the second time. This was the Surname of *Popilius*, who was *Consul* the preceding Year. The Resemblance of these two Names, *POPILIUS* and *POBLILIUS*, as we read them in the *Fasti Capitolini*, probably occasioned this Mistake of the Annalists, or Copyists. *Cassiodorus* is mistaken in making *Lucius Papirius Junior*, and not *Lucius*

Papirius Cursor, one of the *Consuls*. He seems to intend by it, that the Son of the latter was promoted to the *Consular* Dignity. We have followed the *Fasti Capitolini*; a decisive Authority, against the Variations and Uncertainties of ancient and modern Annals.

³⁶ If there be no Mistake in the Text of *Livy*, this City of *Plistia*, and its Situation, are utterly unknown. *Cluver* thinks we ought to read *Plestina*, i. e. the City of *Plestina*, in the Country of the *Marfi*. But it is no easy matter to determine the Affair.

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Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
Dictator.

to neglect them. He continued his Attacks on *Saticula*, and only placed some Bodies of Guards round his Trenches, to cover them. And this Security of the Dictator emboldened the *Samnites*, to come and insult the *Roman* Camp, with only a few Squadrons. *Aulus*, who commanded the *Roman* Cavalry, continued in it, whilst *Fabius* employed the Infantry before the Place. The Enemy was already arrived at the Gates of the Camp, when *Aulus*, with the *Roman Knights*, made a Sally of his own Head, and hazarded a Battel, without consulting the Dictator. This was a Want of Deference, like that which *Fabius* himself had been guilty of, long before he was Dictator. The ill Example he had formerly given, was now followed by one of his own Subalterns. *Aulus* at first repulsed the Enemy; but the *Samnite* General rallied his Troops, revived their Courage, and led them back to the Charge, which proved fatal to him. *Aulus*, who discerned him among the Enemies, and knew him by his Stature, ran to him, with his Lance levelled, and managed his Horse with so much Dexterity, that he laid him dead on the Ground, with the first Stroke. It generally happens, that the Death of a General puts the whole Army into Disorder. But the *Samnites* neither gave themselves up to Despair, nor fled; they took Courage, and thought of nothing but Revenge. The General of the *Roman* Horse had rashly penetrated too far into the Squadron, which guarded the General he had killed. He was all at once surrounded with Enemies, who all threw their Darts at him only. But the *Samnites* gave a Brother of their General the Glory of revenging his Death. He dismounted *Aulus*, and being full of Rage, stabbed him after he had fallen. It was then thought a singular Honour, to get Possession of the Body of a General, who had been slain in the Battel. His Spoils were erected into a Trophy. And the *Samnites* had very like to have gained the Advantage over the *Romans*, of carrying off the General of Horse. But the *Roman Knights* freed *Rome* from so terrible a Reproach. They instantly dismounted, and formed themselves into a close Battalion. It was customary for the *Roman* Horse to fight either on Horseback, or on foot, as there was Occasion. This Example of the *Romans* was followed by the *Samnites*, but with very different Success. The *Roman* Cavalry, which Way soever they fought, were invincible, and superior to that of the *Samnites*. So that the *Roman Knights*, now become Foot-Soldiers, recovered the Body of their General, and carried it back to their Camp, both grieved at having lost *Aulus*, and pleased with having rescued his Body out of the Enemy's Hands. Had that General survived his Victory, *Fabius* would not well have known how to punish his Disobedience. He would infallibly have been reproached, either with having suffered an Act of Disobedience to have escaped unpunished; or with having punished the same Crime in another, which *Rome* had pardoned in him.

AFTER the Loss of the Battel, the *Samnites* retired towards *Plistia*, in order to renew the Siege of it. *Fabius* pursued that of *Saticula*, with Vigour, and in a little time, it capitulated. The *Samnites*, on the other hand, took *Plistia* by Assault; so that, Fortune seemed hitherto equally to favour the *Romans* and their Enemies, in this Campaign. But she soon declared herself more signally for *Fabius*. 37 *Sora* was a considerable City, in the Country of the *Volsci*, which had formerly been conquered by the *Romans*, who had planted a Colony in it, to defend it. It was advantageously situated on the Banks of the *Liris*, and the *Romans* thought the Loss of it of Importance to them. The Dictator had nothing more at heart, than to retake from the Enemy, a Place which they had gained by the Treachery of its old Inhabitants. The *Sorani* had massacred the *Roman* Colony, which guarded the City, and surrendered themselves up to the Enemies of *Rome*. *Fabius* therefore left *Samnium* and *Apulia*, immediately after the Surrender of *Saticula*, and marched his Troops towards *Sora*. He expected, that the *Samnites*, after the taking of *Plistia*, which had made them vain, would march after him; and this Expectation made him act with the more Precaution. He took long marches, and placed Scouts on all the Roads, to bring him notice of the Enemy's march. And at length, he was informed, that the *Samnites* followed him, and were not far off; upon which, he chose rather to turn back, and meet the Enemy, than either wait for them, or continue his Progress. He thought it more for the

37 We have already spoken of the Situation of *Sora*, B. 15. p. 131. of this Volume, Note 106.

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MAXIMVS,
Dictator.

Glory of the *Roman* Arms, and more likely to increase the Confidence of his Soldiers, to be the Aggressor, than to suffer himself to be attacked. He therefore flew to the Enemy, and found them about the 3^d *Lautula*, near *The Pomptin Marshes*. There a Battel was fought, the Success of which was doubtful. Night put an end to it, before either Party could claim a Victory: and both Armies continued their March towards *Sora*; the one to attack, the other to defend it.

§. XIV. THE *Dictator* had not yet chosen a new General of Horse, since the Death of *Aulus*. But he now determined to fill up this important Place, and nominated to it one *L. Fabius*, probably his Relation. The Instructions he gave him facilitated the Victory he soon after gained over the *Samnites*. The new General of Horse had Orders to bring a new Army from *Rome*, to conceal its March from the Enemy, and to make no Use of it, till he saw the Signal for entering upon Action. Accordingly the *Dictator* was obeyed; *Lucius Fabius* marched privately out of *Rome* at the Head of some Levies, came near *Sora*, and posted his Soldiers in inaccessible Places. The *Dictator*, who was informed of his Arrival, pretending to be afraid of the Enemy, kept himself close in his Entrenchments; and the feigned Fright of the *Roman* General drew all the *Samnite* Army round his Camp. This was the very thing he wanted; and therefore, without informing his *Legions* of the Succours *Rome* had sent him, he all on a sudden hoisted over his Tent the red Standard, which was the Signal for giving Battel. By the Fright the *Dictator* had shewed, and his sudden Resolution to give Battel, all the Soldiers thought themselves in extreme Danger, and imagined they had no Remedy left, but to make a brisk Sally on the Enemy. They were not only brave, but their Courage was increased by the great Necessity they apprehended they lay under of exerting themselves; and the General confirmed them in this Opinion, by the Harangue he made to them, according to Custom, before he marched to the Battel. *Fellow-Citizens*, said he, *we are unhappily fallen into dangerous Passes. We must either conquer, or perish in them. Our Entrenchments are indeed strong enough to guard us from the Blows of the Enemy; but then it is no easy matter to bring Provisions to them; without which we are in danger of being starved here. The neighbouring Cities, which could furnish us with Provisions, have shaken off the Dominion of Rome. So that, neither the Situation of the Country, nor its Inhabitants favour us: And I will not deceive you with the vain Hopes of finding an Asylum in your Camp, if you return without Victory, as you did the other Day. We ought not to place our Security in our Entrenchments, but in our Arms. Let those who design to prolong a War, shut themselves up in a Camp. But let our whole Dependance be on Victory. Come on then, Fellow-Soldiers; March, and meet the Enemy. As soon as we are gone from hence, I have ordered Fire to be set to our Tents and Baggage. We shall soon make ourselves amends for this Loss, by the Plunder of the rebellious Cities.*

Thus spake the *Dictator*, and his Harangue raised the Courage of his Troops. When they saw the Flames rise from their Camp (tho' the wise *Dictator* had given private Orders, that only those Tents which lay round the Ramparts should be burnt and those in the Center of the Camp saved) it exceedingly quickened their Resolutions. Besides, this Fire was to be the Signal for the General of Horse to put his Troops in Motion; and every thing was executed with wonderful Harmony. The Armies of the two *Fabii* marched against the *Samnite* Troops, and attacked them one in Front, the other in Rear, with Fury. The Enemy, when thus hemmed in on both Sides, could not long sustain so furious an Attack; but were soon dispersed and routed. Those who could, fled, and escaped by the Flanks of the Army which were not invested. The rest rallied, in the middle of the Field of Battel; where they crowded so close together, that they embarrassed and hindered one another from fighting. So that being surrounded on all Sides, they were cut in Pieces, almost without making any Resistance; and the Camp of the *Samnites* was taken and plundered. After this, the *Dictator* led back his Troops to their first Camp: And how great was the Joy of the Soldiers, when they saw the greatest Part of the Tents and Baggage not burnt! It fell little short of the Pleasure their Victory gave them.

³⁸ See what we have said of the Name and Situation of *Lautula*, B. 16. p. 147. of this Volume Note 22.

ALL that now remained for the *Dictator*, was to take *Sora*, which he besieged in Form. But *Rome* soon after chose his Successors, without granting him a Triumph. Who can now guess what Motives could induce the Publick to disappoint *Fabius* of the Honours which he seems to have merited, by his Exploits in this Campaign?

§. XV. THE two *Consuls* the *Centuries* chose, were *M. 29 Poetelius Libo*, and *C. Sulpicius Longus*. The latter was now raised to the *Consulate* the third time; and *Rome* now reinstated the *Consuls*, in the ancient Right their Predecessors had enjoyed of commanding Armies. They set out, to continue the Siege of *Sora*, and received the Command of the *Roman Legions* from the *Dictator Fabius*. These two Commanders made great Alterations in the Troops, they sent away most of the Veterans from the Camp, and filled up their Places with new Levies. In all Appearance, the Siege would last long. *Sora* was a strong Place, both by Situation, and the Rocks which guarded the Upper-City. It seemed impossible to subdue it, unless by a tirefome Perseverance, or by dangerous Attacks. However, the *Consuls* pitched their Camp so near the City, that it almost touched the Walls. This was doubtless to keep the Besieged continually in Play, and to distress them with the Fear of an Enemy, which was always ready to make Sallies upon them. Nevertheless, the *Sorani* were not intimidated, either by the Nearness of the *Romans*, or the Number of their Troops, or the late Defeat of the *Samnites*, who came to their Relief. The *Consuls* themselves were perplexed to find a weak Place, at which they might either force or surprize the City. But whilst they were deliberating about it, a Deserter from *Sora* came to the *Roman* Guard, and demanded to be brought to the Generals. When he was admitted into their Presence, he promised to make them Masters of the Place in a little time. He was heard, examined, and as his Scheme did not appear impracticable, and it was running but a little Hazard, to try to put it in Practice, all were for suffering him to conduct the Enterprize. He only asked two things of the *Consuls*; one, that they would remove their Camp to the Distance of some Miles from *Sora*; the other, that he might choose ten Men out of all the Troops. By their removing the *Roman* Camp from the Walls of the besieged City, he hoped to abate the Vigilance of the *Sorani*, and to lull them into such a Security, as might make them neglect to make their Rounds: and he was not deceived. When therefore he saw that the Besieged were become less vigilant, he took with him his ten chosen Soldiers, loaded them with more arts than Men usually carried, caused some *Manipuli* to follow, which he hid in thickets in the Night-time; marched with his little Company over steep and almost inaccessible Places, and at length arrived at the Upper-City, and brought his ten *Romans* into it. The Place to which he came must have been an open Space, within the Walls of *Sora*; an uninhabited Quarter of the Town, not defended by any troops, or by any thing more than a single Wall, because supposed inaccessible. As soon as the *Romans* were got thither, the Deserter posted them at the Head of a narrow and strong Path, which was guarded, at proper Distances, by Pieces of Rocks, which the Inhabitants had thrown into it, to render it impassable. The darkness of the Night favoured the Stratagem of the Deserter; and when every thing was got ready, he harangued his chosen Troop, and shewed them how easy it was for them to go down into the lower City; by that Path, and how difficult it was for the Inhabitants to climb up it. Three Men, said he, are sufficient to guard the Post in which I have placed you, against a great Number; whereas you are ten. Besides, you are *Romans*, and the Choice of the *Roman* Army. The Place and the Night favour you. Darkness and Terror will without doubt multiply your numbers in the Imaginations of the *Sorani*. Continue here therefore, while I go and give the Alarm in all the Lower-City. After he had thus encouraged them, he came down from the Rock, making a terrible Noise. To Arms! To Arms! Citizens, cried he, Help! Help! The Enemy has seized the Eminencies which command the City! These Words he spoke aloud at the Doors of the chief Men in *Sora*, and the same things to all he met, and repeated them to those whom the Noise

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M. POETELIUS
LIBO, C. SUL-
PICIUS LONG-
US, Consuls.

According to the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Marcus Poetelius Libo* was now promoted to the *Consulate* the first time. The *Greek Tables* make *Libo*, and *Longus*, *Consuls* for this Year 439.

That is, these Annals give the Name of *Sulpicius*, and the Surname of *Longus*, to two different Men; whereas they were the Name and Surname of the same Person.

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R O M E
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M. POETELIUS
LIBO, C. SUL-
PICIUS LON-
GUS, Consuls.

brought out of their Houses. Tho' all these Reports came originally from him only, they were soon spread in all Quarters, and the Commanders, upon hearing them, sent to discover the Truth of them. Several Spears, designedly placed at proper Distances, were discovered, and Fear multiplied them. The News was confirmed by a thousand different Reports. And at length, every one sunk into Despair, and the Inhabitants thought of nothing but saving their Lives by Flight. The Gates of the City were shut, and they broke them open. Men and Women, scarce awakened out of their first Sleep, crowded to them, and pressed one another to Death to get thro' them. The Tumult, and the Outcries, were heard at a Distance, and by them the *Roman* Soldiers judged that the Stratagem had succeeded. They therefore marched out of their Ambuscade, ran and passed thro' a Gate which they found open, and put every Body to the Sword, whom they met in the Streets. Thus *Sora* was taken before the Day appeared. In the Morning, the *Consuls* entered it, and gave those of its Inhabitants Quarter, who surrendered at Discretion. They only loaded those with Irons, who were unanimously accused of having been the Authors of the Revolt, and of the Massacre of the *Roman Colony*. These Traitors, two hundred and twenty in Number, were conducted to *Rome*, and were all condemned to be first whipped with Rods, and then beheaded, without Mercy. The People saw all these Wretches executed, with Pleasure. This was an Example of Terror, which *Rome* owed to the Safety of the great Numbers of Citizens she often sent out, to plant *Colonies*.

§. XVI. THE same Spirit of Revolt, which had brought *Sora* to Destruction, had also spread itself in several other Places, since the Battel of *The Lautulae*. The *Aufones* especially were infected with it. They were now the small Remains of a great Nation, which formerly possessed all the Eastern Parts of *Italy*. From them the *Greeks* gave the Name of *Aufonia* to all *Italy*. Afterwards, the ⁴⁰ *Aufones*, being driven out of their Dominions, by the *Oenotrii*, who, in their Turn, gave *Italy* the Name of *Oenotria*, their State was reduced to the Compass of a few Cities, in the Neighbourhood of the *Volsci*. Nay, the *Aufones* seem to have changed their Name, and to have been called *Aurunci*. But however that be, *Aufona* ⁴¹, or *Aurunca*, was now their Capital; and ⁴² *Minturnæ* and *Vescia* were dependent upon them. This Nation, proud of their Antientness, could not bear the *Roman* Yoke without Reluctance, and was inclined to shake it off; but still kept some Measures with their Conquerors. After the taking of *Sora*, the *Consuls* led their Troops among this wavering People, resolving to punish them, if guilty; and some Traitors among the *Aufones* completed their Misfortunes, and hurried them into utter Destruction. As soon as they knew the *Consuls* were arrived, they, to the Number of twelve, presented themselves before them, and accused the three Cities of *Aufona*, *Minturnæ*, and *Vescia*; as suspected Cities, which had broken their Faith. These Informers were the Commanders of the *Aufonian* Infantry; and they said: Romans, you have been betrayed. As soon as our Fellow-Citizens understood, that the Samnites were come up with your Army near the *Lautulae*, they thought it conquered. Nay, they conspired together to defeat it, and assist your Enemies with their Troops. When you had chased the Samnites, our Citizens changed their Conduct indeed, but not their Inclinations. They did not shut their Gates, for fear of drawing a War upon them; but they resolved to refuse your Armies Admittance, in case they drew near their Cities. What have you then to do, but to make their Resolutions your Plea, both for surprizing, and punishing them? These Traitors were believed upon their bare Words; and the *Consuls* pronounced the Condemnation of the three Cities. Detachments were immediately sent to *Aufona*, *Minturnæ*, and *Vescia*, which were not openly attacked but surprized by Artifice. The *Romans* which were sent upon this Expedition, appeared in different Dresses. Some kept on their military Habit, and came by Night and posted themselves near the three Cities. Others dressed themselves like C

⁴⁰ We have already spoken of the *Aufones*, and *Oenotrii*, in several Places.

⁴¹ We don't know of any ancient City, which was called *Aufona*. It is certain, the City here spoken of, stood in the Territory of the *Aufones*. Which makes us believe, that it was the City of *Aurunca*, the Capital of *Aufonia* properly so called.

We have spoken of it already. It had indeed been ruined by the *Sidicini*; but it was, in all probability, repaired by the *Aufones*, or *Aurunci*. See p. 184 of this Volume, Note 5.

⁴² We have already shewn the Situation of *Minturnæ* and *Vescia*, B. 16. p. 166. Note 66: and 169. of this Volume, Note 67.

zens, and hid their Arms under their Robes. At Break of Day, when the Gates were opened, the latter entered the Cities without Suspicion, killed the Guards, seized the principal Places, and gave their Companions notice of it. The same Stratagem was made use of against all the three Cities, at the same Hour, and with the same Success; but to the Reproach of the *Romans*, with great Cruelty and Barbarity. As the Troops employed in this Enterprize, were out of their Commanders Sight, they set no Bounds to their Fury. Upon bare Suspicions of a Rebellion, they punished the *Aufones*, and made them suffer the worst Calamities of a War. No Inhabitant was spared: the Massacre was General. Thus perished the Remains of a once flourishing People, who, if we may believe some Writers, owed their Settlement in *Italy*, to *Auson*, one of the Sons of *Ulysses*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXIX.
M. POETELIUS
LIBO, C. SUL-
PICIUS LON-
GUS, Consuls.

LUCERIA had also followed the ill Example of the Cities, which had withdrawn themselves from the Dominion of the *Romans*. This important Place had lately gone over to the *Samnites*, after having murdered the *Colony*, *Rome* had sent thither. The *Roman* Government seems then to have been insupportable to all the conquered Nations; or else the *Samnites* must have been exceeding skilful, in causing so many Revolts against the Republick.

THE *Consular* Army therefore drew near a Place, which it was dangerous to leave long unpunished. *Luceria* was a large City, and well fortified, for those Times; but it was built in a Plain. Whence it may be judged to have been easy of Access, in an Age, when the Strength of Places was estimated purely by the Height of the Eminencies on which they stood. The *Consuls* took it by Assault, and spared neither the Inhabitants, nor the *Samnites* who defended it. The Senate at *Rome*, had like to have ordered it to be razed. Its repeated Perfidiousness had made it odious to the *Romans*, even to Execration. *How can it be kept in Order*, said they, *without planting a Colony in it! And how can we hazard the Lives of so many Roman Citizens, in a Country so far distant from Rome!* But at length, it was resolved to preserve a Place, which kept all *Apulia* in awe; and to send thither a *Colony*, numerous enough to guard it against all Attempts. The Republick sent thither 2500 of the ancient Inhabitants of *Rome*. It is surprising, that this Capital was not exhausted by the great Number of *Colonies* it sent out; but *Romulus's* Foresight had prevented it. By an ancient Institution, of which he was the Author, the Places of those who went from *Rome*, were supplied by the Inhabitants of the conquered Cities, who were transplanted thither, and served as Hostages, to secure the Fidelity of the Conquered.

BUT all these Punishments inflicted by the *Romans*, on the Nations which rebelled against them, did not hinder the *Campani* from inclining to revolt, *Capua* was an unquiet City, and the *Capuans* naturally factious; and *Rome* was afraid of losing with *Capua*, one of the finest, and richest Provinces in *Italy*. The Republick therefore chose to send a *Dictator* thither, to keep it in Subjection by Arms, and the Fear of an absolute Magistrate. We think it probable, that the *Consul Poetelius* was brought back to *Rome*, to nominate a *Dictator*; whilst *Sulpicius* continued alone at the Head of his Army. And this appears the more plausible, from *Poetelius's* not having had any Share, after this, in his Collegue's Victories; which may be inferred from his not having triumphed with him. *Rome* had then two Armies in the Field; one, under the Command of *Sulpicius*, the other under that of the *Dictator*. The latter was the same *Manius*, who had been raised to the *Dictatorship* seven Years before, only to take the Informations against the heads of the *Capuan* Revolters. He then chose *M. Fossius* for his General of Horse; and now placed him again in the same Post. In his first *Dictatorship*, *Manius* had nothing else to do, but to try those who had been guilty of Treason against the Republick. In the second, he was made General of an Army. And this was what deceived *Livy*, and made him transpose Events, which we rectify here by the *Fasti Capitolini*.

Did. Sic. B.
19.
Liv. B. 9. c. 26.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXIX.
C. MÆNIUS,
Dictator.

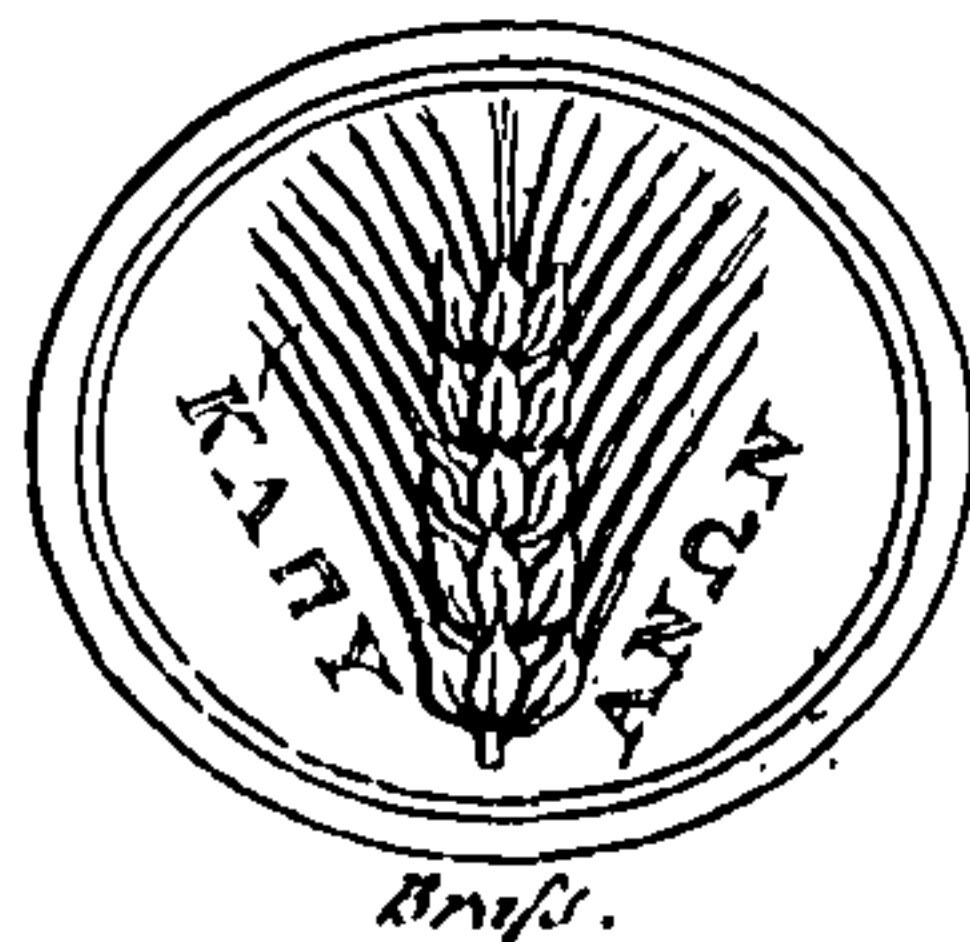
MÆNIUS came into *Campania*, to keep Things in Order there, without signalizing his Power, by any extraordinary Executions. In the mean time, the Hopes the *Samnites* had conceived, of the Revolt of *Capua*, had drawn them together near *Caudium*. There they waited for the desired Insurrection of the *Campani*, to secure them in their Interest, and draw them off from the *Romans*. But *Sulpicius's* Army appeared all on a sudden in the Neighbourhood of *Caudium*, and frustrated

Fast. Capit.
under this
Year.

Year of frustrated the Expectations of the *Samnites*. The *Consul* did not indeed engage them in the Woods and Defiles which surrounded the Place. He waited for them, on this Side those Passes, and if the Difficulty of the Ways hindered him from coming up with the Enemy, it likewise hindered them from coming to him. And at length, the Uneasiness of the *Samnites* at continuing long in the same Place, induced them to make a Motion, which ended in their Destruction. They took a little Compass, and entered into those vast and ⁴³ fruitful Plains, which gave the Country the Name of *Campania*; and *Sulpicius* came up with them, without delay. The two Armies now first appeared in Sight of one another. The *Romans* and *Samnites* began with slight Skirmishes, rather between the Cavalry, than Infantry. In these the *Romans* always had the Advantage; but were nevertheless not uneasy at delaying the Battel. On the other hand, the *Samnites* were more ardent to engage; they saw their Army suddenly discouraged and weakened by this Delay; and at length resolved to march out of their Camp, and offer Battel. Their Generals posted their Cavalry in the Wings, with Orders, rather to watch the Entrenchments, for fear of an Irruption into them, than to take Part in the general Action. *Our Infantry alone is sufficient*, said they, *to sustain the Attack of the Romans*. As for *Sulpicius*, he commanded his Right Wing, and without doubt, one of his Lieutenant-Generals the Left; tho' *Livy* gives this Post to the *Consul Poetelius*. *Sulpicius's* Wing had much widened its Ranks, in order to make the greater Front against the Enemy, who had likewise extended their Front very wide, in this Part, either to surround the *Romans*, or to prevent being surrounded themselves. But it was quite otherwise in the left Wing of the *Romans*. The General who commanded it, had closed its Ranks, and to strengthen it the more, had added to it a *Corps de Reserve*, which he posted in the first Line. The Battel began in the left Wing. The *Roman* Lieutenant-General marched all his Troops against the Enemy, who were a little disordered by it. The *Samnites* began to stagger in their Right, and, contrary to their first Design, ordered their Cavalry to advance. Instantly therefore, the *Roman* Cavalry rode full Speed against the *Samnites*, and equally disordered their Squadrons, and Battalions. Then *Sulpicius*, drawn by the Shouts he heard in the left Wing, quitted his right, which was not yet entered upon Action; encouraged the *Legions* in the left, with his Presence and Words; and saw the Victory declare for them. Then he immediately flew back to the right Wing, but found it in a very different Condition from the left. It had already lost a great deal of Ground, and the Enemy began to put it in Disorder. But *Sulpicius* had brought with him 2200 Men from the left Wing; and with this Reinforcement he soon changed the Face of Affairs. The Sight of the General, the brave Troops he had brought to assist them, and an Emulation of being as victorious as the left Wing, animated the *Romans* in the right, and excited them to renew the Fight with Fury. And now, nothing could resist the brave *Romans*; it was no longer a Battel, but a Slaughter. All who opposed them were killed, or taken Prisoners; and but few of the Enemy retired to *Maleventum*, a City since called ⁴⁴ *Benevento*. In short, there were 30000 *Samnites* slain on the Field of Battel

Liv. B. 9. c. 27.

Liv. ibid.



Briss.

⁴³ The Fruitfulness of the Territory of *Capua*, is represented by an Ear of Corn, on the Reverse of a Medal, which has this Inscription, ΚΑΠΥΑΝΩΝ. See what we have said of this City, which was formerly so famous, *B. 16. p. 134.* of this Volume, *Note 4.* and *p. 135. Note 5.*

⁴⁴ Ancient Authors have boasted much of the Antiquity of *Benevento*. Its Inhabitants gloried, in having had *Diomedes*, the King of *Aetolia*, for its

Founder. The *Roman* Geographers, and Historians, place it on the Confines of *Samnium* and *Hirpinia*, near the Conflux of the *Sabatus*, and the *Calor*, now the *Sabato*, and the *Calore*. *Pliny* tells us, *B. 3. c. 11.* that it was at first called *Maleventum*; but afterwards changed that Name, which was an inauspicious one, into that of *Beneventum*, which was more auspicious. *Hirpinorum Colonia*, *nunc Beneventum, Auspicatus, mutato nomine, quod*

Battel. From thence the Conqueror marched to the ⁴⁵ *Bovianum*, a considerable City in the Interests of the *Samnites*, and posted his Army round it, in Quarters of Refreshment. As for *Sulpicius*, he returned to *Rome*, and entered it in Triumph, on the first Day of *July*. This Victory over the *Samnites* must have been gained under the Command of one single General, since *Sulpicius* only obtained the Honours of the Triumph. The *Romans* were too equitable to refuse them to *Poetelius*, if he had born the Part *Livy* says he did, in the Victory of his Collegue.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXIX.
C. MÆNIUS;
Dictator.
Fast. Capit.

§. XVII. The *Samnites* had been vanquished; but they neither were subdued, nor had they submitted. The Republick had just raised the illustrious *Papirius* to the *Consulate* a fifth time, and associated with him *Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Bubulcus*. The latter was now advanced to this chief Dignity a second time. Upon what political Principles, or perhaps extravagant Notions, the *Romans* now acted, is not to be discovered: But they suffered the greatest Soldier they had among them to continue idle, at *Rome*, and lose his Time in Trifles, when they might have employed him, much more to their Advantage, at the Head of Armies. Perhaps the People elected *Papirius* in their *Comitia* so often, that he might finish the important War he had so long since begun with the *Samnites*; and perhaps it was the Jealousy of the Great, which render'd fruitless the good Intentions of the People, by Factions. But however that be, a *Dictator* ⁴⁶ was nominated, who swallowed up all the Authority of the two *Consuls*. This *Dictator* was one *C. Poetelius Libo*, surnamed *Visolus*; who chose that *Poetelius Libo* for his General of Horse, who had been *Consul* the last Year. Some Historians, in vain, pretend that a *Dictator* was then named, only to perform the Ceremony of driving a Nail, on account of the Plague which then infested *Rome*. It is certain, that *Poetelius* received the *Dictatorship* to command the Troops. He set out for *Bovianum*, took upon him the Command of the *Legions* cantoned in those Parts, and soon quitted that Post, in order to retake *Fregellæ* from the Enemy. This City, the Cause of the War, had of late undergone many Vicissitudes. It was one while taken by the *Samnites*; as soon again retaken by the *Romans*; and so was successively ravaged by both Parties. *Poetelius* made himself Master of it without fighting; the Enemy deserted it, and left it open to him. After he had placed a strong Garrison in it, the *Dictator* came to *Nola* ⁴⁷, a City in *Campania*. The Revolters of the Province had fled thither for Refuge, and it was defended by a good Number of *Samnites*. Its Suburbs were large and populous, and the Houses guarded the Ramparts. The *Dictator* therefore set Fire to them, and when the Suburbs were burnt, *Nola* soon surrendered. After this, the Cities of *Atina* and *Calatia* underwent the same Fate as *Nola*. Thus the *Romans* were employed, for two Years, in recovering the Cities which the *Samnites* had drawn off from them by their Negotiations.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXL.
L. PAPIRIUS
CURSOR, C.
JUNIUS BU-
BULCUS, Con-
suls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXL.
C. POETELI-
US LIBO, Dic-
tator.
Fast. Capit.

Liv. B. 9. c. 28;
Fast. Capit.

Liv. B. 9. c. 28;

WHILST the *Dictator* was thus signaling himself, rather by useful than shining exploits, the *Consuls* provided for the Safety of those Places which the *Samnites* might seize. By a Decree of the Senate, *Colonies* were ordered to be sent to that

undam appellata Maleventum. The City of *Benevento* belongs to The Ecclesiastical State, tho' it stands in the Kingdom of *Naples*. We shall hereafter see *Beneventum* become a Roman Colony.

⁴⁵ *Bovianum*, now *Boiano*, in the County of *Molise*, a Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*, was the Capital of the *Samnites*, or at least was one of the most considerable Cities in their Country. It stood at the Foot of the *Apennines*, near the Head of the *Bisernus*, which the Natives now call the *Biserno*. *Pliny* tells us, B. 3. c. 12. that it became a Roman Colony. *Samnitium Colonia Bovianum*. *Frontinus* says, that by Virtue of The Julian Law, Rome sent a Colony of Soldiers thither.

⁴⁶ *Livy* himself acknowledges, that the Republick chose *Caius Poetelius Libo Visolus*, Dictator. But he does not agree with the *Fasti Capitolini*, when he says, the Dictator chose *Marcus Foslius* to be his General of Horse.

⁴⁷ *Livy* confesses, that the ancient Authors did not agree, about the Success of the Roman Army before *Nola*. Some, says he, ascribe the Glory of it to *Poetelius* the Dictator; others, to *Junius Brutus* the Consul; and in this Difference of Opinion,

the Historian does not venture to say which is right, but leaves it undetermined. *Nec ita multo post, sive a Poetelio, Dictatore, sive ab Caio Junio Consule, (nam utrumque traditur) Nola est capta*. But what he afterwards adds, is an unanswerable Argument against those who pretended, that *Junius Brutus* had the Command of the *Legions*. They excluded *Poetelius*, continues *Livy*, from that Command, from a Persuasion, that his Dictatorship was wholly confined to the Ceremony of driving a Nail into the Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, on account of the contagious Diltemper, with which *Rome* was then afflicted. Whereas it appears by the *Fasti Capitolini*, that *Poetelius* was created Dictator, REI GERUNDÆ CAUSA, to govern the Republick. They argue therefore upon a false Supposition. So that nothing can be drawn from it, in favour of *Junius Brutus*: or rather, the Inference they make, is as false as the Supposition. And of much the same Credit, is the Account given us by *Diodorus of Sicily*, who falsely supposes, that the City of *Fregellæ* was taken by *Quintus Fabius*, in the Campaign of this Year, 440.

Year of 48 *Suessa*, which was nearest *Campania*; to the City called **Interamna* 49, because situated on the Conflux of the *Melfis* and *Liris*; to *Casinum* in the Country of the *Volsci*; and to the Island of *Pontia* 50. This Island lies some *Stadia* from the Continent, over against the Promontory of *Circaum*. It had formerly been cultivated by the *Volsci*; but the *Romans* had since divided its Lands among a Detachment of their own Citizens. *Rome* must then have swarmed with People, since it was thought necessary to send away so great a Number of its Inhabitants. Nevertheless, the Colonies designed for *Interamna* and *Casinum*, did not set out till the Year following; but *Triumviri* were now nominated to conduct them, and the Detachment consisted of four thousand Men.

C. POETELIUS
LIBO, Dictator.
• i.e. Between
Rivers.

§. XVIII. We ought likewise to rank among the Events of *Papirius's* fifth Consulship, an Adventure, which we should scarce think worthy to be recorded in this History, if it did not instruct us in the Customs of the *Romans*. *Numa Pompilius* had divided the *Roman* 51 Tradesmen into several Bodies, among whom the

48 This City, of which we have spoken already, was called *Suessa Aurunca*, both because it stood in the Country of the *Aurunci*, and to distinguish it from *Suessa Pometia*, formerly one of the most considerable Cities of the *Volsci*, near *The Pomptin Marshes*.

49 The old Editions of *Livy* don't agree, as to the Name of the second City, to which the *Roman* Senate had resolved to send a Colony. In some, it is *Minturnæ*, *Minturnæ* & *Casinum*; in others, *Livy's* Words are, *Vetturnum* & *Casinum*; and lastly, some, instead of *Interamnam*, have *Internam*. *Gelenius* thinks it ought to be, *In tertiam Casinum*; as if *Casinum* had been the third Place after *Suessa*, and the Island of *Pontia*, to which the Senate had determined to send a *Roman* Colony. But *Sigonius* thinks these old Editions ought to be corrected, and the Text run thus, *Interamnam* & *Casinum*; and his Authority for this, is that of *Velleius Paterculus*, B. 1. This Author says, that the Republick sent a *Roman* Colony first to *Suessa*, and then to *Interamna*: and *Livy* himself says, B. 10. that the latter had the Title of a Colony, when the *Samnites* attempted to take it. *Interamna* stood in the Country of the *Volsci*; and Geographers give it the Surname of *Lirinas*, because its District was watered by the *Liris*. *Cluver* thinks the Ruins found over-against *Ponte Corvo*, are the Remains of this City. But *Holstenius* will have it to have stood in the Place, where *Torre di Teramine* now stands. *Pliny* says of the Inhabitants of *Interamna*, *Interamnates Succusani, qui & Lirinales vocantur*. We cannot guess, why the *Interamnates* were called *Succusani*, unless, as *Cluver* observes, this Denomination was given them, on account of a Village near *Interamna*, called *Succusa*. But *Holstenius* interprets *Succusani*, by *sub Casino*, as signifying, that *Interamna* was not far from *Casinum*. This Name distinguished it from several other Cities, of which we shall speak in another Place.

50 Over-against the Territory of the *Volsci*, towards *The Promontory of Circaum*, there were several Islands, which *Livy* calls *Insule Pontiae*. The greatest of them was, by way of Eminence, called *The Island of Pontia*. It lay between the Island of *Palmaria*, now *Palmaruola*, to the West; and the Island of *Sinonia*, now *Sanone*, towards *Cajeta*, to the East. It is about 13000 geometrical Paces, that is, about four Leagues and a half from the Continent; and we must take care not to confound the Island of *Pontia* here spoken of, with another of the same Name, which was one of the *Ænotrian* Islands, in the *Lucanian* Sea.

51 *Plutarch's* Account of this Institution, in his *Life of Numa Pompilius*, is as follows. Of all the Establishments, the second King of *Rome* made, says the Historian, his distributing the People into different Societies, or Companies, was what contributed most to the preserving of Order in the City. It was inhabited by *Romans* and *Sabines*; or rather, it was divided into two Factions, whose Partiality to their

Countrymen, and different Interests and Customs, were continually exasperating them against one another. Hence the daily Quarrels which arose between them, to the great Detriment of the Publick. These fatal Divisions therefore, made *Numa Pompilius* think the *Romans* and *Sabines* like two solid Bodies, which can never mix together, as long as they continue whole; whereas, when they are once broken, and reduced to a Powder, the little Particles of each easily incorporate with one another, if I may so speak, and are so blended and confounded together, that both Bodies make but one Mass. And this Reflection led him to form a Design, of dividing the People into different Orders, according to their different Trades and Professions, whether they were *Romans*, or *Sabines*. He judged, that this would make the People forget their common national Factions, and espouse the Interests of that particular Body, of which each was a Member. He therefore divided both *Romans* and *Sabines* into several Companies. The first, and most considerable, was that of the Musicians. The others were the Companies of the Goldsmiths, Carpenters, Diers, Shoemakers, Tanners, Smiths, Potters, and the like. By this means, all the Tradesmen were congregated into different Bodies, according to their Trades, each under the Direction of its own Syndick, or Head. And each Society had its own Festivals, Sacrifices, and Tutelary Gods; just as the Companies of Tradesmen in *France*, now choose their Patron-Saints, if we may be allowed to compare the Practice of the Pagans with those of Christians. *Numa*, continues *Plutarch*, found this Scheme perfectly answer his End. He thereby united all the People in Affection, and banished that Party-Zeal, which had made one say, he was a *Sabine*; another, he was a *Roman*: one contend, that *Tatius* only was his Master; another, that he was to obey no body but *Romulus*. Nevertheless, *Florus* gives *Servius Tullius* the Honour of this Institution. *Ab hoc Populus Romanus*, says he, *relatus in Censum, digestus in Classes, Curiis atque Collegiis distributus, summaque Regis solertia, ita est ordinata Respublica, ut omnia Patrimonii, Dignitatis, Ætatis, Artium, Officiorumque Discrimina, in Tabulas referrentur, ac si maxima Civitas minima domus diligentia cerneretur*. These Societies had each its Praefect, or Governor, who, for the most part, continued in the Posts, five Years. Each Community was also divided into *Decuria*, or Tens, each of which was governed by its own Head, under the Inspection of him, who governed the whole Community. In After-ages, in the Time of the Emperors, this Establishment was not only in *Rome*, but took place in the Provinces. So that we find Societies of Smiths, Carpenters, and Cartwrights, mentioned on several Inscriptions. According to *D. Hal.* indeed, B. 2. and 9. the *Romans*, in the time of *Romulus*, thought it beneath them to exercise any mechanical Art; but this Custom was probably abolished by *Numa Pompilius*.

52 Musicians held the first Rank. They were employed, in the Sacrifices, the Sports of the *Circus*, and *Theatre*, and lastly, in Funeral Processions. As therefore the Art of the Musicians was both profitable and honourable, their Number was prodigiously increased. It was the Business of the *Curule Aediles* to employ them; but there then happened to be a severe Man in that Office, who undertook to diminish the Number of these Citizens, who were useless to the State, by lessening their Profits, and Privileges. This *Aedile* was the celebrated *Appius Claudius*, of a *Sabine* Family, which had always been famous for Severity and Obstinacy. *Appius* therefore forbade the Musicians 53 eating in the Temple of *Jupiter*, or partaking 54 with the Priests, of the Members of the Victims which had been offered up to the Gods in Sacrifice; tho' this was an ancient Custom, received by Tradition from their Forefathers. Nay, the *Aedile*, under Pretence of reducing the immoderate Expences of Funeral Poms to the Standard of the XII *Tables*, ordered that only ten 55 Flutes should be used in Funeral Processions, instead of the long Train of Musicians, which Vanity had introduced. These Regulations provoked Men who were greedy of Gain, and Lovers of good Chear; and they conspired together to desert *Rome* all at once: and accordingly went away for *Tibur*, not leaving any in the City, to assist at the Ceremonies of Religion. This made the People uneasy, who were zealous for the usual Decency in the Worship of the Gods; and the Senate sent a Deputation to *Tibur*, to desire the *Tiburtini* to send back these Deserters. The Magistrates of the Place therefore exhorted the Fugitives to return to their Country. But they were as obstinate as the *Aedile*, who was the Cause of their Desertion. So that, it became necessary to make use of a Stratagem to force them to return to *Rome*, whether they would or not. It is well known, how subject all Musicians, and especially those who play on Wind-Instruments, are, to drink intemperately. A *Tiburtine* Slave made them drink to Excess, at an Entertainment he gave them in the Country, and, as he said, without his Master's Knowledge. When they were set in to drinking, and half drunk, News was

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CCCCXL.
C. POETELIUS
LIBO, Dictator.
Fast. Capit.

Ovid. Fast. B. 6.

Liv. B. 9 c. 30.

or *Servius Tullius*. For it is certain, one of those Kings formed these Societies, of *Citizens of Rome* only, and not of Slaves and Foreigners, as some pretend. Otherwise, the Institutor would not have acted consistently with his own Design, which was, to unite the *Romans* and *Sabines*. In order therefore to reconcile the Ancients with one another, it must be said, that the Profession of an Artificer was a very contemptible one, in a City, whose Citizens were almost all Soldiers, and minded little at the Glory acquired by Arms. This is the Account *Cicero* gives us of them, B. 1. de Offic. Illiberales & sordidi quæstus mercenariorum omnium, eorum opera, non quorum artes, emuntur. Est enim illis ipsa merces auctoramentum servitutis. Opes quoque omnes in sordida arte versantur. Nec pro quicquam ingenuum habere potest officina: minimeque artes probandæ, quæ ministræ sunt voluptatibus, Ceteris, Lanii, Coqui, Piscatores, ut ait *Terentius*. Adde his, si placet, Unguentarios, Saltatores, &c. For this Reason, the Tradesmen, who were employed by manual Labour, were not admitted into the *Roman* Soldierly; nor were they numbered in a census, because of their Poverty. But in pressing exigencies of State, it is certain they were received into the *Legions*, as *Livy* tells us, B. 8. and this is a convincing Argument against those, who leave all mechanical Arts to Slaves and Foreigners. It must be granted, that Men in a servile State were scarce admitted into the *Legions*, all the while the *Republican* Government subsisted. And as for Foreigners, it is well known they could only serve among the Auxiliaries. Those Artificers, who had forsaken their Profession, used to consecrate their persons, and hang them up at the Altar of some divinity.

52 *Valerius Maximus* speaks of the College of Musicians, when he says, They came into the Forum, on publick and private Festivals, and enlivened the People, with the Harmony of their Flutes; adorned in Masks, and Veils of different Colours;

and captivated the Eyes and Ears of the People. Whether String-Instruments were known in *Rome* at this time, is uncertain. All we know, is, that they were afterwards known to the *Romans*, and those whose Profession it was to play upon them, were Members of the same College with those who played upon Flutes. We have a Proof of this, in one of *Gruter's* Inscriptions, which begins with these Words:

COLLEGIO TIBICINUM
ET
FIDICINUM ROMANORUM.

It is probable, that the Ancients who speak of the *Roman* Musick, comprehended the Flagellet, Hautboy, and Bagpipe, under the general Name of Flute. It is not yet time for us to treat of the different Sorts of Musical Instruments in use among the *Romans*. We have already shewn the Reader the Form of their Flutes; and the rest shall follow in its proper Place.

53 The *Greeks* and *Romans* generally sung Hymns, and joined Musick, with their Sacrifices; and when they solemnized any Festivals in Honour to the Gods, they thought instrumental Musick especially, an essential Part of the Ceremonies of Religion. Nay, the Pagans carried their Superstition in this Matter so far, that the Sacrifices and Games were thought to be rejected by the Gods, if the Flute-player made a rest, out of Time. With this *Arnobius* reproaches the Pagans of his Time. Commisum statim omnes in Religiones clamatis sacras, si Ludius constitit, si tibicen repente conticuit.

54 In Sacrifices, the received Custom was, to offer up a Part of the Victim to the Gods, and to reserve the rest for the Priests, and other Ministers, who assisted in the Ceremony.

55 See what we have said of this Law of the XII *Tables*, B. 10. p. 457. of the first Volume.

brought,

Year of brought, that the Slave's Master was coming. Affrighted at this, they suffered them
 R O M E selves to be put up in Carts, which were prepared for them, and were driven al
 CCCCXL. Night towards *Rome*, whither these sleeping Fugitives were carried. They did no
 C. POETELIUS awake till, at Sun-rising, they found themselves at once brought into the middle o
 LIBO, Dicta- the *Forum Romanum*. The *Romans*, either out of Regard to Religion, or a Tasti
 tor. for Musick, must have been very fond of a Company of idle Fellows, who scarce
 did any thing but promote Pleasures: For the Decree of the *Ediles* was repealed
 The Players on Instruments of Musick were not only reinstated in their forme
 Privilege of partaking of the Sacrifices, but the People permitted them to celebrate
 Varro, de Ling. annually, a second Festival, to the Honour of *Minerva* their Patroness, on *The*
 Lat. B. 5. *Ides* ⁵⁶ of *June*. They had the Privilege of running all over the Streets of *Rom*
 masked, and in Womens Habits, for three Days together, and of enlivening thei
 Festiva

56 That this Festival was called *Quinquatrus Minuscula*, or *Quinquatrus Minores*, and fixed to the third of *June*, is evident from *Festus*. *Minuscula Quinquatrus appellabantur Idus Junia, quo dies Festus erat Tibicinum qui Minervam colebant. The Feast celebrated on The Ides of June, was, says he, commonly called The Little Quinquatræ. This Festival was celebrated by those who played on musical Instruments, and who payed a particular Worship to Minerva, as their Protectress. They made a formal Procession to her Temple, to pay their Duty to her, and honour it with their Concerts. Censorinus says, De Die Natali, that they spent some Part of this Festival-time in drinking, and the rest in rambling about all the Quarters of the City, where they shewed themselves as Sights to the People, who crowded together to see them. In this manner, they annually revived the Remembrance of the ridiculous Adventure, of their Journey to Tibur, and return to Rome. Ovid has not forgotten this Masquerade, in the sixth Book of his Fasti.*

*Et jam QUINQUATRUS jubeor narrare MINORES
 Nunc Ades O! coeptis Flava Minerva meis!*

Cur vagus incedit tota Tibicen in Urbe?

Quid sibi persona, Quid stola longa volunt?

The Name of *Quinquatrus Minuscula*, and *Quinquatrus Minores*, was given this Festival, to distinguish it from another, which was also consecrated to *Minerva*, and which the Ancients call *Quinquatria*, or *Quinquatrus Majores*. It fell on *The fourteenth of the Calends of April*; that is, according to our Way of reckoning, on the 19th Day of *March*. *Aulus Gellius* is of opinion, B. 2. c. 21. that the Word *Quinquatrus* signified the five Days the *Romans* spent in Rejoicings, after *The Ides of March*; *Quod quinque ab Idibus dierum numerus sit, & Atrius nihil significet. Varro* speaking of this Festival, says it was called *Quinquatrus*, not because it lasted five Days successively, as some have thought, tho' it continued but one: but because the Day after the *Ides* was called *Quinquatrus*. Thus, continues he, the *Tusculans* called *The sixth of the Ides, Sexatrus*, and the seventh *Septimatrus*. And *Festus* agrees with *Varro*, in his Interpretation. But *Ovid* makes the *Quinquatria* to last five Days.

*Una dies media est, & fiunt sacra Minervæ,
 Nominaque a junctis quinque diebus habent.*

Fast. 3.

In order to reconcile these two different Opinions, it may be said, That this Festival, when first instituted, continued but for one Day; and That afterwards, four Days more were added to it. According to *Festus*, this was, as it were, the Anniversary of the Dedication of the Temple, which the *Romans* built to the Honour of *Minerva*, on the Hill *Aventinus*. The first Day of the *Quinquatrus* was spent in singing the Praises of the Goddess; and especially in celebrating the Wonders of her Birth, according to the fabulous Mythology of the *Heathen*. For this Reason, *Ovid* says, that no Victims were slain, and the Shews of the *Gladiators* were forbidden, on that Day.

*Sanguine prima vacat, nec fas concurrere ferro.
 Causa, quod est illa Nata Minerva Die.* Fast. 3.

The four following Days were spent in offering Sacrifices, and in the Combats which were fought in the *Arena*, in Honour to this warlike Goddess.

*Alteræ, tresque super, strata celebrantur arena.
 Ensisibus exsertis bellica læta Dea est.* Ibid.

The last Day was remarkable for a Pagan Ceremony, which the Mythologists derive from *Evander* who, they say, brought it into *Latium* from *Arcadia*. The *Romans* gave this religious Act the Name of *Tubilustrium*, because it was customary to purify the *Trumpets*, and other musical Instruments, dedicated to the Worship of the Gods, at this time. For this Purpose, an Ewe-Lamb was sacrificed; and the Priests joined with this Sacrifice a kind of Expiation, or Purification, which the Ancients have not explained to us.

*Summa dies è quinque Tubas lustrare canorus
 Admonet, & forti sacrificare Deæ.* Fast. 3.

The same Ceremony was repeated, on *The tenth of the Calends of June*, that is, on our 23d Day of *May*, in Honour to *Vulcan*: as we are told by *Ovid*, Fast. 5.

*Proxima Vulcani lux est, Tubilustria dicunt,
 Lustrantur puræ, quas facit ille, tube.* Fast. 5.

Besides, *The Great Quinquatrus*, was a time of Vacation and Diversion for Scholars. They then paid their Masters a kind of Acknowledgment, as a *Minerval*, or Salary, but by way of Present *Xiphilin*, B. 67. and *Suetonius* in his *Life of Domitian*, say, that on these solemn Days, the Orator and Poets met to dispute for the Prizes of Eloquence and Poetry. In a word, the two Roman Festivals to which we can give no other Names, than those of *Quinquatrus Majores*, and *Quinquatrus Minores* were very like *The Great*, and *Little Panathenæa* celebrated by the *Greeks*, in Honour to *Minerva*. The Ancients have sometimes confounded the one with another, and taken the *Roman Festival* for the *Greek*. The latter being foreign to our present Subject, we refer the Reader for a full Account of them, to the ancient and modern Writers who have treated of that Subject; especially, *Meursius's Treatise, De Gemino Panathenæo Festo*. But nevertheless, we think it proper to give him a general Idea of this *Greek Festival*, which the *Roman Historians* have often compared to the *Quinquatria*. The *Panathenæa*, formerly *Athenæa* were instituted at *Athens*, in Honour of *Minerva* the Protectress of that City. Several Clans, from the time of *Cecrops* to that of *Theseus*, were dispersed abroad in the several Villages of *Attica*; each Canton had its own Magistrates and Laws; and they were absolutely independent of one another. *Theseus* therefore formed a Design of uniting all the different Clans, in one uniform State, under one Head: and lest he should alarm all these little sovereigns too much, each being jealous of the authority he enjoyed in his Territory, he divested

Festival by loose Songs, set to old Tunes. *Livy*, who partly gives us this Account, is mistaken only in the Date of this Event. He makes it to have happened in the *Censorship* of *Appius*; whereas it was in his *Edileship*. Nevertheless, the Musicians may indeed have left *Rome* during the former, and returned thither during the latter. But however it be, it is a very pardonable Mistake, concerning an Affair of so little Importance.

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R O M E
CCCCXL.
C. POETELIUS
LIBO, Dicta-
tor.

§. XIX. IN the mean time, the Government was put into the Hands of two Men, who had never yet been raised to the *Consulship*. One of them was *M. 5^b Valerius Maximus*, the other *P. Decius Mus*. The latter fell dangerously ill, which obliged him to continue in *Rome*: But his Collegue went to complete the Reduction of the *Samnites*, whose Forces were weakened. His Expeditions, like those of some of his Predecessors, doubtless consisted only in subduing all the Nations which had assisted these indefatigable Enemies, and reducing *Samnium* to her own Strength. But whilst he was busy in the East of *Italy*, News was brought to *Rome* of a new War. The more Northern *Hetrurians*, beyond the *Tyber*, threatened the *Romans*. Historians have not told us the Causes of the sudden Motion of this formidable People; but it is certain, that the Republick had more Reason to fear them than any other Nation, except that of the *Italic Gauls*. *Rome* had not yet carried her Conquests far into *Hetruria*, either because this Country abounded with Men and Cities, or because it was impossible for her to subdue so many Nations, in so many different Places, all at once. The Dominion of the *Hetrurians* may be said to have then reached almost to the very Gates of *Rome*. The *Romans* were therefore uneasy at the News of this unexpected War, which must necessarily retard their Progress in the East; but they found Remedies enough within their own Walls. *Decius* the *Consul* nominated a *Dictator*, by order of the Senate, and appointed *C. Sulpicius Longus* to be the Man; and he chose that *Junius Brutus* for his General of Horse, who had been *Consul* the last Year. The *Dictator* made it his first Business to raise a powerful Army. All the *Roman* Youth were obliged, by his Order, to enroll themselves in the *Legions*. New Arms were made, and great Stores of Provisions laid up. But all these Preparations did not swell *Sulpicius's* Mind, or cause him to begin a War with Precipitation, which might at least divert the *Roman* Armies from pursuing the Enterprizes already begun. He resolved to act upon the defensive, and suffer the *Hetrurians* to commit the first Hostilities; and the Moderation of the *Dictator* had its due Effect. The *Hetrurians* kept within their own Bounds, and *Sulpicius*, who would not march out of the *Roman* State, had the Satisfaction, not to add new Enemies to those which were already contending with the Republick.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLI.
M. VALERIUS
MAXIMUS, P.
DECIVS MUS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 9. c. 29.

If of the supreme Authority, only reserving to himself the Command of Armies, and the Execution of the Laws. The rest he left to be disposed of by the Suffrages of the People. After this, he assembled most of the Inhabitants of the Country in the Capital, and they all became but one People. In order to perpetuate the Memory of this advantageous Union, *Theseus* instituted the *Panathenaea*; during the Celebration of which, all the Nations round about came to *Athens*, as to their common City. The Solemnity lasted only one Day, at first; but afterwards, the many Games, and Shews which were celebrated, in solemnizing it, required more time. The *Greek* Authors make a Distinction between *The Great*, and *Little Panathenaea*. *The Great* were celebrated every five Years; *The Little*, at a stated time every Year. Every City belonging to *Attica*, was obliged to furnish an Ox for a Sacrifice, on these publick Rejoicings; and of these an *Hecatomb* was made to *Minerva*; after which, the Flesh of the Victims was distributed among the People. On this occasion, the *Peplos*, or embroidered Tunick of the Goddess, was carried in Procession. Her Actions, and those of *Jupiter*, and the Exploits of Heroes, were embroidered upon it in Gold. The chief Entertainments of that infinite Number of *Greeks*, who came from all Parts, to join in this Solemnity, were Horse-Races, Wrestling, Concerts of Musick, and the Contests of the

Orators and Poets, for their respective Prizes. The Expences of this Festival were so excessively great, that *Demosthenes* seems to reproach the *Athenians*, in his *First Philippick*, with laying out more Money on their *Panathenaea*, than would fit out a naval Armament.

57 Or else, as *Pighius* conjectures, the first *Edict*, which confined the Flute-players, who attended Funerals, to the Number of ten, must be referred to the *Edileship* of *Appius Claudius*. But perhaps he was *Censor*, says that Writer, when he published a second *Edict*, whereby he excluded the Musicians from the solemn Feasts which were made in the Temple of *Jupiter*. This Behaviour of *Appius* towards them, had given them an utter Aversion to him, and was the Occasion of their Plot, to leave *Rome*, and go and settle at *Tibur*.

58 This *Marcus Valerius* had been twice *Prætor*; once in the Year of *Rome* 437; and again in the Year 439, according to *Livy*, B. 9.

59 According to the Text of *Livy*, the *Dictatorship* was not conferred on *C. Sulpicius Longus*, but on *Caius Junius Bubulcus*; and this Historian makes no mention of any General of Horse; tho' one was never created without the other. But the *Fæsti Capitolini* give us a more certain Account of this Election. They tell us, that the former was created *Dictator*, and the latter General of Horse.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLI.
C. SULPICIVS
LONGVS, Dic-
tator.
Fæst. Capit.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLI.
C. SULPICIUS
LONGUS, Dic-
tator.

Pomponius, de
origine Juris.

Pædianus in
Cic. Auth. of
Illustr. Men,
Liv. B.9. c.29.

§. XX. AT home, the City was disturbed by the Innovations of *Appius Claudius* who from having been *Ædile* the last Year, was now become *Censor*. He was a Man extremely wedded to his own Thoughts, bold enough to undertake any thing and steady enough to be able to maintain whatever he undertook. Besides, he was a zealous Citizen; and, had he not been so tenacious of his own Opinions, a good Counsellor; but obstinate, to a Neglect of all Decency and Regard for Mankind. He was an able *Civilian*, and was the Oracle of the *Romans* in all knotty Points of Law; but a Lover of Reformatations, and took great Delight in overturning the most ancient Institutions, in interpreting the Laws, and setting up for a Legislator. He gave Proofs of this odd Character, in the Time of his *Censorship* and we shall hereafter see, in his *Consulship*, what Talents he had for War. This Great Man (for if taken all together he was really so) being made *Censor*, found out a Way to correct the Vanity of the Senate, after he had in vain attempted to reform the Taste of the *Romans* for Musick, in his *Ædileship*. It is well known that it belonged to the *Censors* to draw up and read, after every *Lustrum*, a List of those Citizens who had a Right to sit and vote in the Senate. It had hitherto been filled either with the *Patricians*, or at least with the most honourable of the *Commoners*. But *Appius* took upon him to put the most odious Names in his List, and to join with the *Patricians*, and most considerable *Plebeians*, some of those whom the *Romans* called *Libertini*⁶⁰, because their Fathers had been Slaves and had afterwards obtained their Liberty. This was putting a shameful Affront on the chief Body in the Republick, which shared the Sovereign Power with the People. So that C.⁶¹ *Plautius*, *Appius's* Brother *Censor*, laid down his Office. It is said that *Appius* cunningly deceived him, by making him believe he would abdicate himself. Whereas he, tho' it was unlawful to hold the *Censorship*, after the Death of a Collegue, and probably likewise after his Abdication, maintained himself in his Post; and, by mere dint of Obstinacy, succeeded in his Designs. Nay, the Attempts of this single *Censor* went farther. After he had debased the Senate, he attacked the Priesthood. It is well known, that the Honours of the Sacrificers Office were confined to the Nobility: But *Appius* resolved to confer them even upon Slaves. The most ancient Priesthood in *Rome*, was that⁶² of the Temple of *Hercules*, and of the Altar, which was consecrated to him, under the

Title

⁶⁰ *Suetonius* tells us, in his *Life of Claudius*, ch. 24. that in the earliest Ages, the *Romans* gave the Children of *Freedmen* the Name of *Libertini*; and their Fathers that of *Liberti*. In this Sense, these two Terms were used, says he, in the Time of *Appius Claudius*. And yet most ancient *Civilians*, and *Roman Writers*, use them synonymously to signify *Freedmen*. *Cicero*, in his *First Oration against Verres*, calls the Heir of *Trebonius* a *Roman Knight*, sometimes *Libertus*, and sometimes *Libertinus*. *Trebonius*, says he, *fecit heredem Libertum suum*; and afterwards, speaking of the same Man, *Equiti Romano Libertinus homo fit heres*. Some Moderns think, that *Libertus* was used in Opposition to him, whose *Freedman* had obtained his Liberty; and *Libertinus* in Opposition to *Ingenuus*, which signified a Person of free Condition. But whatever is the Meaning of these two Terms, *Appius* not only made some *Freedmen*, or if you will, the Sons of *Freedmen*, Senators; but, according to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Poplicola*, he likewise incorporated them in the *Tribes*, and gave them a Right of Suffrage. A Privilege, says he, which had never yet been granted to any *Freedman* but *Vindex*, and to him only by way of Reward for the important Service he did the Republick, by discovering the Conspiracy of the *Aquilii* and *Vitellii*, in favour of *Tarquin the Proud*. But if this be true, whence is it that several Historians of great Authority have told us, that *Servius Tullius* formed four *Tribes* of *Freedmen* in *Rome* itself, and gave them the same Privileges other *Roman Citizens* enjoyed? The Contradiction is no otherwise to be avoided, than by saying, that *Appius Claudius* incorporated the *Freedmen* into the *Country-Tribes*, from which they had hitherto been excluded. And this Opinion is confirmed by what *Livy* says of the dis-

annulling of this Decree, which was so very offensive to the Nobility, by *Quintus Fabius Rullianus*, nine Years after. He adds, that by another Law, the *Freedmen* were a second time confined to the four *City-Tribes*. We have two old Inscriptions yet remaining, which both shew the Innovation made by *Appius Claudius*. One of them was found at *Rome*, the other at *Cosmo*, in the *Marquisate of Ancona*, near an old Altar, consecrated to *Æsculapius* and *Hygia*, the Goddesses of *Health*. The first bears the Name of one *Quintus Trebonius*, and the other mentions one *Caius Oppius*. The former declares himself to be descended from those *Freedmen* who were made Senators, as appears by the Words of *Q. TREBONIUS Q. F. CIA. ARISTO EX PATRIBUS LIBERTINIS SIBI ET SUIS LIB. LIBERTATIBUSQUE POSTERISQUE EORUM*. The latter says he was the *Freedman* of *Claudius*, and incorporated into the *Claudian Tribe*, among the Senators created by *Appius*.

⁶¹ The *Fastii Capitolini* tell us, that *Caius Plautius* was surnamed *Venox* the first time, when he was *Censor*. CENSOR APPIUS CLAUDIUS C. AP. N. CÆCUS. C. PLAUTIUS. C. F. C. N. Q. IN HOC HONORE VENOX APPELLATUS EST. F. XXVI. *Frontinus* says, the particular Art of the *Censor* had of finding out Springs of Water, gained him this Surname. *Ab indagendis aquarum venis Venox dictus est*. It is certain from these initial Letters in the *Fastii*, L. F. XXVI. that he performed the Ceremony of the 25th *Lustrum*, with *Appius Claudius*.

⁶² There were several Temples dedicated to *Hercules* in *Rome*. That here spoken of, was in the Ox-market, near the Altar dedicated to the same God, and called *Ara Maxima*. It was round, and

Title of *Ara Maxima*. This Altar had been erected in *Hercules's* Life-time, by *Evander*, in Memory of the Defeat of *Cacus*; and every Year after, a young Bull was offered on it, in Honour to this pretended Son of *Jupiter*. And at that very time, the Priesthood of this venerable Sanctuary was given to an old Man of the *Aborigines*, named ⁶³ *Potitius*; and his Posterity, which had been perpetuated in *Rome*, had all along enjoyed this sacred Office, from Father to Son. This most noble, and most ancient of all the Priesthoods, was that which the *Censor* laboured to dishonour. He prevailed on the ⁶⁴ *Potitii*, a numerous Family, divided into twelve Branches, in which there were at least thirty Men at the Age of *Puberty*, to come into his Measures; and advised them to give up this troublesome Office to the publick ⁶⁵ Slaves; that is, to such Slaves as belonged to the Senate and People collectively considered, and were employed only in publick Works. The *Censor* found Means to insinuate himself so far into the Good-will of the *Potitii*, as to be able to induce them to transfer over their ancient Prerogative, to these contemptible Men. By this means, *Appius* gave the Nobility a fatal Blow; the Priesthood being now the only Office which the *Patricians* did not share with the

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CCCCXLI.
C. SULPICIVS
LONGUS, Dic-
tator.
D. Hal. B. 1.

Val. Max. B. 1.
c. 1. §. 17.
Liv. B. 9. c. 29.

not comparable to the others for Magnificence, and had nothing to recommend it but its Antiquity. *Plutarch*, and the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, say, that Women and Slaves were forbidden to enter this Temple. The Mythologists say on this Occasion, that as *Hercules* was returning from *Spain*, and bringing into *Italy* the Oxen he had taken from *Cacus*, he was one Day very thirsty, and desired a Woman to give him some Drink, which she refused, (says *Aulus Gellius*, B. 11.) under pretence, that she and her Companions were celebrating a Festival in Honour to the good Goddess. She urged, as the Reason of her Refusal, that Men were by the Laws of Religion forbidden, to taste of any thing which had been offered, on that Day, by a Woman. This Answer, it's said, made *Hercules* very angry; and he, by way of Reprizal, enjoined the *Potitii*, not to suffer any Woman to partake of the Sacrifices made in Honour to him. *Pliny* and *Solinus* relate it, as a Miracle, upon the Credit of a fabulous Tradition, that Dogs and Flies never came into the Temple, of which we are speaking. And they establish the Truth of this pretended Miracle, upon another yet more ridiculous. According to them, *Hercules* was much troubled with the Flies, which swarmed about a Victim, he was offering to *Jupiter*; and in his Passion cursed the god *Myagros*, so called from the Name, the *Greeks* give those Insects. And *Pausanias* vouches for such such another Story. He says, in his *Description of Greece*, that *Hercules* being much molested by a Swarm of Flies, had recourse to *Jupiter* *Ἰσχυρος*, or *The Fly-chaser*: and after he had offered sacrifice to this God, he had the Pleasure of seeing these little Animals take their Flight, and retire beyond the River *Alpheus*. To which *Pliny* and *Solinus* add, that the Sight of *Hercules's* Club frightened away the Dogs, as he was sacrificing; and that none of them entered his Temple ever after. These Fables, how incredible soever, ought to be mentioned, in order thereby to discover the Rise of the *Roman* Superstitions. The Reader will, no doubt, be surprized at the Extravagancies of so monstrous Religion, and at the Credulity of those, who could so boldly, and deliberately, relate Facts of this nature. To the Altar at *Rome*, called *Ara Maxima*, it is already been mentioned, B. 1. p. 8. of the first Volume. To which we shall only add, that the *Romans* had so great a Veneration for this ancient Monument, that several of them offered up to *Hercules* the tenth of their Goods, on this Altar. They pretended to imitate thereby, this fabulous Hero, who sacrificed on this very Altar, the tenth Part of the Oxen he had taken from *Geryon*. But they, generally speaking, thought to get by this Offering. They hoped to have it returned an hundred-fold; and believed, that it would make them very prospere-

rous. And they founded this Hope, on a pretended Promise *Hercules* had made, of greatly enriching those, who should constantly give him a Part of their Goods. *Fulvius* mentions an *Hercules* of gilt Brass, which was dug up, in his time, near the Place, where *The Great Altar*, or *Ara Maxima*, stood. *Marlian* says, that it was found in the Ruins of an old Temple, which was destroyed in the Pontificate of *Sixtus IV*. The Statue is yet to be seen in the Apartment of *The Conservatores*. But it does not seem to be the same Statue of *Hercules* which had been erected in the Ox-market. The Head of this Statue was veiled, according to *Macrobius*; who says, *Saturnal. B. 3.* that it was usual to offer Sacrifice in the Temple of *Hercules*, over-against the old Altar, bare-headed, out of respect to the God, who was covered. *Custoditur in eodem loco, ut omnes aperto capite sacra faciant. Hoc fit ne quis in Æde Dei habitum ejus imitetur. Nam ibi operto ipse Capite est.* Whereas, the Statue we now have, has its Head uncovered.

⁶³ *D. Hal's* Account of the Priesthood of the *Potitii*, is this. *Hercules* being acknowledged to be a God by *Evander*, and the People of *Latinum*; he himself settled the Order of the Sacrifices which the Nation engaged to offer him, every Year. He committed the Care of his Worship, and gave the Priestly Offices, to two of the most noble Families in the Country, those of the *Potitii*, and *Pinari*; and in length of time, the former gained some Advantage over the latter. They had, by way of Preference, the Right of beginning the Sacrifices, and sharing the Flesh of the Victims among them. The *Pinari* were not permitted to partake of them: and in all the Ceremonies, at which it was necessary both Families should assist, they were always inferior to the *Potitii*. This Punishment was the Effect of their Negligence. They were ordered to be at a Sacrifice very early in the Morning, and did not come till the Entrails of the Victims were consumed. Nevertheless, adds *D. Hal.* this Priesthood is not continued down, in either of these Families, to our time; it is now discharged by Slaves, bought with the Publick Money.

⁶⁴ *Festus* says, that *Appius Claudius* gave the *Potitii* 50000 *Asses* of Brass, for their Priesthood, which the *Censor* gave to Slaves: and by way of Punishment for this Contempt, the whole Race of the *Potitii* was, according to him, extirpated, in the Space of thirty Days. But in this he differs from *Val. Maximus*; who only says, that thirty Persons of that Family, which was divided into twelve Branches, died at the End of the Year.

⁶⁵ Not only the Senate and People, but the several Colleges established in *Rome* by *Numa Pompilius*, kept Slaves at their own Expence.

161 l. 9 s. 2 d.
Arbutnot.

Plebeians.

Year of *Plebeians*. And if we believe that Historian, who has most affected to fill his *R O M E* History with wonderful Events, we must say, with him, that *Hercules* amply revenged himself on the *Potitian* Family, which had despised him. We must affirm, as *C. SULPICIOUS LONGUS*, Dictator. *Liv. B. 9. c. 29.* *Festus*, under the Word *Potitius*. does, that all the Men, marriageable, or married, of this ancient Race, died in Year's time, with all their Descendants. But other Historians ascribe this Mortality to the Vengeance of the God *Mars*: So that the Truth of this Miracle becomes suspected, even from the different Accounts the Pagans themselves give us of it. *Livy* also adds, That *Appius* was, some time after, punished for this wicked Attempt against the Priesthood of *Hercules*, with the Loss⁶⁶ of his Sight; and That he was from thence surnamed *Cæcus*. But we shall, in its proper Place, shew what Judgment ought to be formed of this new Prodigy, from more authentick Testimonies.

THUS *Appius* the *Censor* cast a Blemish on the Senate and Priesthood, thro' his Perverseness; but he made his Country amends, by the useful Works he undertook with Success. *Rome* had, till his time, no Water for common Use, but what was taken out of Wells which were often dug in marshy Grounds, and the Water of the *Tyber*, which was not good to drink. Nevertheless, the People were infinitely increased in the City, and they could neither get Water enough, nor such as was wholesome. The *Censor* therefore undertook to bring to *Rome* the Water⁶⁷ of several Rivulets, and to furnish the Citizens with Plenty of the most wholesome Water all round the City. The Aqueduct he built, had indeed nothing of the Magnificence of those stately Structures, which the *Romans* afterwards erected in order to bring into their City the Waters of the many Fountains, which they conveyed to their *Circus*, their *Amphitheatres*, their *Thermae*, and their private Houses. *Appius* dug his Canal under Ground, and laid it very deep, either because the Art of Levelling was not then brought to Perfection, or because *Rome* was yet too much exposed to the Incursions of her Enemies, who might have destroyed stately Arches, and cut off the Water from the *Romans*. But *Appius's* Aqueduct began seven Miles from *Rome*, and after running a long way under Ground, first discharged Part of its Waters between the Gates⁶⁸ *Capena* and⁶⁹ *Trigemina*, and then conveyed the rest quite to the *Campus Martius*. The *Censor* gave this Water with which he presented the *Romans*, his own Name, and it was long after called *Aqua Appia*.

APPILIUS also undertook another Work, which was equally useful to the Republick. The Road from *Rome* to *Capua* was unpassable, especially for the *Roman* Armies, which were often obliged to cross the *Pomptin* Marshes, to make War in *Samnium*, and beyond it, in all the East of *Italy*. The *Censor* therefore was the first *Roman* who began one of those Works, the Remains of which, at

⁶⁶ According to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Appius Claudius* confined himself to his House, and pretended to be blind. He did not appear in publick, to avoid the Reproaches of the Senators, whom he had exasperated by the Affront he had offered them.

⁶⁷ These Rivulets came from several Places, and united near the Territory of *Tusculum*, or *Frascati*. All the Water of them was conveyed through different Channels to a common Reservoir, 780 Paces, to the Right Hand of the Road to *Prænestæ*, now *Palestrina*, between six and seven Miles from *Rome*. From thence it was carried by an Aqueduct, after long Turnings and Windings, to *The Salt-Pits*, near the Gates *Capena* and *Trigemina*. This subterraneous Canal was 11 Miles, and 130 geometrical Paces long: and near *Rome*, it was raised above-ground, and carried 60 Paces on Arches. The Waters which were brought so far, were conveyed all over *Rome*, by the help of twenty Basins, or Reservoirs, made in different Quarters of the City, for that Purpose, and especially in the *Circus*, for the *Naumachia*. These were Representations of Sea-Fights, and a Part of *The Circensian Games*. Above 160 Years after, according to *Frontinus*, in his Book *De Aquæductibus*, the Senate ordered *Marcus Titius*, *Prætor* of *Rome*, to repair this Aqueduct, and some others, the Stone-work of which was decayed by Time, and the continual Friction of the Waters.

But *Pliny* and *Plutarch* call this *Prætor*, *Quintus Marcius*; and the former gives us this Account of these Repairs. *Appia Anienis, Tepulae Ductus, reficere Quintus Marcius jussus a Senatu, novam a nomine suo appellatam, Cuniculis per Montes aditus in Præturæ suæ tempus adduxit.* Lib. 36. c. 15. Some Commentators on *Livy* are mistaken, in saying that the Water conveyed to the City by *Appia* was called *Aqua Marcia*, after its Aqueduct had been repaired by *Marcus's* Orders. It will hereafter appear, that this Name belonged only to the Water brought to *Rome*, in a much more magnificent Aqueduct, for which the City was indebted to this Magistrate.

⁶⁸ We have already spoken of the Gate *Capena* B. 15. p. 116. of this Volume, Note 75.

⁶⁹ Some Moderns have thought, that the three *Horatii* passed through this Gate, when they went to fight the three *Curiatii*, and that it had the Name of *Trigemina* from thence. But they did not consider, that the Gate *Trigemina* was beyond the *Capena*, which was not brought within *Rome*, till after the Ruin of *Alba*; and consequently this Gate could not have been in being, when the *Horatii* went to meet the *Curiatii*. It led to the *Tyber*, and the Road from *Rome* to *Ostia*; for which Reason, it was called, *The Naval Gate*, or *The Gate of Ostia*. It is now called *St. Paul's Gate*.

the Admiration of all the Nations in *Europe*, to this Day. He levelled a Way with Pickaxes, thro' Rocks and Hills; and built Bridges, over the spongy and muddy Places, and Rivulets. This Road, which was called *The 7^o Appian Way*, was likewise long after stiled *The Queen* of those Roads, which began at *Rome*, and reached to a great Distance from it. It had these two Names given it, because *Appius* had first invented this Sort of Ways, for the Convenience of the Troops, and of Travellers; and because the Workmanship of it was so solid that it continued entire above 800 Years. The Remains we still have of it give great Delight to the Judicious. Some Authors pretend that *The Appian Way* reached from *Rome* to *Brundisium*, which was in the extreme Parts of *Italy*, on the *Adriatick* Sea. But this is to be understood of After-Ages. *Julius Caesar* indeed, carried on *The Appian Way* from *Capua* to *Brundisium*, and gave the same Name of *The Appian Way*, to the Addition he made to it; but it is not probable that the *Censor Appius* carried this famous Road beyond *Capua*. The Provinces thro' which he must have continued this important Work, in order to bring it to the Sea, were not yet under the Dominion of the *Romans*. It is sufficient therefore for us to observe here, That *Appius* carried on this Work to *Capua*, which was an hundred forty two Miles; and That *Julius Caesar* continued it to *Brundisium*, which was two hundred thirty eight Miles further. This Road, which is so much boasted of, was fifteen Foot wide, even among the Rocks, which were cut down to level them with the Plains; was paved with several Beds of great hard Stones; and was bounded on each Side with a deep Ditch, to receive, and carry off, the Water. These magnificent Works were probably what made the *Censorship* of *Appius* tolerable to the *Romans*, for some time; tho' he had usurped that Office wholly to himself, after the Abdication of his Collegue. He held it five Years, tho' hated by the greatest Part of the Senators.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLI.
C. SULPICIUS
LONGUS, Dic-
tator.

Statius, B. 2.
Procop. B. 13.
de Bellis G. 12.

Ant. C. 112.
M. 1.

§. XXI. BUT under the succeeding *Consuls* he received a great Mortification. *C. Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Bubulcus*, was now promoted to the *Consulship*, a third time; and *Q. Emilius Barbula*, his Collegue, a second. These two Magistrates were not afraid to undo, in part, what the *Censor* had done, in Diminution of the Dignity of the Senate. They actually reformed, or rather cancelled, the List of Senators *Appius* had made. After they had complained of it to the People assembled in *Comitia*, they shut the Doors of the Senate-house, against those vile Persons whom, tho' but one Remove from Slavery, the *Censor* had introduced into it; and restored the old List, as it stood before the last *Censors*. So that the bold Reformer saw his Projects brought to nothing, a second time; and in spite of him the Senate resumed its former Lustre. On the other hand, the People recovered a Privilege which the *Consuls* and *Dictators* had usurped from them. A Law had been made in the Year of *Rome* 493, by which the People assembled in *Comitia* were empowered to chuse a Part

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLII.
C. JUNIUS
BRUTUS, Q.
ÆMILIUS
BARBULA,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 9. c. 30.

70 We may form some Judgment of *The Appian Way*, from the Description *Procopius* gives us of it in his first Book, *Of the Gothick War*. This Way was made, says he, 900 Years ago, by the Order and Direction of *Appius Claudius*, who was then *Censor*. It reached from *Rome* to *Capua*, which is 147 Miles, or about 47 Leagues, at the rate of three Miles per League. It was broad enough for two chariots to go a-breast, without incommoding each other. The Stones with which *Appius* built this great Work, were like the hardest Flints. These were brought from a great distance, and procured the best skilful Workmen to square these Pieces of Rock, and make them smooth with Chisels: and when they made so good a Pavement, that the joints of the Stones were scarce perceptible. These were joined so artfully together, without Cement, that they looked like one single Stone several Miles together. To which *Procopius* adds, that this vast Work, consisting of such immense Quantities of Materials so artfully disposed, continued whole in his time, having then received no Injury from Carts and Carriages. But he is mistaken, in supposing that *Appius Claudius* lived 900 Years before him; it was not so much by at least fifty Years. This famous Road began at *The Capitol*; and did not, for a great while, reach

farther than *Capua*; tho' the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, gives *Appius Claudius* the Honour of having carried *The Appian Way*, from *Rome* quite to *Brundisium*. *Appiam Viam Brundisium stravisse*. But it is certain, from the Historians, that it reached thither, in the Beginning of *Augustus's* Reign. *Brundisium longa finis chartæque viæque*, says *Horace*, *Sat. Lib. 1. Serm. 5*. History has not told us, who was the Author, or Manager, of this second Work. But it was probably done, by the Direction of *Julius Caesar*. *Plutarch* gives us some Proof of this, when he says, that the *Roman People* committed the Inspection of *The Appian Way* to *Julius*. It is very probable, that a *Roman* of *Caesar's* Spirit, who formed none but great Designs, might resolve to gain himself Reputation and Esteem, by finishing what another had so gloriously begun. And what confirms this Conjecture, is, that *Plutarch* says he spent great Sums of Money upon *The Appian Way*, the Inspection of which was committed to him.

71 *Frontinus* and *Diodorus of Sicily*, are both mistaken; the former, in calling *Appius's* Collegue, *Caius Fabius*; the latter, in giving him the Name of *Lucius Claudius*. They are both contradicted by *Livy*, and the *Fasti Capitolini*, which assure us this *Censor's* Name was *Caius Plantius*.

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of the *Tribunes* who ⁷² were to command the *Legions*; and then, the People contented themselves with naming only six, out of the four and twenty *Tribunes*, which were in the *Consular Armies*: so that there remained eighteen, to be nominated by the *Dictator*, or *Consuls*. Indeed each of the *Consular Armies* generally consisted of two *Legions*, and each *Legion* had six *Tribunes* to command it. But afterwards, the Generals assumed so great an Ascendant over the Troops they led into the Field, that they took upon them to nominate almost all the *Legionary Tribunes* in the Army, without any Regard to the Right of the People. *L. Attilius* therefore, and *C. Marcius*, two *Tribunes of the People*, thought it proper to revive this Right of the Commons, and extend it farther than before. They presented their Petition, and immediately the *Comitia* determined, that the People should choose sixteen of the twenty four *Legionary Tribunes*: so that there remained but eight to be nominated by the *Consuls* and *Dictators*. But this Law was not of long Duration. We shall soon see it changed, and find the *Legionary Tribunes* chosen, one half by the *Comitia*, and the other by the Generals. And whilst the People were exercising their Authority on the Land-Forces, one of their *Tribunes* excited them to take Care of the Marines. *Rome* had not yet signalized herself at Sea, either by her Commerce, or her Conquests; and it seems to have been as needless for her to provide a Fleet at this time, as it had been at any other. The Republick had no War to maintain, but with the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*; and Sea-Forces seemed to be very little necessary, in order to the subduing these Nations. Nevertheless, *Decius Mus*, the *Tribune of the People*, desired them to nominate two ⁷³ Men, to have the Direction of equipping Fleets, and to take upon them the Care of all Naval Affairs. The wise *Romans* extended their Views beyond the present time, and made early Preparations for the Conquest of those flourishing Nations, which possessed the Eastern Coasts of *Italy*.

§. XXII. WHILST the *Romans* in the City were employing themselves thus usefully in making wise Regulations, their *Consuls* prepared to lead their Armies into the Field. *Junius Brutus*, and *Æmilius Barbula* had already drawn Lots, what Province each should take; and it was *Brutus's* Fate to carry on the War with the *Samnites*; whilst *Barbula* prepared to set out for *Hetruria*. When he arrived there, he found the Enemy ready to lay Siege to ⁷⁴ *Sutri*, or *Sutrium*, an important Place, but thirty three Miles distant from *Rome*. It might have been then looked on as the Key of the *Roman State*, on the Side of *Hetruria*; and the Loss of it would have been followed with the Plunder and Devastation of all the Lands subject to the Republick, quite to the *Tyber*. As soon as the *Romans* were encamped, the *Sutrimi* sent Provisions to them. *Sutri* had long been a *Roman Colony*, and was highly pleased with the speedy Succours *Æmilius* had brought thither. But the Presence of the *Consul* spread Terror in the Camp of the *Hetrurians*, and they knew not what Measures to take. Their Generals consulted among themselves, whether it was best for them to give Battel speedily, or to form the Siege, or to spin out the War. The *Hetrurian Army* consisted of all the *Lucumonies* together; and all their Cantons, except that of *Arretium*, had furnished their Contingents of Troops. So that the *Hetrurians* depended on their Multitudes, and chose to give Battel as soon as possible. The next Day they marched out of their Entrenchments before Sunrise, and drew up in Battalia. Upon Notice of this, the *Consul* gave his Troops the Watch-word, ordered Refreshments to be given his Soldiers, and commanded

⁷² See what we have said of the *Legionary Tribunes*, and their Election, *B. 6. p. 244.* of the first Volume, *Note 33*; and *B. 15. p. 90.* of this Volume, *Note 26.*

⁷³ The *Roman* Historians call the two Magistrates, who had the Care of naval Affairs, *Duumviri Navales*. But this Office was not common in the Republick. It was a temporary Commission, which the People sometimes bestowed on select Persons, in Exigencies, when it was necessary to equip a Fleet, in all haste. We shall hereafter see the *Prætors of Rome* discharge this Office. *Livy's* saying, that in this Year 442, the People assumed a Right of chusing *Duumviri Navales* for the first time, does not incline me to believe, that this Office was then newly created; but rather, that before this

time, the *Dictators* or *Consuls*, had from time to time, appointed Persons to take care of Commerce and Navigation. The *Romans* indeed knew not, or neglected, the Art of building great Ships, for Fleets, at a time when Sea-Armaments would have been of no use to them. But it is not to be imagined that the Ports of *Rome*, and *Ostia*, were without Boats and Barges, and a kind of Merchant-Ships for the Conveyance of Provisions, and the other Necessaries of Life. And *Polybius* must therefore be in mistake, when he says, *B. 1.* that before *The first Carthaginian War*, the Republick had not so much as a Bark, in all her Ports, on the Coasts of *Greece*.

⁷⁴ See *B. 13. p. 33.* of this Volume, *Note 89.*

them to Arms. The *Romans* appeared immediately in the Plain, and their General drew them up in Battalia, in Sight, and within Reach, of the Enemy. Both Armies seemed to stand in Awe of each other; at least they waited to see which would begin the Attack: and Noon was already past, before one single Dart was thrown, on either Side. At length the *Hetrurians*, lest they should seem to have made these Advances in vain, made a great Shout, ordered their Trumpets to sound, and began the Battel. They were received by the *Romans* with their usual Bravery; the latter being superior in Courage, tho' inferior in Numbers. The Action was brisk on both Sides, and many brave Men fell in it. At last, the first Line of the *Romans*, which consisted, as usual, of the *Hastati*, was forced to retire towards the second Line, and the *Principes* took their Place. These, who were not fatigued, fought with fresh Ardour; and thereby the *Romans* made the *Hetrurians* sensible, what Advantage they had over their Enemies, by the Disposition of their Armies. The *Hetrurians* fought all together, without dividing their Troops into several Lines, which were to succeed one another. So that the *Principes* who were fresh, had a great Advantage over Battalions already harrassed with the first Onset. The greatest Part of the *Hetrurians* were killed round their Colours, without being put into Disorder, or flying. Being obstinately bent to conquer or die, they did not avoid, but met Death; and the *Romans* would now have made as great a Slaughter as they ever did in a Battel, if Night had not put an End to it. As strange as it may appear, the Conquerors left off fighting first. The two Armies parted without Disorder, and each retiring to its Camp, the *Hetrurians* then perceived how great their Loss was. All those who had fought in the first Ranks, were left dead on the Field of Battel, and their *Corps-de-reserve* was scarce sufficient to guard their Camp. As to the *Romans*, they had more wounded than killed; and more of their Men died afterwards of the Wounds they had received, than were left dead upon the Spot. Their Victory must have been more complete than *Livy* represents it. If the Advantages had been well nigh equal, *Æmilius* could not have obtained the Honours of a Triumph. *Livy* indeed robs the illustrious Consul of that Glory; but it is nevertheless certain, that he entered *Rome* triumphantly, on *The Ides* of the Month *Sextilis*. He returned thither soon after his Victory; and no farther Attempts were made on *Sutri*.

Year of
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CCCCXLII.
C. JUNIUS
BRUTUS, Q.
ÆMILIUS
BARBULA,
Consuls.

Fast. Capit.
under this
Year.

§. XXIII. THE *Roman* Army, which *Junius Brutus* the Consul led against the *Samnites*, was as successful as that which *Æmilius* led against the *Hetrurians*. As soon as *Brutus* left *Rome*, he turned his Arms towards *Samnium*, and besieged a Place which is mentioned by no ancient Geographer. *Livy* calls it *Cluvia*, either through Mistake, or because his Copyists have disfigured the Name. But however that be, *Cluvia* belonged to the *Romans*, who had placed a Garrison in it; and being besieged by the *Samnites*, who could not take it by Force, it was at length reduced by Famine, and had surrendered at Discretion. The *Samnites* shewed no Mercy to the *Romans*, whom they had forced to surrender; but first scourged them, and then cut all their Throats. The Anger of the *Romans* was not to be pacified on such Occasions as this; and *Brutus* had nothing more at heart, than to execute the Vengeance of *Rome*, on a Place which yet reaked with *Roman* Blood. The City could not withstand the Ardour of the Consul and his Troops. *Cluvia* was taken the same Day it was besieged, and suffered the Punishment it deserved. All the Men in it, who were of the Age of *Puberty*, were put to Death; and to the *Romans* the Pleasure of the Conquest was less than that of revenging the Murder of their Fellow-Citizens. But this Conquest was only an Introduction to a greater⁷⁵. *Bovianum* was a large and opulent City, which some thought the Capital of *Samnium*; others, the chief City of one of those Nations of which the *Samnite* State consisted, and which were called *Pentri*. The *Roman* Armies had for some Years past drawn near to it, and in a manner invested it; but it still continued steady in its Attachment to the *Samnites*. Its advantageous Situation, at the Foot of the *Apennines*, had postponed the Siege of it; but *Brutus* was now in a Condition to attempt it. The *Roman* Generals were convinced, that in order to increase the Valour of their Troops, it was necessary to animate them by some lively Passion,

Liv. B. 9. c. 31.

⁷⁵ The ancient City of *Bovianum*, now *Boiano*, lies. Its Canton belongs to the County of *Molise*, at the Foot of the *Apennines*, towards the in the Kingdom of *Naples*.
head of the *Biferno*, formerly called *Tifernus* Am-

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or some great Hopes of Gain. Their Rage had enabled them to take *Cluvia*, a the first Assault: and *Brutus* hoped, that the Love of Booty would hasten the taking of *Bovianum*; which accordingly happened. As soon as he had promised his Soldiers, to give them the Spoils of a rich and well-provided City, they all exerted themselves, even more than their Duty required. *Bovianum* was taken, but the Lives of the Citizens spared. The *Romans* were wholly intent upon the Plunder and suffered the Conquered to escape. More Riches were never brought from *Samnium*, than at this time; and all the Spoils of this wealthy City were given to the Soldiers.

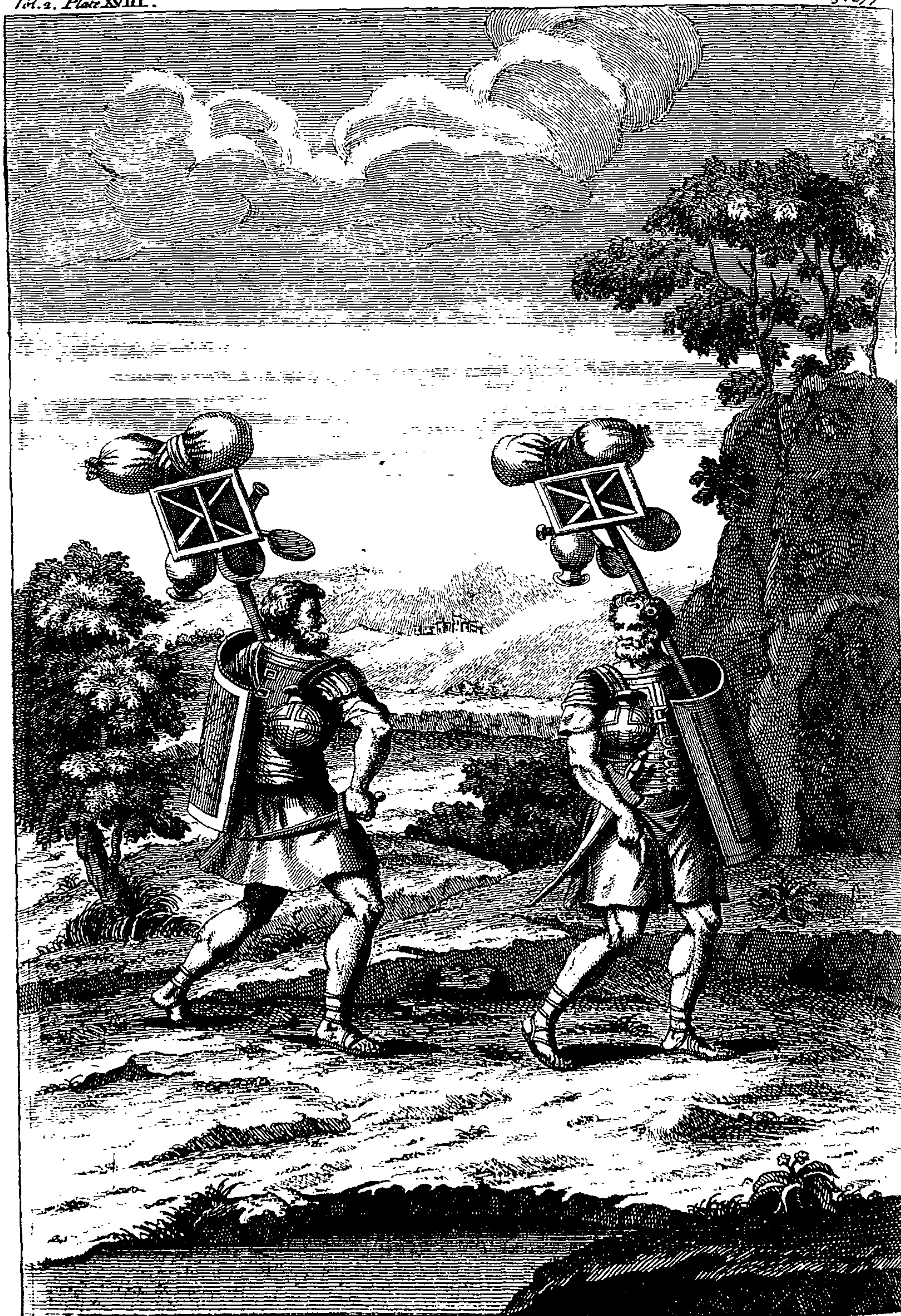
§. XXIV. AND now, the Eastern Nations of *Italy* were struck with such Terror at the *Roman* Name, that none of them durst any longer cope with the Consul. The *Samnites* had therefore no Refuge but in Artifice; and thought of nothing but surprizing the *Romans* again in *Caudian Forks*; in which they partly succeeded. So very difficult is it, for great Minds to suspect the Snares of an Enemy which they despise! In *Campania*, there was so thick a Forest, between *Cumæ* and *Puteoli*, that it is said, the wild Beasts could scarce penetrate into it. In the midst of this Forest was a Lake of sulphureous Water, which emitted so malignant a Vapour, that the Birds which flew over it, were thought to be suffocated by the infection of the Air. The Poets call it *The Mouth of Hell*. The Lake was called ⁷⁶ *Avernus*, and the Wood which surrounded it, *The Forest of Avernus*. Thither the *Samnites* endeavoured to draw the *Romans*, in order to their Destruction. The Method they took, was to raise the Covetousness of the *Legionaries*, who were very greedy of Spoil, since the taking of *Bovianum*. They brought Flocks and Herds of all sorts into the Forest, and a great Number of Troops lay in Ambush, in these almost inaccessible Woods. Then they spread Reports in the *Roman* Camp, by their Emissaries, That the *Samnites* had hid all their Provisions in the Forest, and That there was a great deal of Booty to be found there. These Reports were confirmed by the Peasants of the Country, who honestly declared, that abundance of Cattel had been brought round about the Lake *Avernus*. The brave *Romans* therefore, spurred on by their Interest, asked their General's leave, to go and seize these Provisions, and even forced them to consent to it. The Consul led his *Legions* thither himself. But the *Romans* were scarce entered the thick Parts of the Forest in Disorder, (for no Order could be kept in it) and with their Baggage on their ⁷⁷ Shoulders, as usual; but the Enemy, who were yet at a distance, made great Shouts. The *Legions* were taught to rally in an instant, in case of Surprize. They

Liv. B. 9. c. 31.

⁷⁶ The *Lake Avernus*, which has given Rise to many Poetical Fictions, is now called *Lago d'Averno*, or *Lago di Trepergole*. *Strabo* looks on what most of the Ancients have said of the Water of this Lake, as fabulous. Such contagious Vapours, say they, rose from it, that if any Bird flew over the least Part of it, he immediately fell down dead; and hence the *Greeks* gave it the Name of *'Aopros*. *Virgil* ascribes this infectious Quality to a deep Cave in the Neighbourhood. The *Avernus* was surrounded with Hills, covered with a very thick Forest, which the Pagans had superstitiously consecrated, as a venerable Place. This Lake was not above five *Stadia* in Compass, according to *Strabo*; but he says it was an Abyss, and no Bottom could ever be found in any Part of it: And for this Reason the Poets fancied it had a Communication with Hell. But nevertheless, it was sounded some Ages after, and found to be 3570 Foot deep. According to *Maximus of Tyre*, the fabulous Cave we have been speaking of, uttered Oracles. Before any Person was admitted into it, Sacrifices were offered, and Libations made, and certain Prayers addressed, to the infernal Gods. After this, he who came to consult the Oracle, called up the Soul of a dead Relation or Friend: Upon which the Phantom appeared, answered his Questions, and revealed to him what should happen. Near this Lake, there were several Springs of warm Water, in which were found some little black Fish, of a very bad Taste; and those of the Lake were of the same Colour,

and smelt of Sulphur. Near this Place, are the Remains of a sumptuous Temple, which is said to have been dedicated to *Pluto*. And *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 4. speaks of another Temple built by *Hercules*, in Honour to *Proserpine*. But the mineral Waters near the *Avernus*, make some think that these Ruins are the Remains of a magnificent Bagnio.

⁷⁷ It is difficult to conceive how a *Roman* Soldier, completely armed, could be able to make long Marches, without sinking under the vast Weight he carried. And yet all the *Roman* Historians positively declare, that the *Legionaries* were often obliged to carry Provisions, as Bisket, salt Meat, &c. for fifteen Days, and sometimes for a Month; besides their heavy offensive and defensive Weapons, and the Utensils necessary for common Use, and their military Works; and besides a certain Number of Stakes for Pallisades for their Camp, and the Instruments for cutting Wood, and other Necessaries for the Army, as there was Occasion. Inasmuch, that the *Spaniards* compared *Marinus's* Soldiers to Mules, as *Plutarch* tells us, in his Life of that General. Men born in a City wholly given to War, and who commenced Soldiers as soon as they came into the World, must be such. This martial Genius was hereditary in a Nation which placed their chief Glory in heroical Actions. It is well known, that all the Nobility, as well as People, were, without any Distinction, obliged to serve their Country in the *Legions*, a certain Number of Years. Every one considered himself, in his most tender Age, as a person



Roman Soldiers on a March.

They therefore got their Arms ready, threw all their Baggage into an heap, repaired to their respective Colours, and without waiting for the Word of Command, drew up in Battalia. This was the happy Effect of Discipline. The Consul being dismounted, waited some time for the Enemy, placed himself at the Head of his Troops, and from a small Eminence, addressed himself to them, in these Words. *I call Jupiter and Mars to witness, that I did not come into these narrow Passes, in search of Glory. Your Interest only, dear Fellow-Soldiers, and your eager Desires of Booty, made me comply with your Request. I can be reproached with nothing in this Step, but having loved you too well: and your Courage is my only Defence against this Disgrace. Go, attack the Enemy you have so often overcome, so often driven out of their Entrenchments, and despoiled of their best Towns: The Enemy whose only Hope is in Artifice, and whose only Ressource is in the Advantage of the Ground. But what Difficulties of Ground can be too hard for your Bravery to surmount? Remember Fregellæ and Sora; the Height of whose Ramparts, tho' situated on Precipices, did not discourage you.* At these Words, the Roman Soldiers forgot all Danger, and fled to the Enemy, who were drawn up in Battalia on a steep Rock. They were forced to climb, to come at them; but nevertheless, they passed through a thousand Dangers, and reached the Top of the Rock. The Roman Squadrons followed close after one another; and when the Roman Army had all gained the Summit of the Mountain, the Samnites could no longer sustain their Efforts, on equal Ground. They were put into Disorder, and routed, and sought an *Asylum* in those very Woods, which they intended to have rendered fatal to the Romans. But the Brambles which had embarrassed their Enemies, were too thick, to afford them an easy Retreat; and being therefore pursued to the Skirts of the Wood, by the Romans, they were there massacred without Mercy. Twenty thousand Samnites were found dead upon the Spot; the Cattel was carried off: And thus ended a Campaign, which loaded the Consular Army both with Riches and Glory. *Junius Brutus* undoubtedly enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph, at his Return; tho' *Livy* does not mention it. He entered Rome in State, on *The Nones* of the Month 7th *Sextilis*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLII.

C. JUNIUS
BRUTUS, Q.
ÆMILIUS
BARBULA,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 9. c. 31.
Liv. ibid.

Fast. Capit.
Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLIII.

Q. FABIUS
RULLIANUS,
C. MARCIUS
RUTILUS,
Consuls.

§. XXV. AFTER these Victories 79, new Consuls were chosen; namely, Q. Fabius, who was so famous for his Exploits, and Disobedience, in his first Campaigns, and who was now chosen a second time; and C. Marcius, surnamed *Rutilus*. These Men were fit only for War, and therefore bore no Part in the civil

Person indispensably obliged by the Laws, to make Arms his Profession. These Sentiments were transmitted from Father to Son, and by the Education of the Youth, their natural Genius for War was improved. The young Romans, being first biassed by the Instructions and Examples of their Parents, soon learned to be content with little, and keep themselves within the Bounds of Temperance; and being afterwards intred to all bodily Exercises, they sensibly accustomed themselves to bear the Fatigues and Hardships of a laborious and abstemious Life, and became robust Men. With this View, they were continually exercised in throwing Darts, running, wrestling, riding, swimming, and carrying heavy Burdens: And from hence came the Name of *Exercitus*, which the Latins gave to an Army, a Body of Men trained to War. When they were incessantly inlisted, they were often tried with very long and painful Marches, even in Times of Peace; and were employed in the Labours which are not to be avoided in Camps, and Sieges; that is, in rearing of Ground, digging Ditches, making trenches, raising Ramparts, and drawing Lines of Circumvallation, and Contravallation. The Romans had no Pioneers, as a distinct Body from the rest of the Soldiers; they were every Man of them as indispensable in their Labours, as formidable in the heat of Action. All the Historians confirm this; *Tully* also expressly does, in these Words, *Tusculan. B. 2. Nostri exercitus primum inde nomen habuit; deinde quis labor, & quantus agminis! non plus dimidiati mensis cibaria, ferre si quid ad rem velint, ferre vallum. Nam scutum, gladium,*

galeam, nostri milites, in onere non plus numerant quam humeros, lacertos, manus. Armæ enim membra esse militis dicunt. Quæ quidem ita geruntur apte, ut si usus foret, abjectis oneribus, expeditis armis, ut membris, pugnare possint. If the Legionaries were such, in an Age when *Cicero* complains that the Romans were much degenerated from the Virtues of their Forefathers, what are we to think of those Ages which may, by way of Eminence, be called the heroical Ages of the Romans? The Plate annexed is taken from *Trajan's Pillar*.

78 That is, *Junius Brutus* triumphed the fifth of *August*, which was the sixth Roman Month, according to *Romulus's* Calendar, which began with the Month of *March*: and for this Reason it was at first called *Sextilis Mensis*. Afterwards it was called *Augustus*, from the Name of *Octavius Augustus*. Not that this Emperor was born in this Month, for he was born in *September*: but because the Month *Sextilis* was distinguished from the rest, by the great Events of *Augustus's* Reign. *August* had 30 Days, in *Romulus's* Time; *Numa*, who did not love even Numbers, reduced them to 29; and *Julius Caesar* not only restored this Day, but added another to it, and made the whole 31.

79 The *Fasti Capitolini* have given us the Surnames of these two Consuls, which had escaped *Livy*, or his Copyists. The first was surnamed *Rullianus*; the second, besides that of *Rutilus*, which he already had, afterwards got that of *Censorinus* also, as shall be observed in its proper Place. The Greek Tables are therefore faulty, in giving the Consul *Fabius* the Surname of *Rullus*.

Admi-

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLIII.
Q. FABIVS
RULLIANVS,
C. MARCIVS
RUTILVS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 9. c. 33.

Administration. It was determined by Lot, that *Fabius* should take the Command of the Troops in *Hetruria*, and *Marcus* that of the Army, which was to act against the *Sammites*. But we will postpone our Relation of the Victories of the one, and Misfortunes of the other, till we have first given some Account of the Dissentions which arose in the City.

THE *Tribunes of the People* had not now opposed the Pretensions of the Nobility, for a great while. The *Plebeians* had been very quiet, because Honours and Magistracies had been equally divided between them and the *Patricians*. And during this long uninterrupted Interval of Tranquillity at home, *Rome* had produced as many Heroes, as ever appeared in it at one time. Almost all the *Consuls* the *Comitia* chose, shewed themselves worthy of the Choice; and the Conquest, or weakning of many Nations, in a manner formerly unknown to the *Romans*, was the Fruit of their Harmony and Concord. But now one single Man, of an ambitious Family, and naturally obstinate, had like to have divided the Members of the State, which owed its Grandeur to their Union. This Incendiary was *Appius* the *Censor*; and the *Censorship*, which he singly possessed beyond the time appointed by the Laws, was the Cause of the Tumult he raised. It has been observed, that when the *Censorship* was dismembered from the *Consulate*, it was ordered, that the *Censors* should continue five Years in their Office, which they should not lay down, till after a *Lustrum*: and this Law was in Force, till the Year of *Rome* 322, when *Æmilius* the *Dictator* reformed it. He then made a new Law, whereby it was enacted, that no *Censor* should continue longer in his Office, than 18 Months. This was thought an important Change by Republicans, who feared nothing so much, as Magistrates continuing long in great Posts. But nevertheless *Appius*, in spite of both Law and Custom, obstinately resolved to continue in his Office five Years. When he was summoned to lay down the *Censorship*, at the end of eighteen Months, as his Colleague had done long before, he absolutely refused it. Perhaps he depended on the Favour of the People, who were pleased with the Water he had brought to *Rome*, and the Way he had levelled from thence to *Capua*. Tho' his Pretensions were not to be supported, his Obstinacy was invincible; and only one *Tribune of the People*, out of the ten, ventured to withstand the ambitious *Appius*, and oppose this dangerous Infraction of the Laws. His Name was *Sempronius*, and he had acquired the Surname of *Sophus* (i. e. *The Wise*) by his Wisdom, and profound Knowledge of the Laws. This zealous Commoner declared himself openly against *Appius*, and cited him to appear before the *Comitia*. It was then customary for the *Tribunes of the People*, to teeze the Accused with Questions, before they came to inveigh against them, in studied Harangues; and *Sempronius* therefore began thus. Answer me, *Appius*. What would you have done, if you had been *Censor*, when *Æmilius Mamercinus* the *Dictator* confined the Time of exercising that Office to eighteen Months? Would you have imitated *C. Furius* and *M. Geganius*, the *Censors* at that time, who thought fit to obey that Law? This was a perplexing Question, and *Appius* gave a very unsatisfactory Answer to it, in these Words. The Law was then new, and it was at that time necessary to comply with it. But it was of no Force, any longer than *Æmilius*, who had made it, continued in the *Dictatorship*. *Sempronius* saw by the Indignation which appeared in the Faces of the People, that they were not satisfied with the vain Evasion of the Sophist, and he went on in this manner. This well suits the Spirit and Obstinacy of the *Claudii*. One of this Man's Ancestors was chosen *Decemvir*, for one Year, and he maintained himself in that Office a second; resolving to perpetuate himself in it, if his Incontinence and Tyranny had not brought him to Destruction. The Accused is exactly of the same Character with the ancient *Claudii*, who forced our Forefathers to leave *Rome*, encamp on the *Mons Sacer*, and demand the Creation of *Tribunes*, whose Authority screens us from the Oppressions of the Great. It was by the *Claudii*, that two of our Armies were forced to go and take Possession of the Hill *Aventinus*, and there tarry, till Laws were made for abating *Usuries*, and regulating the Distribution of the conquered Lands. It was by them, that the Marriages of the *Plebeians* with the *Patricians* were so long opposed; and the People denied Admittance into the *Curule Magistracies*. A Family, which has brought so many Misfortunes on the Republick, as to have been more fatal to it, than that of the *Tarquins*! But to confine myself to the Answer of the Accused; how comes it

Pomponius de
origine Juris.

Liv. B. 9. c. 33.

to pass, Appius, that you are so much wiser, and have so much more Understanding, than the many Censors who have gone before you, since Æmilius's Time? It is now above a Century since that Dictator made the Law which limits the time of the Censorship; and has any one of your Predecessors disobeyed it? Yet you say, it was of Force no longer, than while he who made it was in Office. Cast your Eyes then, Appius, on the Twelve Tables, and see what you find there. The latter Decrees shall supersede the former; and when two Laws contradict one another, the nearest shall take Place. Why don't you at least follow the Example of the two most ambitious Censors we have had, Furius and Geganius? They indeed persecuted the Dictator who forced them to lay down their Offices, and reduced him to Beggary: But yet they obeyed. Will you be the only Person who is above the Law? Why don't you rather imitate your Collegue Plautius? Was not he installed with the same Auspices, and had he not the same Prerogatives as yourself? But it seems the haughty Appius must be distinguished from all other Romans. Had he been created King of the Sacrifices, he would have thought himself King of Rome; and would have re-established Tyranny. At this Rate, what Dictator will ever be content with his six Months? What President in an Interregnum, with his five Days? Or what Consul, with his Year? Why have so many Dictators been weak enough to resign, and oftentimes before they had been twenty days in Office? Why did so Manius, ten Years ago, quit the supreme Authority, barely upon being suspected of Male-Administration? Not that we would lay so hard a Burden upon a Claudius. We would not deprive him of the Office to which he has been promoted, so much as a Day, or an Hour before his Time. Nor will we insist on the Month he has exercised the Censorship longer than the Laws direct. But to endeavour to maintain himself in it three Years and a half longer; and to pretend to exercise it alone; what is this, but to change a temporary Office, into an absolute Sovereignty? As for your Pretence of chusing yourself a Collegue; it is another Infraction of the Laws. Don't they forbid the surviving Censor to continue in his Office, after the Death of his Collegue? Did not Papirius the Censor draw down the heavy Wrath of the Gods upon Rome, by chusing himself a new Collegue, after the Death of his former one? During the Lustrum in his time, Rome was taken by the Gauls. And yet his Crime fell very short of yours. He had at least Moderation enough, neither to continue the only Censor, nor to remain in Office after the Time prescribed by Law. And no Censor, since him, has presumed to retain his Censorship after the Death of his Collegue. But these, it seems, are Restraints fit only for groveling Minds. Appius has noble Sentiments, and soars much above vulgar Souls. He makes Strength of Mind to consist in despising the Gods, the Laws, and the Republick. Your Obstinacy and Pride, Appius, force me to express my self with Warmth, notwithstanding the Magistracy you have been invested with: And if you do not obey the Æmilian Law, I will send you to Prison. Shall I suffer you, who cannot be chosen Censor by yourself, to exercise that Office alone, when the Laws even disannul the Election of a Censor legally chosen, if his Collegue has not likewise⁸¹ a sufficient Number of Suffrages?

Thus spake Sempronius; and as soon as he had finished, he ordered the Officers of Justice to carry Appius to Prison. Then the proud Censor was forced to appeal from him to the whole Body of the Tribunes, seven of whom were against him; but three of them took him under their Protection. And as none could be condemned at their Tribunal, unless they were all unanimous, he by this means escaped; kept the Censorship, contrary to the Inclinations of the Publick, and to the great

⁸⁰ What Sempronius here says, confirms what we have before observed, from the *Fasti Capitolini*, concerning the two Dictatorships of Manius; the first, in the Year of Rome 433; the second, seven Years after, in the Year of Rome 439. Livy entirely omits the former, and mentions only the latter. But if Manius had been but once Dictator, as that Historian declares, Sempronius must have been mistaken, in reckoning ten Years between the Year 439, and this Year, which was the 443^d. For want of considering, that Manius was twice Dictator, some Commentators have taken much pains to explain the Text of Livy; and finding it impossible to make out the ten Years, which Sempronius men-

tions in his Harangue, they have recourse to arbitrary Conjectures. Indeed, it is surprizing, that Livy himself should not have perceived the Mistake; or if he did, it is still more so, that he should not have taken care to remove the Contradiction between his Text, and Sempronius's Speech. But after all, this Inadvertency is a Proof of the Faithfulness of the Historian, in giving us the ancient Records entire, and without any Alteration. See above, p. 247. of this Volume, Note 12.

⁸¹ See what we have said in several Parts of this History, concerning the Election of Censors, and their Privileges.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLIII.
Q. FABIVS
RULLIANVS,
C. MARCIVS
RUTILVS,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 9. c. 34.

Liv. ibid.

Frontinus, Livy, and Auth. of Illust. Men.

Grief

Year of Grief of good Men; and continued in it alone, three Years longer. Thus Impu-
 R O M E dence and Obstinacy prevailed over the true Interest of the Republick.
 CCCCXLIII. §. XXVI. But this intestine Disturbance did not stop the Progress of the *Roman*
 Q. FABIVS Arms. *Sutri* was become the Seat of War, on the Side of *Hetruria*; the *Hetrur-*
 RULLIANUS, rians had led a great Army thither, with Design to besiege it. On the other hand,
 C. MARCIUS *Fabius* had brought a great Reinforcement to the Army he was going to com-
 RUTILUS, mand; and upon his Arrival, found a prodigious Number of Enemies round the
 Consuls. Place. He did not carry all the *Roman* Forces with him; (they were divided into
 two Armies, one to act against the *Hetrurians*, the other to carry on the Conquest
 of *Samnium*) and being therefore the weakest in Point of Numbers, and fearing to
 be surrounded, he took a Compass, and came to a steep and craggy Hill, which
 was covered with Flints; and in this Post, which he thought an advantageous one,
 drew up his Troops, and faced the Enemy. Lest he should be surrounded by the
 Multitude of the *Hetrurians*, he made the larger Front, and posted both the *Prin-*
cipes and *Haſtati* in the first Line; so that his Army consisted of but two Lines in
 all. In this Disposition, he waited for the Enemy, who lost no time in their Ap-
 proaches; but depending on the great Number of their Men, they were so much in
 Haste to begin the Attack, that they threw away their Darts, to begin it Sword in
 hand. They had not considered, that the Declivity of the Hill made it difficult
 for them to come up with the *Romans*; so that, for want of their Darts, they
 could not hurt the *Legions*, which poured down upon them prodigious Numbers
 of Darts from above. Besides, the *Romans* had another Advantage from their
 Ground, by its being stony; they gathered up the Flints, threw a Shower of them
 down upon the Enemy, broke the Bucklers and Helmets of the *Hetrurians*, and
 at least stunned those whom they did not wound. This put the *Hetrurians* into
 Disorder; they were tottering, and unsteady, and some of their Battalions already
 lost Ground. Upon which *Fabius* ordered his first Line to advance, and attack the
 Enemy Sword in hand; and they, already wavering, and unable to withstand so
 furious an Onset, were over-powered, dispersed, and fled towards their Camp for
 Refuge. Then the *Consul* detached his Cavalry, who were posted, as usual, in the
 Wings, and they instantly crossed the Plain, to intercept the Fugitives, and prevent
 their reaching their Camp; upon which the *Hetrurians*, covered with Wounds,
 immediately dispersed, and hid themselves in the ⁸² *Ciminian* Forest. In this first
 Action, the *Roman* General took thirty eight Colours from the Enemy, made him-
 self Master of their Camp, and seized the Booty in it.

But the brave *Fabius* did not think his Victory complete, whilst the Enemy con-
 tinued concealed in this thick Wood, which served them for a Retreat; and he pro-
 posed, in a Council of War, to pursue the Conquered, even into the most impenetrable
 of the Thickets to which they were fled. But no Officer, except himself, was for march-
 ing in quest of the *Hetrurians*, at the Hazard of finding *The Caudian Forks* of
Samnium, in *Hetruria*. Indeed, the *Ciminian* Forest might then be compared
 Florus, B. 1. with the famous ⁸³ *Hercinian* Forest in *Germany*; and, according to one Historian,
 the ⁸⁴ *Caledonian* Forest in *Scotland* was scarce as large as this. No Body, not
 even the Merchants, had ever entered it; nor had any one, in all Probability, pas-
 sed thro' it, since the Creation: So that, the Officers sent to *Rome* to complain of
Fabius's Boldness, who would have them to pass where it was utterly impracticable.
 But the *Consul* had taken his Measures, and informed himself of the Situation of

⁸² *Ciminus*, or *Ciminia*, is a common Name the ancient Geographers give a Forest, a Mount, and a Lake. The *Ciminian* Hill, or *Ciminus Mons*, is now called *Monte di Viterbo*, or *Monte Fogliano*, between *Viterbo*, and *Ronciglione*. The Lake is now called *Lago di Vico*, or *Lago di Ronciglione*; but there are now no Remains left of the Forest. The Country is very open, except near the Mount, where there are some Woods. *Virgil* mentions the Mount and Lake *Ciminus*, *Æneid.* 7.

Et Cimini, cum Monte, Lacum, Lucosque Capenos.
 The Lake is but small; yet it is very rough, at some Seasons. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, B. 17, tells us, that the ancient City of *Succinium* was swallowed up by it; and that the neighbouring Country

was much subject to Earthquakes. The Fables *Servius* relates of the Lake *Ciminus*, are not worth the Readers notice.

⁸³ *The Black Forest*, and *The Forest of Bohemia*, were formerly Parts of the *Hircinian*. See above, B. 13, p. 4. of this Volume, Note 17.

⁸⁴ *Ptolomy* and *Florus* speak of this Forest, which covered a great Part of the Country of the *Caledonians*, an ancient People of *Scotland*, who possessed this Country with the *Picts*, and gave it the Name of *Caledonia*. Hence that Part of the *British* Ocean, which reaches from the North-Coasts of *Great Britain*, to the South-Coasts of *Ireland*, was called *The Caledonian Ocean*: but *Ptolomy* calls it, *The Deucalionian Sea*.

the Country. One of his Brothers, named *Cæso Fabius*, or as others, one *C. Claudius*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, had voluntarily offered to go and examine the Forest, and Places about it. This brave Officer had been bred up in *Hetruria*, at a Friend's House there; it being then customary to send young *Romans* to study in *Hetruria*, as they were afterwards sent to *Athens*, to make themselves Masters of the *Greek* Learning. During his Abode in *Cære*, *Claudius* had learned the *Hetrurian* Tongue, which differed from the *Latin*; and it must be confessed, that this young Man, who had uncommon Talents, was very prudent, as well as very bold. He took only one Slave with him, who had served him in his Youth, and had learnt the Language of the Country as well as himself; and disguising themselves like Shepherds, each took a short Javelin, such as the Peasants used, and two Darts, with Srips, by their Sides. They tarried but a little Time in a Place, for fear of being discovered by their Pronunciation; and very expeditiously informed themselves of the Nature of the Country they ran through, and of the Names of the Princes who governed it. But after all, their chief Security in their Journey was the Persuasion of the *Hetrurians* that it was impossible for Foreigners to cross the *Ciminian* Forest, and come at them that way. Nevertheless, the *Roman* and his Slave passed thro' it, went as far as to the ⁸⁵ *Camerini*, or *Camertes*, in *Umbria*; and there *Claudius* ventured to discover himself to be a *Roman*. Being well received at *Camerinum*, he attempted a Negotiation with Success. The Senate of the City was assembled, *Claudius* treated with them in the Name of the *Consul*, and at length obtained a Promise, That if the *Roman* Army came into that Country, they would furnish it with Provisions for thirty Days; and, That the Youth of *Camerinum* should join the Auxiliaries of the *Romans*. Upon *Claudius*'s Report, the General had resolved to enter the Forest, and carry the War that way into the very Heart of *Hetruria*: and he executed this Design, which was worthy of a *Fabius*, with a great deal of Address. He ordered all his Baggage to be removed out of the Camp in the Evening, commanded the Infantry to follow it, and they marched all Night to the Place where he resolved to enter the Forest. The General himself continued in his Entrenchments, with only his Cavalry; and very early in the Morning marched them to the Skirts of a Wood, where the *Hetrurians* had lodged some Centinels, and placed some Guards. By this means, he kept the Enemies, which were hid in the Thickets of the Forest, in Play; and after some slight Skirmishes, he returned to his Camp; but only with Design to march out of it again at another Gate, and join his Infantry, which had gone before him. He came up with them before Night; entered the narrow Passes of the Wood, on the opposite Side to the Enemy; and, before Sun-rising, gained the Summit of the Hill *Ciminus*, which gave Name to the Forest. From thence, he surveyed with Pleasure, the vast and fruitful Plains of *Hetruria*; was charmed that he had broken through a Barrier, which had hitherto been impenetrable to the *Romans*; and promised himself much Spoil, and many important Conquests. After this Expedition, *Fabius* returned again to his Camp; and in the mean time, two *Tribunes of the People*, followed by fifty other Deputies, arrived there, to forbid the General, in the Name of both Senate and People, to enter the Forest. This was occasioned by the Complaints the Council of War had sent to *Rome*, of the *Consul*'s Rashness; and the Deputies represented the whole Republick, which had interested herself in thwarting his Enterprize; perhaps because apprehensive of meeting with a second Refusal from a *Fabius*. But the Deputies finding, That their Prohibition came too late, and That the Success of the Project had put an End to the publick Fears, returned well satisfied, to see a Passage opened into *Hetruria*, and *Fabius* in a Condition to spread the Fame of the *Romans* there. Thus Men of Speculation, who are safe in the Cabinet, do often, upon a superficial Knowledge of Things, stop the Progress of Generals, and thereby render their Zeal useless.

WHILST *Fabius* continued upon the Hill *Ciminus*, he had sent Detachments into *Hetruria*, to lay it waste, and carry off the Booty; the Inhabitants not being upon their Guard, in a Country where they thought themselves secure from all Insults. For want of regular Troops therefore, the chief of the Country armed the Pea-

⁸⁵ *Camerinum*, an ancient City of *Umbria*, beyond the *Tyber* and *Apennines*, was above two Days Journey from *Surri*, from whence *Claudius* set out.

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sants, to defend their Estates: But this disorderly and undisciplined Company was soon routed, and had very like to have fallen a Prey themselves, to those who had pillaged their Lands. However, the Terror the *Romans* spread in a Place where they were not expected, served at least to multiply the Number of their Enemies; and all *Hetruria*, and the People on the Confines of *Umbria*, taking the Alarm, these two Nations took the Field together, and came to *Sutri*. Nor did the Addition of these New-comers only increase the Number of the *Hetrurians*, who were fled for Refuge into the Forest; they were likewise very earnest to fight, and ventured to appear in the Plain. They first drew up in Battalia, leaving an empty Space of Ground for the *Romans* to do the same; but the artful *Fabius* seemed to decline fighting. This feigned Fear gave the Enemy Encouragement, and made them resolve to attack the *Romans*, in their Entrenchments; and *Fabius*, to tempt them the more to it, ordered his Advanced-Guards, which used to watch without the Ramparts, to retire into his Camp. These Appearances of Dread were a Snare laid for the rash *Hetrurians*, who unwittingly fell into it, and with great Clamours demanded Leave of their Generals to invest the Camp, and to have Provisions brought them to the Place on which they were posted. They promised to make the Attack upon the *Consul's* Entrenchments the next Night, or at farthest by break of Day. The *Romans*, on the other hand, were no less ardent to fight; and all *Fabius's* Authority was little enough to restrain them. However, he only commanded them to be ready upon the first Signal, whether given in the Day, or Night; and told them, That the *Samnites* were much better Soldiers than the *Hetrurians*; That the Victories so often gained over the former, ought to encourage them to hope for still greater Advantages over the latter; and That he was contriving to give the Enemy a Blow, which they did not expect, and which it was not proper for him to mention at that time. This made his *Romans* conclude that he kept a secret Correspondence with the Enemy's Army; raised the Courage of the *Legions*, which might have been damped by the innumerable Multitude of the *Hetrurians*; and tho' it was only a Feint, on the Part of *Fabius*, it was thought very probable, from the little Precaution the Enemy took in intrenching themselves. The *Romans* refreshed themselves, took some Hours Rest, and about three in the Morning appeared under Arms, upon the first Signal, and drew up in Battalia, on the same Ground on which their Camp was pitched. The *Consul* had ordered the Pioneers to level the Ramparts, and fill up the Ditch, on one Side at least; and after he had left a chosen Body of Men to guard the Gates which remained entire, he silently marched out his Army, thro' this great Breach. It was now Summer-time, and as in this Season the Morning-Sleep is usually the soundest, he found some of the *Hetrurians* fast asleep on the Ground, and others not out of their Beds. Some took to their Arms, and were killed, whilst others attempted to rally; but as they had neither Colours, nor Commanders, they were all dispersed and fled. Some gained the Forest; others retired to the Camp they had fortified in the Plain, which was taken and plundered the same Day; and the Gold and Silver found in it, being brought to the *Consul*, the rest of the Booty was given up to the Soldiers. In short, it is affirmed, that the Enemy had near 60000 Men killed, and taken Prisoners. All Historians are not agreed about the Place where this important Victory was won; some contending that it was beyond Mount *Ciminus*, near ⁸⁶ *Perusia*. But be that as it will, the Overthrow was so great, that all *Hetruria* was alarmed at it; and the *Lucumonies* of ⁸⁷ *Cortona*, *Aretium*, and *Perusia*, which were the chief, immediately sent Deputies to *Rome*, to desire a Suspension of Arms which was granted them for thirty Years. Thus the brave *Fabius* finished a War the Success of which gave the *Romans* Hopes of conquering all *Hetruria*, in due time.

§. XXVII. But the *Roman* Arms had not the same Success against the *Samnites*.

⁸⁶ This was a considerable City in Old *Hetruria*, when it was divided into twelve *Lucumonies*. The Ancients say it was built by the *Achivi*, or *Pelagii*, long before the *Trojan* War. It is now called *Peruggia*, and stands in The Ecclesiastical State.

⁸⁷ The ancient City of *Cortona*, the Capital of one of the twelve *Hetrurian* *Lucumonies*, stood fourteen Miles South of *Aretium*. It belonged to

the *Umbri*, who possessed the finest Provinces of *Hetruria*, till driven out of them by the *Pelagii*. The latter introduced their own Language and Customs into this City. Even in *Herodotus's* time, he himself declares, B. 1. the Inhabitants of *Cortona* spoke a different Language, from that of the neighbouring Countries.

C. Marcius who commanded the Troops on that Side, gained some Advantage at first over these old Enemies of Rome. He took ⁸⁸ *Allifæ*, a considerable Place on the ⁸⁹ *Vulturnus*, and made himself Master of several Castles, and many Villages in *Samnium*, which he razed; but he had the Mortification to hear of the Misfortunes which befell the Roman Fleet, which coasted along *Campania*, in order to make Descents and Incursions, in the Country of the *Samnites*. P. Cornelius commanded this Armament, which I believe was the first the Republick had ever sent to Sea. The new Admiral landed at ⁹⁰ *Pompeium*, beyond Cape ⁹¹ *Palinurus*, near ⁹² *Herculaneum*; made a Descent there, and suffering his Troops to disperse themselves abroad upon the Coast, and pillage it, their eager Desires of Booty carried them too far. After they had ravaged the Places nearest the Sea, they penetrated as far as ⁹³ *Nuceria*, and thereby gave the Inhabitants of the Country time to assemble together. Whilst the Romans were ruining the Country indeed, no Enemy appeared to oppose them; but at their Return, when they were almost at their Ships, the Militia of the Country fell upon them, and were too powerful to be resisted. The Romans were forced to give up their Booty; several of them were left dead upon the Place; and the rest got on board their Ships, after an unfortunate Repulse. This News gave the *Samnites* Joy; but what raised their Courage, was a Report spread among them, that *Fabius* had met with *Caudian Forks* in *Hetruria*, had rashly suffered his Army to enter the *Ciminian Forest*, and was there invested by the *Hetrurians*. This News was brought from Rome, where it had spread universal Terror; and these Reports, which were looked upon as true, made the *Samnites* form grand Designs. There was indeed a Mixture of Jealousy in their Joy. They were uneasy to see the *Hetrurians*, their Rivals in Glory, succeed better than themselves. And in order therefore to share in the Victory, they were already preparing to give the Consul *Marcius* Battel; and, in case they succeeded, or he refused fighting, to cross the Countries of the ⁹⁴ *Marfi* and *Sabines*, pass the *Tyber*, and join their Forces to those of *Hetruria*. And they obtained a Part at least of what they desired. *Marcius* met the *Samnites*, and gave them Battel, which is allowed to have been bloody, and to have cost both Parties dear. Nay, the Roman Historians add, that the Success of it was doubtful; and it is certain, that at Rome, the Romans were thought to have lost it. News was brought from the Camp, and with Truth, That a great Number of the Roman Knights, and several of the *Legionary Tribunes*, were killed; That one of the Lieutenant-Generals was left dead upon the Field of Battel; and, which was still worse, That the General himself was dangerously wounded. And in order therefore to prevent the Misfortunes

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⁸⁸ We have already spoken of the City of *Allifæ*, B. 17. p. 210. of this Volume, Note 65. and shall speak of *Aretium*, now *Arezzo*, in the 21st Book. *Festus* makes the former, one of those *Præfectures*, to which The *Prætor* of Rome sent Commissioners every Year, to administer Justice in his Name. Father *Briet* speaks of another City of *Allifæ* in *Campania*, which retains that Name to this Day.

⁸⁹ The River *Vulturnus*, now the *Volturno*, watered a Part of Old *Campania*. It separated the Territory of *Capua* from that of the *Samnites*; and from thence it passed on to *Capua* itself, and running by *Casilinum*, discharged itself into The *Tyrrhenian Sea*, near a City, which had the same Name of *Vulturnus*. *Pliny* tells us, B. 36. c. 26. that this River produced a sort of fine Sand, which was of great use, in making Glass. *Agathias*, B. 2. Of the War of the *Goths*, gives the River *Vulturnus* the Name of *Casilinus*, because it ran near *Casilinum*.

⁹⁰ The City of *Pompeium* was a maritime City of *Campania*, near Mount *Vesuvius*, upon the Banks of that Part of the *Sarno*, which the Natives now call *Scasati*; where there is a City of the same Name, which has taken the Place of the old *Pompeium*. *Solinus* says, c. 8. that the latter was so called, from the Oxen which *Hercules* led through in *Pomp*, as he returned this Way from *Spain*; den with the Spoils of *Geryon*. *Ab Hercule in Campana Pompeius quia Victor ex Hispania Pom-*

pam Boum duxerat. The Territory of *Pompeium* was famous for its most excellent Wines. *Pliny* tells us, B. 14. c. 6. that they not only continued good, without degenerating, for ten Years together, but even grew better and better, all that while. *Pompeianis Vinis summum decem annorum incrementum est, nihil senectæ conferente*. *Strabo* says, this City was first inhabited by the *Osci*, then by the *Hetrurians*, who were driven out by the *Pelasgi*, and after this by the *Samnites*, who kept Possession of it, till they were conquered by the Romans. *Tully* speaks of it, as a Roman Colony.

⁹¹ There being an ancient Tradition, that one of *Aeneas's* Pilots, named *Palinurus*, died, and was buried, on the neighbouring Shore; this gave the Promontory the Name of *Palinurus*, which it retains to this Day. The Natives call it *Capo di Palinuro*; and a little City not far from it, is also called by the Pilot's Name.

⁹² See B. 17. p. 205. of this Volume, Note 55.

⁹³ The *Nuceria* here spoken of, stood on the Banks of the *Sarno*, in a Valley, formed by Mount *Vesuvius*, and Mount *Lactarius*, now *Monte Letteri*, nine Miles from the Sea. It was on the Confines of *Campania*, and is distinguished from two other Cities of the same Name, by the Surname of *Alphaterna*. It afterwards became a Roman Colony; and it is now called *Nocera*.

⁹⁴ We have shewn the Origin of the *Marfi* and *Sabines* in several Places.

which

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C. MARCIVS
RUTILVS,
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which were thought imminent, the Republick judg'd it necessary to chuse a *Dictator*, and cast her Eyes on *Papirius*. It was his Fate to be his Country's Refuge in Times of publick Danger; but there were Difficulties in getting him promoted. It is well known, That *Dictators* were then nominated by the *Consuls*; and That it was necessary, one at least of the *Consuls* for the Time being, should appoint the new Governour. As for the *Consul Marcius* indeed, he would easily have been prevailed on to nominate *Papirius, Dictator*; but besides that the People of *Rome* were apprehensive that he was not alive, the *Samnites* stop'd up all the Avenues to his Camp, and it was no easy Matter to come at him. So that *Papirius* could only be nominated by the *Consul Q. Fabius*; and it was well remembered, what Injuries *Papirius* had done him in his Youth. *Papirius* had been excessively severe to him. For one Act of Disobedience, and that attended with Success, he had condemned *Fabius* to be put to Death; had caused him to be stripped, in order to his being beaten with Rods in the Camp, as preparatory to his Execution; and upon his escaping to *Rome*, had pursued him thither, and had not pardoned him, but at the earnest Request of the *Roman People*. This barbarous Treatment had made deep Impressions on *Fabius's* Mind: Nevertheless it was of Importance to the Republick to send no General against the *Samnites*, but *Papirius*, on whom alone she could safely depend, for repairing her Losses. And on the other hand, it was not certain, that *Papirius* would accept of this Dignity from the Hands of his old Rival in Glory. Under these Difficulties therefore, the Senate thought fit to pass a Decree, commanding *Fabius* to nominate *Papirius* to the *Dictatorship*; and enjoining *Papirius* to accept it upon *Fabius's* Nomination. The latter was more difficult than *Papirius* to be brought to a Compliance; and indeed he was the Person injured. So that in order to sooth his Resentments, and to move him, the *Conscript Fathers* sent their Decree to him, to his Camp at *Samnium*, by a Deputation of their own Body, which consisted of such Persons as had all been *Consuls*. These were instructed not only to admonish him seriously, as publick Persons invested with Authority for that Purpose, but to intreat him earnestly, as his Friends and Acquaintance, to sacrifice his Resentments to the Good of his Country. When they came to the Camp, after making a Speech very proper for the Occasion, they presented him with the Decree of the Senate. Upon this, the *Consul's* Surprise and Confusion were inexpressibly great; but he was Master enough of himself not to fly out into Invectives. He expressed himself with Moderation and Temper; yet so as to leave the Deputies in Uncertainty whether he would obey the Order, or reject it; and in the Evening he retired into his Tent, without coming to any Determination. But the Love of Duty, and the publick Weal, had, in all probability, more Weight with him, than the Danger that might arise from a second Act of Disobedience. *Fabius*, according to the superstitious Custom of always nominating *Dictators* in the Middle of the 95 Night, (which was thought so necessary, that without it the Nomination was deemed null) declared *Papirius Dictator* at Midnight. Indeed he shewed by his Carriage, what Violence he had offered to himself, in order to get the better of his Resentments: when the Deputies congratulated him on the Victory he had gained over himself, they could not get one Word from him. His Silence was expressive; and shewed that nothing but the Love of his Country could have extorted from him a Consent, which his personal Hatred would not have suffered him to have given, in favour of so cruel an Enemy.

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Fast. Capit.

§. XXVIII. THEN the Republick, thinking *Papirius* able enough of himself to govern the State, during his *Dictatorship*, chose no *Consuls* all the Year. Nevertheless, *Q. Fabius* was not deprived of the Command of the Army; but continued in the same Post; not indeed in Quality of *Consul*, as 96 *Livy* says, but with the Title of *Proconsul*. This great Man had well deserved some Distinction, both by

95 The Republick, in order to gain her Magistrates the more Respect, never proceeded to elect them, till the *Augurs* had first formally consulted the *Auguries*. And we have already observed, that the *Romans* had Recourse to some superstitious nocturnal Ceremonies, of the Ridiculousness of which they were afterwards sensible. A *Dictator* especial-

ly, was never to be chosen, according to the Law, but in the dead of the Night. An Affair of this Consequence required mature Deliberation, and consequently an Attention of Mind uninterrupted by any external Objects.

96 *Livy* falsely supposes, upon the Authority of some imperfect Annals, that *Lucius Papirius* was

his Struggle with himself, in sacrificing his Revenge to the Wants of the Publick, and by the most glorious Victories: and (before we return to *Papirius*, whom we shall see revenge the Losses of the *Romans*, in *Samnium*) let us first see, with what Success he carried on the War in *Hetruria*. *Fabius* being confirmed in his Generalship, probably at the Request of *Papirius*, who would not suffer himself to be overcome in Acts of Generosity, would not give his Troops time to languish in Inaction; but carried the War into *Umbria*, which was in Alliance with *Hetruria*. There he fought a Battel, which was memorable only for the Rout of the *Umbri*, whose Heat abated upon the first Attack, and who were not able to stand before a *Roman* Army. They retired, almost without any Loss, and appeared no more in the Field. But in the mean time, the most numerous, and most formidable Army the *Hetrurians* ever had, assembled on the Banks of a little Lake, called 97 *Vadimonius*, near 98 *Viterbo*. The Soldiers of which it consisted, had made a Vow, never to return home, till they had conquered; or at least, this is one Construction that may be put upon *The Sacred Law*, by which they are said to have bound themselves. Others indeed pretend, that the Governors of the Nation had commanded all their Youth, who were of Age to bear Arms, to come into the Army; and had declared, that if they failed, their Heads should be devoted to *Jupiter*, and it should be lawful for any Man to kill them. But whatever we understand by it, it is certain, that the *Hetrurians* shewed, both by their Numbers, and their Obstinacy in maintaining the Fight, how much Power their 99 *Sacred Law* had over their Minds. And what helped to promote Unanimity, and create an Emulation among their Soldiers, was the Leave which was given to every private Man, to chuse himself a Companion to fight by him, and with whom he was either to conquer, or die. But *Fabius* was not afraid of engaging even with Enemies, whom a religious Engagement had brought together, and had determined not to give way. Both Parties were so warmly bent upon the Engagement, that they both neglected to begin it as usual; and without losing time in throwing Darts, by way of Prelude to the Battel, both Armies drew near one another, Sword in Hand. The Equality of the Strength and Courage of the two Armies, made the Success long doubtful; and this Uncertainty increased their Ardour. The *Romans*, during the Action, thought they had changed their Enemies, and could scarce imagine themselves contending with a Nation they had so often conquered. Neither Party gave way. On the Side of the *Romans*, their first Line was cut in pieces, and the second took its Place; which was also succeeded by the third; for the *Proconsul* was forced to bring his *Triarii* to engage; which was never done, but in great Extremities. And these being supported by the *Roman* Cavalry, who dismounted, and marched over Heaps of dead Bodies and Arms, to fight in the first Line, the *Hetrurian* Battalions were then broken through. The *Roman* Infantry, shattered as they were, followed the Example of these brave Horsemen; and returning to the Battel, both together, put the *Hetrurians* into Disorder, and filled them with Consternation. They retired, were overpowered, and as soon as the foremost fled, the rest were soon routed. A memorable Day for the *Romans*, which gave a terrible Wound to the Power of the *Hetrurians*, whom a long Continuance of Prosperity had made formidable! All their most valiant Men perished in the Action; and the *Romans* instantly seized, and plundered, their Camp.

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97 *Dictatorship* ended with the Year 443, in which *Quintus Fabius* was *Consul*. It evidently appears from the *Fasti Capitolini*, That he was not promoted to that supreme Dignity, till towards the Close of the Year 443; and That he alone governed the Republick, in the Quality of *Dictator*, all the next Year 444.

98 We have described the Lake *Vadimonius*, now *Lago di Bassano*, B. 21. p. 415. of this Volume, p. 18. *Volaterranus* and *Fabricius*, take it for the Lake of *Viterbo*; and *Blondus* confounds it with that of *Monte-Rose*. But we follow *Pliny*, who places this Lake at the lower end of the City of *Hetruria*.

99 The City of *Viterbo*, is in *The Patrimony* of

St. Peter, at the Foot of a Hill of the same Name, formerly called *Mount Ciminus*. Some Authors have thought it the Remains of *Old Vetulonia*, and would make it pass for a City founded several Ages ago. But whatever *Ammius of Viterbo* may say of it, in order to do Honour to his Country; it would be difficult to produce any solid Proofs of the Antiquity of this City.

99 By *The Sacred Law*, the Ancients generally mean, a Treaty, or solemn Engagement, accompanied with Oaths and Execrations against those who broke their Promises. By virtue of this Law, perjured Persons were proscribed, and it was lawful for any one to kill them.

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Varro de Ling.
Lat. B. 4.

§. XXIX. NOR was *Papirius* without Success against the *Samnites*. But before he left *Rome*, it was necessary to get his Nomination to the *Dictatorship*, and that of *Junius Brutus*, whom he had chosen for his General of Horse, confirmed by the assembled *Curia*. The *Dictators* themselves were so far dependent on the People. For all Generals complied with ¹⁰⁰ this Custom; the Ceremony of which was as follows. On the Day appointed, the *Curia*, that is, the Inhabitants of *Rome*, were assembled in the *Comitium*. Neither the *Roman Citizens* in the *Rural Tribes*, nor those in the *Municipia*, and *Colonies*, tho' they had a Right of Suffrage in all other Cases, were admitted into the *Comitia by Curia*. They consisted only of the Citizens of the different Quarters, or if I may so speak, of the different Parishes, in *Rome*. The ¹⁰¹ *Prerogative* of the *Curia* among one another, that is, the Right of Precedence in the Order of going into the Voting-place, and of voting, was determined by Lot. These *Curia* had been confined by *Romulus*, to the Number of thirty, and no ¹⁰² Addition was made to that Number, even when the City was exceedingly enlarged, and the People greatly multiplied. As some Superstition or other prevailed in all the juridical Assemblies of the *Romans*, that concerning the *Curia*, was this, That some of them were deemed unlucky; and when the *Prerogative* fell to them, and they were to vote first, this was thought to forebode ill, as to the Success of the Campaign, which the General they were confirming in his Office, was going to begin. Of these unlucky *Curia*, that called *Fau-cia* was most dreaded; because it had been observed, that the *Prerogative* had fallen to it, both in the Year that *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, and in that, when the *Romans* were invested in *The Caudian Forks*. And it unluckily happening, that this *Curia* had likewise the *Prerogative*, when *Papirius* was to be confirmed in the *Dictatorship*; he, either because susceptible himself of vulgar Prejudices, or because he would not discourage his Soldiers by a Presage which they thought disadvantageous, adjourned the Assembly to the next Day. Then the *Prerogative* falling by Lot to another *Curia*, *Papirius* was invested with his Power and Authority, in an auspicious manner, and set out for *Samnium*. He found an Army ready raised in *Rome*. When News was brought thither, that *Fabius* had penetrated into the *Ciminian Forest*, he was given up for lost, and new Levies were hastily made. The *Dictator* put himself at the Head of these Troops, which were ready to march, and advanced towards *Longula*, on the Frontiers of the *Volsci*, not far from *Terracina*. There he likewise took the Command of the battered *Legions*, which had continued there ever since the last Blow *Marcus* had received; and then he was not long, before he took the Field. At first the Enemy seemed willing to fight, but as neither the *Samnites*, nor *Romans*, cared to be the Aggressors, the Night separated the two Armies, which returned each to its Post. They mutually watched one another, for some time, without making any Attempt, and without any Fear of each other; and during this quiet Interval, the *Samnites* adorned their

¹⁰⁰ We have nothing to add, concerning the Place where the *Comitia by Curia* was assembled, or their Privileges. See B. 8. p. 396. of the first Volume.

¹⁰¹ We have already explained the Nature of this *Prerogative*, B. 8. p. 367. of the first Volume.

¹⁰² The Ancients agree, that the Number of the *Curia* was always fixed to thirty; and *Festus* is the only one that says, five others were added to those established by *Romulus*. *In quas (Curias) Romulus populum distribuit, numero triginta, quibus postea addita sunt quinque.* And it may be presumed, that he confounded the *Curia* with the thirty five *Roman Tribes*. But however that be, there were never reckoned to be more than thirty *Curia*; only they grew larger and more populous, as the City and its Inhabitants increased in Extent, and Numbers. Indeed the City became so populous at last, that there was a Necessity of building larger Temples, and enlarging the Parishes, in order to enable them to contain the prodigious Multitude of Citizens which were incorporated into each *Curia*. The old Chapels, erected and consecrated by *Romulus*, were therefore deserted; and they were no longer

looked on as sacred Places, after the *Curiones* had made use of the Ceremonies of *Evocation*, to prevail on the Gods who were in Possession of these old Oratories, to leave them, and go to the new Habitations which had been built for them. There were only four preserved, which, according to *Festus*, belonged to the *Curia Forensis*, the *Curia Rapta*, the *Curia Velensis*, and the *Curia Velitia*. The Author says very gravely, that it was not possible to get the Tutelary Gods out of these four Sanctuaries; they obstinately persisted in keeping to the old Habitations. It was in vain to conjure them to remove, they withstood all the Intreaties and Prayers of their Ministers; and, if we may so speak, had no regard to a kind of *Exorcism*, which the Pagan Priests pronounced with a loud Voice on these Occasions. *Novae Curiae proxime Comitium Fabricium aedificatae sunt, quod parum amplius et veteres a Romulo factae, ubi is populum et sacra partes triginta distribuerat, ut in iis ea sacra carerent; quae cum ex veteribus in novas evocarentur, quatuor Curiarum per religiones evocari non poterunt. Itaque Forensis, Rapta, Velensis, Velitia, divinae sunt in veteribus Curias.*

Troop

Troops, to make them more proud, by the Finery of their Arms and Habits. They divided their Army into two Bodies, one of which wore Bucklers ¹⁰³ gilt, the other silvered; and these Bucklers being all broad enough at the top, to cover the Breasts and Shoulders of the Soldiers, and terminating in a Point at the bottom, were the more easy to manage. Instead of *Cuirasses*, the *Samnites* covered their Breasts with Sponges, or if you will, ¹⁰⁴ with a kind of quilted Bodices. On their Left Legs they wore a kind of ¹⁰⁵ Boot, of strong Leather; and the Crests of their Helmets being very high, they gave them a majestick Air, by making them appear the taller. Those who wore gilt Bucklers, were clothed in Stuffs of many Colours; those who wore the silvered ones, in white Cloth; and the latter were in the Right Wing, the former in the Left.

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THIS Change of Arms and Habits, was soon known in the *Roman Camp*; the Officers informed their Soldiers of it, lest the Novelty of the thing should surprize them. *The true Dress of a Soldier*, said they, *is a Sword, and Valour. Gold and Silver are of no use in Battels, but to increase the Covetousness of the Enemy, who are greedy of rich Spoils. Men may be fine, before the Action; but in it, the richest Ornaments are soon sullied with Blood and Dust. Make true Glory to consist in martial Courage, and not in an effeminate Dress. Those who are poorest when they begin a Fight, are often richest at the end of it: Victory crowns them with those Ornaments, which they had despised.* After these Words, which preserved the *Romans* from Jealousy, and quickned their Courage, with the Hopes of the Booty; *Papirius* drew up his Army in the Plain. He commanded the right Wing himself, and committed the Care of the left to his General of Horse. They were both Men of uncommon Bravery; and an Emulation is said to have arisen between them, which should first gain an Advantage over the Enemy. *Junius Brutus*, who commanded the left Wing of the *Romans*, faced the white Troops of the *Samnites*, gave them the first Blow; and said, *I devote all these white Men to the black Pluto.* At which Words, he instantly advanced with his *Legions*, pressed hard upon the Enemy, and gained a great deal of Ground of them. This the *Dictator*,

¹⁰³ *Livy* and *Horace* say, that some of the Bucklers of the *Samnites* were chased with Gold, others with Silver. But is it probable, that these Metals should have been then so common in *Samnium*? Besides, it is difficult to reconcile this Magnificence with what *Livy* himself, and most Authors, say of the *Samnites*; whom they represent as a barbarous People, accustomed to an austere Way of Life, in the midst of their Mountains, and consequently great Strangers to Finery. We therefore thought it necessary to qualify the Expressions of these two Historians, in order to make their Relation the more probable; and instead of Gold and Silver Bucklers, we have only given the *Samnites* gilt, and silvered Bucklers. The Reader is to form what Judgment of it he pleases; only we thought it necessary to inform him, how far we differ from the *Latin* Historians. *Livy's* Words are these. *Duo Exercitus erant, Scuta alterius Auro, alterius Argento calaverunt.* And *Florus* seems to think, that Arms adorned with Gold and Silver, were common among the *Samnites*. *Populus Romanus Samnites invasit, gentem, si opulentiam quæris, aureis & argenteis Armis, discolori veste, usque ad ambitum armatam.*

¹⁰⁴ Others understand by this Sponge, a Coat of Mail, or Vest of Flax, well quilted; like that used by the *Macedonians*, *Thracians*, *Spaniards*, and *Fæderians*. Such was that worn by *Amasis* King of *Egypt*; every Stich of his Tunick consisted, according to *Pliny*, B. 15. ch. 1. of 365 Threads. It was kept as a Curiosity in the Temple of *Minerva*, in the Island of *Rhodes*. Some by the Word *Spongia* understand, a Tunick made of Felt, or Wool worked close together, as in our Hats, to make it the more hard and impenetrable. *Pliny* says, that this sort of *Cuirass*, soaked in Vinegar, was Proof against Darts and Swords.

¹⁰⁵ *Polybius*, speaking of the offensive and defensive Arms of the *Roman* Soldiers, gives those in *Legions*, only one Boot a-piece; and *Vegetius*

confirms it, adding, that this Boot was to be worn by them only on the Right Leg; whereas the *Samnites*, as *Livy* observes, wore it on the Left. Regard was had in it, to the different Situation of the Combatants. The Boot was of most Use, when worn after the *Samnite* manner, in the Skirmishes between the Armies, wherein they fought only with their Arrows; for which *Vegetius* gives this Reason. When a Soldier, says he, put himself into a Posture to shoot his Arrow, he was forced to shorten his Right Arm, and put his Left Leg forward, that he might fend it with the more Violence, and be the more sure to hit his Mark: and in this Position, his Right Leg was screened, and his Left only in Danger, and in Want of a Defence. Whereas, adds he, it was just the contrary, in Attacks that were made Sword in Hand. *Virgil* represents the Soldiers of the *Hernici*, as having only one Boot each, and that on the Right Leg.

*Vestigia nuda sinistri
Instituere Pedis, crudus tegit altera pero.*
Æneid. 7.

These Boots were sometimes guarded with Iron or Brass; whence the Epithet so often repeated in *Homærus*, καλκονημιδας Ακαιοις. They reached but half way up the Leg; the upper Part of it, to the Knee, was sufficiently guarded by the Length of the Buckler. On the ancient Monuments, we see some of this sort of Buskins, which are bored through, and made of Plates of Iron or Brass, or Straps of Leather, which are bound cross the Leg, like a Ligature. In imitation of these, the Buskins of our modern theatrical Heroes were made; only the latter are lighter, and less troublesome. But whatever *Vegetius* may say to the contrary, the *Bas-reliefs*, and antique Statues, shew, that in After-times at least, these military Boots were worn on both Legs: and the Historians seem to suppose it.

Year of who was in the right Wing, observed; and cried out, *What! will you who fight under the Command of your Dictator, suffer the chief Glory of the Action to be gained by another? Will you permit any but yourselves to be the chief Authors of the Victory?* This said, he pressed his Soldiers to advance; and then both Horse and Foot made a general Onset, in which the two Lieutenant-Generals, who were both Officers of Reputation, behaved themselves as bravely as the Dictator and his General of Horse. One of them was *M. Valerius*, who commanded in the right Wing, under *Papirius*; the other *P. Decius*, who fought under *Brutus*, in the left. They had both commanded Armies in chief, as *Consuls*; for it was not then thought dishonourable to become a Subaltern, after having been a General. Both, as if by Consent, left their Infantry, put themselves each at the Head of the Cavalry in their respective Wings, and after having exhorted them to behave themselves with Bravery, suddenly fell on the Enemy in Flank. Then the *Samnites* were seized with Terror, and being surrounded on all Sides, had no Hopes of escaping, but by Flight. Indeed the *Roman* Infantry repeated their Shouts, as if they had begun a new Battel; upon which the Enemy quitted their Ranks and Colours, and ran with Speed to regain their Camp. All the Plain was covered with gilt and silver'd Arms, and with dead Bodies in white Cloth, and Stuffs of various Colours. The Victory was so complete, that the *Samnites* durst not continue in their Camp; it was taken and burnt, before Night. Thus *Papirius* recovered the Glory of the *Roman* Arms, which had declined under *Marcus*. An illustrious Campaign, signalized by Providence with two great Victories, perhaps to reward the Virtue of two famous Enemies, whom their Love for their Country had reconciled! *Fabius* and *Papirius* returned to *Rome*, one from *Hetruria*, the other from *Samnium*; they both triumphed, but in different Months; the latter on *The Ides of October*, and the former on *The Ides of November*, in the same Year. The Triumph of the Dictator was more splendid than that of the *Proconsul*; but the *Proconsul* was more applauded than the Dictator. No Body had shared *Fabius's* Glory with him; it was wholly his own: His Officers had even opposed his most glorious Enterprize. Whereas *Papirius* owed his Victory in part to his Lieutenant-Generals *Valerius*, and *Decius*; and especially, to his General of Horse. But he had this Distinction at least, that the fine Arms he had taken from the *Samnites* embellish'd his Procession. They were deposited in the Hands of the chief Bankers, to adorn the *Forum Romanum* with them; and hence came the Custom of adorning it with Spoils, on those solemn Days, when the Gods were carried through the Streets of *Rome*, on Biers. The *Capuans*, in Derision of the *Samnites*, whom they hated, ordered such Bucklers as the *Samnites* had worn in the Battel, to be made, and adorned those Gladiators with them, who fought for their Entertainment, during their Repasts. This Triumph was the last with which *Papirius* was honoured. Whether he was now grown too old, or whether it was now time for him to disappear, in order to leave all the Glory of

Fast. Capit.

¹⁰⁶ These chief Bankers had Journeymen under them, whom they hired: and for their use *Numa Pompilius* ordered Shops to be built in the *Forum Romanum*, as we have already observed. See what we have said of the Bankers, B. 15. p. 112. of this Volume, Note 67.

¹⁰⁷ The *Circensian Games* were ushered in with this Ceremony, of carrying the Statues of the Gods, dressed in the most magnificent manner, through the Streets; and all Orders of Men in the Republick, assisted at the Ceremony, and walked according to their Ranks, adorned with all the Marks of their Dignity. We shall speak of this Procession, which was the finest Sight to be seen at *Rome*, in another Place.

¹⁰⁸ The *Romans* gave this Name likewise to other Gladiators, who were armed after the *Samnite* manner. Private Persons often hired them at their own Expence, to entertain Strangers with their Fighting, in Times of Feasting, and publick Rejoicings. But they then fought only with false Arms, or a sort of Foibles. *Pliny*, B. 7. ch. 20. upon the Testimonies of *Varro*, and *Solinus*, ch. 1.

ranks one *Tritanus* among those, which were called *Samnite* Gladiators, who was grown famous for his great Strength of Body, and surprizing Activity, at all the Arts of Defence. *Varro*, says *Solinus*, in *Relationem prodigiosæ Fortitudinis annotavit Tritanum Gladiatorem ornatura Samnitum fuisse*. *Lucilius* speaks of one *Quintus Velocius*, who was a famous Gladiator.

*Quamvis bonus ipse
Satis in Indo, ac rudibus civis satis asper.*

Horace mentions the *Samnites*, B. 2. Ep. 2. and says, that they fought soberly, and without Precipitation, in the Hall where the Feast was kept.

Lento Samnites ad Lumina prima Duello.

They gave each other many Blows; but their Wounds were not mortal, because their Weapons were blunted. The Reader may judge of their Dress, by the Plate annexed.

heroical



Samnite Gladiators.

heroical Exploits to *Fabius*, who gained the Ascendant, whatever were the Cause; we shall see him appear on the Stage no more. The Circumstances and Time of his Death are unknown, the *Latin* Historians mentioning only the most shining Exploits, and publick Actions, of their Heroes. So that it would now be very difficult to draw perfect Characters of them. What may be observed of the two greatest Men in *Rome* at that time, is this; that *Papirius* had more Prudence and Temper; but *Fabius* was more bold and enterprizing. If the one would have put a Stop to *Alexander's* Progress, had he come into *Italy*; the other would have been another *Alexander*, had he been a King, and commanded an Army absolutely dependent upon him. In short, the one was born to be the Support of his Country; the other to be a rapid and indefatigable Conqueror.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLIV.
L. PAPIRIUS
CURSOR, Dic-
tator.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XIX.

§. I. **T**HE Republick still continued to have two of the most powerful Nations in her Neighbourhood, the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites*, her Enemies; and it is scarce conceivable how the latter should be able to raise so many Troops among themselves, and supply so many Losses. Their Territory was scarce so large as the smallest Provinces in *France*; and yet we see their Soldiers as it were rising out of the Ground, in order to furnish them every Year with great Armies, which were often defeated, and sometimes cut in Pieces, by the *Romans*. *Italy* must then have been exceeding populous, as well as *Greece*, and those Parts of *Asia*, and *Africa*, which were nearest to *Europe*. And as the latter eased themselves of the too great Numbers of their Inhabitants, by Navigation, which made it easy for them to transplant Colonies into distant Regions; so in the in-land Parts of *Italy*, it was necessary that War should consume that Multitude of Men, which the Country was not able to support. The *Roman* Generals returned to the Territories of *Samnium*, and *Hetruria*, which abounded so much with Warriors; and thither we will now follow them.

WHEN *Papirius's Dictatorship* was expired, new *Consuls* were chosen in the *Campus Martius*. But whether the *Dictator* continued a whole Year in Office, may be questioned. It seems most probable, that he laid it down at the End of six Months, as the Law directed; tho' he is generally reckoned to have possessed that Dignity a whole Year. It has been already observed, that little Stress is to be laid on the Computation of Time by *Consular* Years: But nevertheless, we will, for want of better Guides, fall in with the Stream of our modern Chronologists, lest by too scrupulous an Exactness, we should throw the *Roman* History into Disorder and Confusion.

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CCCCXLV.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
RULLIANVS,
P. DECIVS
MVS, Consuls.

D. Sic. B. 19.

Liv. B. 9. c. 41.

PERHAPS *Rome* never made a more just and more judicious Choice of *Consuls*, than in the Year 445. *Q. Fabius* had been only a *Proconsul*, the last Year; and as such, had triumphed over the *Hetrurians*. But he was now elected *Consul*, the third time; and the Collegue the Republick gave him was *P. Decius Mus*, who had so lately signalized himself in the Battel with the *Samnites*, in which he had commanded the left Wing, as General of Horse. He was now raised to the *Consulate*, a second time; and upon assigning the Generals their Provinces by Lot, *Hetruria* fell to him, and *Samnium* to *Fabius*. It seemed at first, that the latter would find little Employment for his natural Activity. He came before that *Nuceria*, which was likewise called *Alfatena*; was the last City in *Campania*, beyond Mount *Vegarius*; and had some time since joined the *Samnites*. It was here that the *Romans* had lately met with a Repulse; the first Marines the Republick had ever sent out had just now been defeated and beaten by the *Nucerians*, on whom *Fabius* found it no difficult Matter to make Reprisals. As soon as he appeared before *Nuceria*, it surrendered; and this Conquest was followed by a Battel with the *Samnites*; but so inconsiderable a one, that it would never have found a Place in the *Roman* Story, if it had not raised up new Enemies against *Rome*. These were the *Marsi*, a little Nation bordering on the Lake *Fucinus*, and adjoining to the *Samnites*; and their Example was followed by the *Peligni*, whose Territory lay a little Eastward to that of the *Marsi*, but joined to it. However, this

this Increase of Enemies did not hinder *Fabius* from gaining some Advantage over them; tho' not enough to satisfy his martial Ardour.

As for *Decius*, he made some Progress in *Hetruria*. The *Tarquinienses*, one of the *Hetrurian Lucumonies*, had been forced to furnish the *Consul* with Provisions; who had granted them a Truce for forty Years: and thus he drew off the several Members of the *Hetrurian* Body by degrees; till at length, he struck such Terror into the whole Country, by his military Incursions, that he forced all *Hetruria* to desire an Alliance with the *Romans*. But the Republick was too ambitious to be content with the Offer of the *Hetrurians*. The Way was now open for making this important Conquest: and *Rome*, who intended to subdue them; thought it not enough barely to have this great Nation her Ally. The *Consul* only granted the *Hetrurians* a Truce for one Year, in consideration of their Submission; and even that cost them dear. *Decius* made them pay his Troops, and furnish every Soldier with two Suits of Clothes; and by this means, all was quiet in *Hetruria*, at least for a time. But in the mean while, the *Umbri* began to be in Motion, and they seemed to be within *Decius's* Province, since they took up Arms wholly on account of the *Hetrurians*. The *Romans* had not indeed begun to subdue any Part of *Umbria*; but they had entered it, in order to make themselves a Way into *Hetruria*. The *Umbri* seemed to be more formidable than they really were. They were said to be descended, for the most part, from those *Gauls* who had settled in *Italy*; the *Senones*, who had conquered the *Romans*, were their Neighbours and Allies: and therefore the Republick thought this new War was not to be despised. She remembered, that *Rome* had not been able to withstand the Valour of the *Gauls*. She was under some Apprehensions, upon being informed, That all the *Umbrian* Youth were in Arms; That without concerning themselves about the *Consuls*, one of whom was on their right Hand, and the other on their left, they had formed a Design of marching directly to *Rome*; and That they spoke of the *Romans* with the usual Contempt and Confidence of Conquerors. And this News put the two *Consuls* in Motion. They both took proper Precautions to save their Country, but each in his own Way. The prudent *Decius* marched his Army by the Road between *Umbria* and *Rome*, to cover *Latium* with it; encamped in a Place called ¹ *The Pupinian Field*, which gave Name to *The Pupinian Tribe*, and which lay near *Gabii*; and there he waited quietly for the Arrival of the new Enemies. But *Fabius*, as soon as he had received Orders from the Senate, immediately left *Samnium*, crossed *Sabinia*, entered *Umbria*, and encamped in the Heart of the Territory of the *Umbri*, near a City called ² *Mevania*, on the Banks of the ³ *Clitumnus*. The *Umbri* were surprized at the Expedition of a General, whom they did not expect

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¹ *The Pupinian Field*, or *Pupiniensis Ager*, lay between *Scaptia* and *Pedum*, near the *Anio*, and the *Aqua Crabra*, at least eight Miles from *Rome*; so that its Boundaries were *The Latin* and *The Lavican Ways*; and the Way that led to *Præneste*. *Varro*, *Cicero*, *Columella*, and *Valerius Maximus*, say it was a barren Soil, which could not without difficulty be made to produce the common Necessaries of Life.

² Geographers place the ancient City of *Mevania*, below *Fulginium*, now *Fuligno*, near the Place where the *Topino*, formerly the River *Tinia*, and the *Clitumnus* join, in the Duchy of *Spoleto*. *Columella*, speaking of *Mevania*, B. 3. ch. 1. says, that its Territory abounded with Pastures, in which several Herds of Oxen were fed. It was situated in the Bottom, where *Bevagna* now stands. *Strabo* ranks this City amongst the most considerable in *Umbria*; and *Tacitus*, Hist. B. 2. speaks of it, as a very strong Place. There was another *Mevania* near *The Ronco*, or the River *Bedesis*; but the latter was neither so famous, nor so large, as the former; and for this Reason, it was called *Mevaniola*. It bears this Name in an ancient Inscription, which is this, DECURIONI MEVANIOLÆ.

³ The *Clitumnus*, now *il Clitunno*, is one of the Rivers of ancient *Umbria*, which joins the *Topino*, formerly the *Annis Tinia*, and then falls into the *Tiber*. The Description *Pliny the Younger* gives of B. 8. Ep. 8. is worthy of the Reader's Notice.

At the Foot of a little Hill, loaded with a Wood of thick-spreading Cypress-trees, rises a Spring, the Water of which is first divided into several unequal Streams, and afterwards forms a great Basin, which is so clean and clear, that Pieces of Silver, and Pebbles, which are thrown into it, are easily distinguished at the very bottom of it. It runs with Rapidity from thence, not so much on account of any Declivity it meets with, as its own Quantity and Weight. It runs but a very little way from the Spring-head, before it becomes a great River, which bears Boats; and is so rapid, that it will carry them down the Stream, of itself; and it is not without Difficulty, that they go up it, even with the Help of Oars, and Poles. The Banks of the *Clitumnus* are covered with Ash-trees and Poplars, which seem to multiply in the Stream, but appear so distinctly in it, that you may count them. The Water of it is almost as cold, and altogether as white, as Snow. Near it is a Temple much honoured, as well as very ancient; in which sits the River-God *Clitumnus* himself in a Robe. He is a very helpful God, and foretels future Things, as appears by the Apparatus in his Temple. Round this Temple are scattered about a great Number of Chapels, each of which has a Statue of the God, and some Ceremonies peculiar to it; and some of them have likewise Springs of their own. For besides the principal one, which is as it were the Mother of the rest; there are several others which have different Heads,

Year of *pect*, and who came to make War with them out of the Province assigned him
R O M E He had already penetrated into their Territory, at a Time when they thought him
 CCCCXLV. sufficiently embarrassed in *Samnium*; and his sudden Appearance among them so
 Q. FABIVS, terrified them, that some retired into their fortified Places, and others were for re-
 MAXIMUS, nouncing a War they had so rashly undertaken. But in the mean time, a Body of
 RULLIANUS, Troops, which formed a 4 square Battalion, inspired the *Umbrian* Army with new
 P. DECIUS, Courage, and animated it, by their Example, to advance towards the Enemy.
 Mus, Consuls. *Fabius* was busy in fortifying his Camp, when he saw the Enemy pressing hastily
 forwards to fall upon his Workmen; and he immediately called off his Soldiers,
 ordered them to leave the Works they had begun, and harangued them, as much
 as the Time and Place would permit. *Remember*, said he, *your Exploits in Sam-*
nium, and Hettruria. The People you are going to subdue, are but a weak Part of
those numberless Hettrurians, who have not been able to withstand your Valour.
Chastize the Umbri for their insolent Discourses, and make them lay aside the
Thoughts of besieging Rome. These Words were interrupted with the Acclama-
 tions of the *Romans*, whose Ardour would admit of no Delay; and upon the first
 Sound of the Trumpet, without waiting for further Orders, they rushed upon the
 Enemy. But they fought in an unheard of Manner; they scarce made any Use
 of their Swords; and dispersed and beat down the Enemy's Battalions, with only
 their Bucklers, and their Shoulders. They took the Standards from those who
 guarded them, and carried the Standard-Bearers to the *Consuls*. They surrounded
 whole Bodies of the Enemy, and made them lay down their Arms; and in short,
 treated these vapouring Hectors with such Contempt as might teach them more
 Wisdom. There was so little Blood spilt in the Battel, that it looked as if the
Romans had been fighting with Women, or disarmed Men. They contented them-
 selves with taking a great Number of Prisoners; and this Moderation made them
 Masters of all the *Umbrian* Army. As soon as the Words, *Lay down your Arms*
 were heard in the Ranks, all obeyed, and the Authors of the War themselves sur-
 rendered to the *Romans*. The rest of the Nation also followed the Example of the
 Troops, and all submitted to the Republick. But the Inhabitants of *Ocriculum* were
 most favourably treated. *Ocriculum* was as it were the Key of *Umbria*, on the Side
 of *Rome*; and *Fabius* promised this City, that it should be received into the Friend-
 ship and Protection of *Rome*; which was all he could do, of his own Authority.
 Thus ended a War, in which *Fabius's* Presence alone was enough to defeat the
 Enemy; and then he returned to his old Camp, to keep the *Samnites* within
 Bounds, and oppose their Enterprizes. But in the mean time, the Year of his Con-
 sulship was just expiring; and it was necessary for the *Centuries* to proceed to a new
 Election. *Appius Claudius* was then *Censor*; and notwithstanding that he had ex-
 ercised that Office, near about five Years, in direct Defiance to the Laws, yet he

Heads, but all lose themselves in the River. Over the River is a Bridge, which separates the sacred Places from the prophane. Above the Bridge, no Boat can pass; below it, is a Bathing-place. The Hispellates, to which Augustus gave this Country, furnish all things necessary for Bathing, gratis. Many Houses are built all along by the River-side; and in a word, nothing is wanting, that can add to the Pleasure of the Place. We there find several Inscriptions engraven on all the Columns, by all sorts of Persons, in Honour to the Fountain, and the Divinity, which presides in these delightful Places. Ancient Authors say, that the Water of this River had this Quality, that the Oxen which drunk it, lost their natural Colour, and turned white. For this reason, the white Victims, which the Romans used to sacrifice on solemn Occasions, as in a Triumph, were brought from the Meadows about the Clitumnus; as we are told by Virgil, in these Lines.

*Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, & maxima taurus
 Victima, saepe tuo perfusi flumine sacro,
 Romanos ad Tempia Deum duxere triumphos.*

4 The following obscure Passage in *Livy*, is interpreted two different Ways. *Plaga una [Materinam ipsi appellant] non continuit modo ceteros in Armis, sed confestim ad certamen egit.* We have adopted *Glarean's*

Interpretation, who makes the Word *Plaga* to signify a square Battalion, because the *Greeks* used it in the same Sense. And yet it is natural enough to believe, that *Plaga* imports no more than *Pagus*, and only signifies that Canton of *Umbria* which had sent the new Reinforcement of Troops against the *Romans*. But to determine what *Livy* means by the Word *Materinam*, whether it be the Name of a City, Territory, or of that Body of Men which began the Action, is indeed a Matter both of more Curiosity, and Difficulty. It is however certain, that no ancient Authors mention any City of *Umbria* which bore the Name of *Materina*; and some conjecture, that we ought to read *Matilicam* instead of *Materinam*. *Frontinus* in his Book Of Colonies, and *Pliny*, mention a City called *Matilica*; which stood in the Territory of the *Umbri*, near the extremity of *Picenum*, at the Foot of the *Apennine*, and above the River *Æsis*, now *Esino Fiume*. It was afterwards honoured with the Rank of a Municipium.

5 *Ocriculum* was one of the last Cities in the Southern Part of *Umbria*, which was nearest to *Rome*. Ancient Geographers place it a little beyond the *Nar*, now the *Nera*, near the Place where *Otricoli* now stands.

ventured to ask for the *Consulship* for the next Year. What cannot an enterprising Man do, when supported by the Populace, whom he has attached to him by obliging them in a very sensible manner? Indeed *Appius* was no Soldier; and it seemed very improper at that time to place the *Consulship* in any Hands but those of a great Commander; but the Water he had brought to *Rome*, and the Conveniences of the Way he had levelled, from *Rome* to *Capua*, served him instead of Exploits and Triumphs. And in case he should not obtain the *Consulship*, he still pretended to keep in his Office of *Censor*; but *L. Furius*, one of the *Tribunes of the People*, opposed that Pretension with Warmth. When his Petition to be one of the Candidates for the *Consulship*, came to be examined, *Furius* would not accept it, till he had laid down the *Censorship*; and *Appius*, in hopes of the new Dignity, resigned the old, and was content to be no longer *Censor*, in Expectation of being made *Consul*. Which Expectation was answered, by a Majority of Suffrages in the *Campus Martius*; he was now promoted to the *Consulate* for the first time, and *L. Volumnius Flamma*, who was also surnamed *Violens*, was appointed his Collegue.

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P. DECIVS
MVS, Consuls.

§. II. But *Rome* did not find *Appius* qualified for the Command of Armies, and therefore obliged him to continue in the City, where he was carrying on Intrigues in order to aggrandize himself; whilst *Volumnius* went to acquire Glory in the Territories of the new Enemies. The *Romans* of the present Age differed very much in Conduct from those of the preceding ones. Whilst they had been confined within the Limits of *Latium*, they durst not venture to engage in more than one War at a time. But since their Conquests in the East of *Italy*, they made Head against all the Nations who were their Enemies, together; and chastised all who openly declared against them. The most obstinate of their Enemies were the *Samnites*. Tho' *Fabius* had made War with them with Success, the last Year, and had likewise entered, conquered, and quieted, a District which did not properly fall within his Province; yet his Presence was again necessary in *Samnium*, to command those *Roman* Troops there, with which he had always been victorious, and which placed their Confidence in him. And it was therefore proposed to him to command his own Army in Quality of *Proconsul*; which was the more proper, because one of the *Consuls* was confined to *Rome*, without any Command in the Army. But the restless *Appius* endeavoured to disconcert these Measures, tho' the Historians have not told us upon what Motives. Perhaps he would not have been displeased to have had the Command of the Army himself; (for who is not partial to himself?) and to have tried his Talents for War. But, whatever his Reason was, he did his utmost to prevent *Fabius's* having the sole Command of those Armies which had before been under his Conduct. How strangely unjust are the Ambitious! This *Appius*, who had usurped the *Censorship*, and exercised it alone four Years together, contrary to Custom, could not bear to see *Fabius* command the Troops without a Collegue, tho' it was very common to commit the Command of each Army to a single General. However, the Senate despised his Opposition, and continued *Fabius* in his *Proconsulship*, without an Associate; and this Great Man made the Campaign with much Success. The *Samnites* were advanced as far as *Allisa*, on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*, in the Neighbourhood of *Campania*; and the *Proconsul* attacked them, and obtained an unquestionable Victory over them. The *Romans* did not indeed take Possession of the *Samnite* Camp, on the Day of Battle; towards the Close of the Day, they were forced to leave off fighting. But they invested it all Night long, guarded it so well that no Body escaped out of it; early the next Morning the *Samnites* capitulated with the *Proconsul*, and surrendered upon Articles. The chief of them was, That all the Natives of *Samnium* should have their Lives spared, and be sent home; but That they should march out of the Camp with only one Garment, and should pass under the Yoke. As for the rest of the *Samnites*, *Fabius* made no Terms with them; they were made Slaves, sold by Auction, to the Number of seven thousand. Those who declared themselves *Hernici* by Birth, were separated from the rest, and sent to *Rome* to be tried. The Senate examined them, whether they acted as Volunteers, or had joined *Samnites* by a publick Order of their Nation; and the *Conscrip't Fathers* did not condemn them to Death, but kept them Prisoners of War, and distributed them in the Villages, and *Municipal* Towns, near *Rome*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLVI.
APPIVS CLAV-
DIVS, L. VO-
LVMNIVS
FLAMMA,
Consuls.

Auth. of Illust.
Men, c. 34.

Liv. B. 9. c. 42.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLVI.
~~~~~  
APPIUS CLAU-  
DIUS, L. VO-  
LUMNIUS  
FLAMMA,  
Consuls.

Fast. Capit.  
Cassiodorus.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLVII.  
~~~~~  
Q. MARCIUS
TREMULUS,
P. CORNELIUS
ARVINA, Con-
suls.

Liv. B. 9. c. 43.

WHILST *Fabius* was subduing the *Samnites*, the *Consul Volumnius* made War on the ⁶ *Salentini*, who inhabited the very farthest Part of *Italy*. It is almost incredible, that the Republic should have penetrated so far already; but she began now to make Conquests with Rapidity. *Volumnius's* Campaign, in a Country so distant from *Rome*, was not an unprofitable one. He fought some Battels there and always with Success; he took some Cities; and in short, was the first Man who spread the Terror of the *Roman* Name there, and paved the Way for his Successors to do more. His Sweetness and Liberality were such, that his Troops adored him. He reserved none of the Spoils of the Enemy to himself, but gave all to his Soldiers; and therefore none of them declined any Labour or Danger. As *Volumnius* treated his Troops with Humanity and Condescension, he always found them ready to second his Designs; and sometimes they were even beforehand with him.

IN the mean time, the Republic had chosen two *Censors* to supply the Place of *Appius*, who had resigned the *Censorship*, for the *Consulate*; and they were both eminent, as well for their Merit, as their Employments. *M. Valerius*, surnamed *Maximus*, and *Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Bubulcus*, had been advanced to the highest Stations; and they now exercised the Office of *Censor* together, and signalized themselves in this important Post. They not only made a *Census*, which ended with the twenty seventh *Lustrum* since their Institution, but likewise levelled the Ways cross the Fields near *Rome*, and made magnificent Roads, at the publick Expence; which made it the more easy for the Country-People to carry on a Commerce with the City. *Junius Brutus* also now performed the Vow, which he had made in a War with the *Samnites*, of erecting a Temple to the Goddess of ⁷ *Health*; but he did not consecrate the Temple, till he became ⁸ *Dictator*.

S. III. IN this Interval, *Q. Marcius*, surnamed *Tremulus*, and *P. Cornelius*, who was also called *Arvina*, were chosen *Consuls* together; and *Appius*, from being *Consul* the last Year, was, either this, or the ⁹ next Year, made *Prætor*, which was the most proper Post that could be given him. He had secured it in his *Consulship*; but no body was better qualified for it. Being an able *Civilian*, and learned Orator, he knew how to clear up, and explain, the most intricate Points of Law, with great Skill and Judgment: and whilst he is trying Civil Causes, we will follow the *Consuls* to their military Employments, which were assigned them by Lot. *Rome* had drawn new Enemies upon her, by the Punishments she had inflicted on the *Hernici*, in their Captivity. Their National Diet was assembled in a *Circus*, called *The Maritime Circus* ¹⁰; (but for what reason is utterly unknown, since their Territory was an inland Country) and the Inhabitants of ¹¹ *Anagnia* expressed most Zeal to revenge the Affront offered to their Nation. But they in vain endeavoured to draw the whole Country into their Revolt; the ¹² *Aletri-*

⁶ See our Description of the Country of the *Salentini*, B. 21. p. 429. of this Volume, Note 51.

⁷ See our Account of the Goddess of *Health*, B. 22. p. 498. of this Volume, Note 70.

⁸ *Valerius Maximus*, B. 11. c. 9. adds, that the two *Censors*, *Marcus Valerius*, and *Caius Junius*, degraded one *Lucius Antonius* a Senator, for having divorced his Wife, without first bringing her to a Trial. But this seems inconsistent with the same Author's affirming, B. 11. c. 1. that it appears by the ancient *Annals*, that there was no Instance of any *Roman's* divorcing his Wife before the Year of *Rome* 520. And *D. Hal.* had before said the same thing, in the second Book of his *Antiquities*. He says, that one *Spurius Carvilius* was the first who put away his Wife about the 137th *Olympiad*, in the *Consulship* of *Marcus Pomponius*, and *Caius Papirius*: and he remarks, that this first Divorce was made by the Consent of the *Censors*, after *Servilius* had made Oath, that his Wife's Barrenness was his only Motive to it.

⁹ It is certain, that *Appius Claudius* was Master of the chief Qualifications proper for a Magistrate, whose Business it was to administer Justice; which

was the Case of a *Prætor*. Together with a Knowledge of the *Roman* Laws and Privileges, he had a Penetration of Mind, sufficient to guard him against being imposed on by Chicanery and Artifice. Which makes *Lucius Volumnius* say, in the Sequel of this History, that it were to be wished, for the Republic's sake, that *Rome* had always had *Prætors*, as eloquent, and as well versed in the Law, as *Appius Claudius*. We have fixed his first *Prætorship* to the Year 447, or 448, for want of Memoirs, to inform us of the exact Time, when he first exercised that Office.

¹⁰ Perhaps this *Circus* was so called from its Neighbourhood to some Lake; or by way of Comparison with some other *Circus*, which was farther distant from the Sea.

¹¹ See our Account of *Anagnia*, B. 21. p. 446. of this Volume, Note 78.

¹² The ancient City of *Aletrium*, according to some, or *Alatrium* according to others, was six Miles, or thereabouts, from *Anagnia*; to the East of *Ete*, at a little distance from the Springs of the *Liris*. *Frontinus* makes it a *Roman Colony*.

nates, the ¹³ *Ferentini*, and the ¹⁴ *Verulani*, all refused to enter into their Measures; so that there was only a small Part of the *Hernici* who took up Arms against the *Romans*; and the Consul *Q. Marcius* received a Commission to go, and bring them to their Duty, whilst his Collegue *Cornelius* continued the War with the *Samnites*. The *Hernici* were Neighbours to the *Samnites*, so that the two Consular Armies might have been mutually assistant to one another; but the Rebels made it their Business to prevent it, and so effectually stopped up all Communication between them, that *Marcius* and *Cornelius* were not able to keep up any Correspondence with each other. This Step therefore embarrassed the Consuls, and even terrified *Rome*. But as no Precaution was there neglected, it was resolved to raise two new Armies in the City, to be ready to march, as there should be Occasion; and the Fears of the *Romans* were immediately dispersed. *Marcius*, by his Wisdom and Valour, soon reduced this Company of Mutineers to Reason, who were little able to resist their Sovereigns. The *Hernici*, who were formerly so formidable, seem to have been now degenerated from the Bravery of their Ancestors; three Camps were taken from them in a few Days, and they were forced to send Deputies to *Rome*. They offered to give the Army *Marcius* commanded, two Years Pay, to supply it with Provisions, and to give every Soldier in it, one Suit of Clothes. But the Senate referred the Petition of the Rebels to the Consul, empowered him, by a Decree, to dispose of them as he pleased; and *Marcius* treated them with Severity, and forced them to surrender at Discretion.

§.IV. AFTER having finished the War with the *Hernici*, *Marcius* had nothing to do, but to join his Forces to those of his Collegue, who wanted his Assistance. *Cornelius's* Army was indeed superior in Number to that of the *Samnites*; but he had suffered it to be invested in narrow Passes, where all his Provisions were intercepted. He had often offered the *Samnites* Battel; but they were obstinately bent on starving him in his Camp, without running the hazard of a Battel; and were much surprized at the Approach of *Marcius*, who with precipitate Marches, hastened to deliver his Collegue. For them to suffer the two Armies to join, was to lose all; since they were scarce able to resist *Cornelius's* Forces alone: and they therefore soon resolved to give Battel to *Marcius's* Troops, which were harassed with long Marches, and were advancing towards the invested Camp, in some Disorder. But as soon as the *Samnites* appeared, the *Romans* rallied in haste; and after throwing their Baggage in a heap in the Center, instantly repaired to their Colours, and drew up in Battalia. The Battel began, with the usual Fury of Men under a Necessity of conquering, or losing their Lives; and though the Attack was made at some distance from *Cornelius's* Camp, he judged that his Collegue was engaged with the *Samnites*, by the Shouts he heard, and the Cloud of Dust he saw. Upon which, he immediately ordered his Troops to Arms, commanded them to march out of their Entrenchments, and fell upon the Enemy in Flank, while they were wholly taken up with defending themselves against the *Legions* which attacked them in Front. *Cornelius* endeavoured likewise to raise an Emulation in his Troops. *What!* said he, *shall Marcius's Army alone get the Victory which was designed only for us? Shall we have no Share either in the Battel, or the Glory of it?* And at these Words he broke through the Body of *Samnites* who opposed him, ran directly to their Camp, which he found empty, and defenceless; entered it, and set it on fire. At the Sight of the Flames, the *Samnites* lost Courage, and *Marcius's* *Legions* were inspired with new Vigour. The Enemy broke their Ranks, fled, and dispersed, without finding any Refuge; for they were invested on all Sides; and in short, the *Romans* killed thirty thousand *Samnites* on the spot, and were tired with Slaughter. Nevertheless, the *Legions* of the two Armies were no sooner united, and the two Consuls began to congratulate one another; but they were obliged to renew the Slaughter. News was brought the *Roman* Generals, that a new Body of *Samnites* appeared, near the Field of Battel, which were new

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLVII.
Q. MARCIUS
TREMULUS,
P. CORNELIUS
ARVINA, Con-
suls.

¹³ We have before spoken of the several Cities of Italy, which formerly bore the Name of *Ferentini*. This we are here speaking of, belonged to the *Volsci*. Afterwards the *Romans* made themselves Masters of it, and surrendered it up to the *Hernici*. B. 14. p. 60. of this Volume, Note 16.

¹⁴ The ancient City of *Verulum*, or *Verula*, now *Veroli*, stood in *New Latium*, which is now a Part of the *Campagna di Roma*. *Verula* was about five thousand Geometrical Paces North of *Alatrium*; and *Frontinus* says, it afterwards became a *Roman Colony*.

Year of Levies, raised all over *Samnium*, and they were coming to enlarge the vanquished *ROMAN* Army. Upon this Intelligence, the victorious *Legions* forgot the Fatigues of the *CCCCXLVII.* Day, assembled, before they had receiv'd the *Consul's* Orders, drew up in Battalia, and marched towards the Enemy. The Generals gave way to this martial Ardour, and let them try the Fate of a new Battel. The Soldiers said to one another, Come on, let us try what these New-comers can do, and make them pay for their first Trial of Skill with us, with their Blood: And their Hopes were not vain. Had this new Company joined the first Army, it could scarce have been able to resist the two *Consuls* Forces: And it was entirely routed. Those of the New-Comers who escaped, saved themselves on the neighbouring Mountains, whither some of the vanquished in the first Battel had already fled for Refuge. The *Romans* pursued them, and obliged them to come down into the Plain, where they began to talk of Peace. But it belonging to the Senate, or *Roman* People, and not to the *Consuls*, to grant this, they sent the Suppliants to *Rome*; first requiring the vanquished to supply the *Roman* Armies with three Months Provisions, give them a Year's Pay, and furnish every Soldier with one Habit, by way of Preliminary. After this glorious Campaign, *Marcus* returned to *Rome*, where he obtained the Honours of a Triumph, on *The Eve of the Calends of July*. This last Victory was without doubt chiefly owing to him. Without him *Cornelius* his Colleague would have been worsted; and there was therefore this remarkable thing in his Triumph, that it was decreed him only on account of his Victory over the *Hernici* of *Anagnia*. This was doubtless done with a View to *Cornelius*, who neither had deserved, nor obtained a Triumph, though he had behaved himself very well in the important Battel wherein the *Samnites* had been defeated. The *Romans* wisely declined granting any Triumph for the Victory over the *Samnites*, and at the same time found Means to do *Marcus* Justice, who had as good a Right to triumph on account of the *Samnites*, as on that of the *Hernici*. A Statue was erected to his Honour, over-against the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, which was standing in *Cicero's* time, but destroyed in *Pliny's*; who speaks of it as a Monument not then in being. Posterity has always reckoned *Marcus Tremulus* to have been one of the greatest Commanders who lived in these happy Ages of the Republick. He confirmed the Custom of sparing the publick Treasury the Charges of Wars, and making them at the Expence of the vanquished Enemy; which was much more frequently practised by the Generals of *Rome* afterwards, than it before had been. After his Time, nothing was more common, than to force the subdued Nations to furnish the *Roman* Armies with Provisions, Cloaths, and Pay.

Year of *S. V.* Whilst the *Consuls Marcus* and *Cornelius* were yet in the Field, that is, before the Month of *July*, the time came for electing new Magistrates in the *Cam-*
CCCCXLVII.
P. CORNELIUS pus *Marcus*; and *P. Cornelius*, surnamed *Barbatus*, was nominated *Dictator* to
BARBATUS, preside in the *Comitia by Centuries*, in the Absence of the *Consuls*. He chose the
Dictator. famous *Decius Mus* for his General of Horse; and the People chose *Postumius*, surnamed *Megillus*, and ¹⁵ *Tib. Minucius*, surnamed *Augurinus*, to be their next *Consuls*. But before they entered upon their Office, the Senate determined the Fate of the *Hernici*. They had hitherto been upon the Foot of Allies to the *Romans*; but *Marcus* had just now reduced them to the State of Subjects. Three of their Cities indeed, *Alatrium*, *Ferentinum*, and *Verulum*, had continued faithful to the *Romans*, and the Republick shewed them Marks of Distinction. She gave them their Choice, either to continue to be governed by their ancient Laws, or to enjoy the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*: And they preferred their old Laws to new Honours. But one Privilege at least was given their Inhabitants, which was that of intermarrying with one another, and which all the Allies of *Rome* did not enjoy. The Republick often denied some Cities this Privilege, lest their Union should be too strict, and become prejudicial to the Interests of the Conquerors. The three faithful Cities were the only ones that preserved it, for some time, in all the Country of the *Hernici*. The Inhabitants of their other Cities, especially those of the rebellious *Anagnia*, were forced to submit to be governed by *Roman* Laws, and declare themselves *Citizens of Rome*, without the Right of Suffrage. They were forbidden to hold any Assemblies, or marry out of their own City; and all their

¹⁵ The ancient Annals agree, that *Minucius* had and *Cassiodorus*, have given him that of *Tim*, in the *Prænomen* of *Tiberius*; but *Livy*, *Marianus*, stand of it.

Magistrates were put under an Interdict, except those whose whole Province related to Religion.

At the same time Deputies arrived at *Rome* from *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* were the only People beyond the Seas, with whom the *Romans* had hitherto kept up any Sort of Correspondence. Some Historians say, they now entered into a third Treaty with them. But however that be, the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors had an honourable Reception; the Republick accepted their Presents, and made them others in Return. The further the *Romans* extended their Conquests in *Italy*, the more they were respected on the Coasts of *Africa*.

§. VI. In the mean time, *Postumius Megellus*, and *Tib. Minucius*, entered upon their *Consulship*. The *Samnites*, notwithstanding their Losses, had spread themselves in *Campania*, between the *Vulturnus* and the ¹⁶ *Savo*; and had pillaged the fine Country of *Falernum*, towards the North, in a Plain called ¹⁷ *Stellates Campanus*. Upon which the *Consuls* were both ordered to enter *Samnium*, each at the Head of a *Consular* Army, that is, an Army consisting of two *Legions*; and to make War there. Accordingly, *Postumius* marched towards the City of *Tifernum*, situated upon a River ¹⁸ of the same Name; and *Minucius* came and encamped near *Bovianum*, a City formerly conquered from the *Samnites*, but lately returned to the Dominion of its old Masters. *Postumius* first entered upon Action; and some Historians say his Victory was complete. They tell us he killed thirty thousand *Samnites* in the Engagement: But it is more probable, That the Success of it was equal, and That *Postumius* even pretended to have been worsted, in order to put a Cheat upon the Enemy the more effectually. He decamped the next Night, retired to the Mountains, and there fortified himself in an advantageous Place. The *Samnites* believing that the *Romans* were afraid, followed the *Consul*, and posted themselves within two Miles of his Camp. *Postumius* therefore made all Haste to complete his Entrenchments, furnished his Camp with all Sorts of necessary Provisions with the utmost Dispatch, left a sufficient Number of Troops there to defend it, and with the rest of his Army marched out at Midnight, and took the nearest Way to his Colleague. *Bovianum* was not far from *Tifernum*, and he quickly joined *Minucius*, who was in sight of a Body of *Samnites*, which only wanted an Opportunity to give Battel. Upon his Arrival, *Postumius* advised his Colleague to offer Battel before the Enemy knew of the Reinforcement the *Romans* had received; and accordingly, *Minucius* marched into the Plain, with his Army alone, and let the Enemy see only his two *Legions*. The Victory was long disputed with Warmth on both Sides; but after a tedious Fight, after many Wounds had been given and received, and the Soldiers in both Armies were much fatigued, *Postumius* and his Troops renewed the Action on a sudden, with fresh Fury, and then the *Samnites* could no longer hold out against the two *Consuls*. They were too much fatigued, and had received too many Wounds, to fly fast enough to save their Lives; and as they could only make a faint Struggle for Victory, they fell on the Field of Battel. The *Romans* took one and twenty Colours from the Enemy in this Action, which was only a Prelude to this glorious Campaign. The *Consuls* joined their victorious Troops without Delay, led them to *Postumius's* Camp, and from thence flew upon the Body of *Samnites*, which was posted near it. This Battel was warmer, and more bloody than the former; and *Minucius*, one of the *Consuls*, lost his Life in it. He was wounded in the Action, and died before he arrived at the Camp. But the Loss of this General was immediately supplied by *M. Fulvius Patinus*, who being immediately nominated *Consul* at *Rome*, finished the Cam-

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLVII.
P. CORNELIUS
BARBATUS,
Dictator.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLVIII.
L. POSTUMIUS
MEGELLUS,
TIB. MINUCI-
US AUGURI-
NUS, Consuls.

Liv. B. 9. c. 44.

¹⁶ The River *Savo*, now called *Savone* by the Natives, watered that Part of *Campania*, which lay between *Sinuesa*, and the City of *Vulturnum*. It is a very slow River, and makes several Marshes in the Neighbourhood. We have spoken of the *Vulturnus* already.

¹⁷ The Plain *Stellates* was divided from the *Falernian Fields* by Mount *Callicula*, which *Polybius* calls Mount *Eribanus*. This is the Hill which commands the City of *Carinola*, in *Campania*, and the Place now called in *Italian*, *Torre di Francolese*. So that the Territory of *Stellates* was bounded, on the North, by that of *Falernum*; and the South, by

the Plain of *Cales*. It was watered with two Rivers, the *Savo*, and the *Vulturnus*. We have already spoken of another little Canton in *Hetruria*, lying between *Capena*, *Veii*, and *Faleris*, which ancient Authors call *Stellatinus Ager*. This Canton gave Name to *The Stellatine Tribe*. See p. 36. of this Volume, Note 97.

¹⁸ The River *Tifernus*, now *Bisernus*, watered the Country of the *Frentani*, now a Part of *The Nether Abruzzo*, and the *Capitanata*; and it gave Name to a neighbouring City, which *Cluverius* thinks to be the same, which the Natives now call *Molise*.

Year of ROME CCCCXLVIII. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS, TIB. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, Consuls.

paign in that Quality. It is probable, that he had had the best Share in the Glory of the last Action; in which the General of the *Samnites*, named *Statius Gellius* was made Prisoner, with a great Number of his Soldiers; and twenty six Colours were taken from the Enemy. *Marcus's* first Design had been to besiege *Bovianum*; but after the two Victories, that City soon surrendered to his Successor. It is likewise probable, that *Fulvius* retook *Sora*, ¹⁹ *Arpinum*, and ²⁰ *Cerfennia*, from the *Samnites*; or at least, it is certain that *Fulvius* triumphed alone. Why *Postumius*, who seems to have deserved the same Honour, did not triumph with him is hard to say. The *Fasti Capitolini* don't allow him this, tho' *Livy* does; but the latter makes him triumph with *Minucius*, who was now dead. We shall therefore adhere to the *Fasti Capitolini*, which place *Fulvius* only among the triumphant Victors; perhaps in order to shew a Mark of Distinction to that General, who had ended the Campaign with the taking of four Cities of Importance. He made his triumphal Procession three Days before the *Nones of October*.

Year of ROME CCCCXLIX. P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS, P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO, Consuls.

§. VII. THE succeeding Consuls, who were *P. Sempronius*, surnamed *Sophus*, and *P. Sulpicius*, surnamed *Saverrio*, found the *Samnites* much fatigued with the War, and very desirous of a Peace. They were no sooner entered upon their Office, but Deputies came to *Rome* from the *Samnite* Nation, to desire a Renewal of the ancient Confederacy, whereby they were formerly allied to the *Romans*. But how could the latter believe them upon their bare Words? How could they discover whether their Return was sincere; or whether they only wanted to get a little Time to breathe? What Dependence was to be had on a faithless Nation, which had so often brought Dishonour upon herself, by a sudden Breach of Treaties? It was therefore thought necessary to have some Proofs of their Sincerity from their Behaviour, and not to judge of it only by their Supplications. The Ambassadors were sent back, and assured, That the Consul *Sempronius* should follow them with an Army; That he was a Man of Penetration, and would be able, in the Visit he was going to make the *Samnites*, to discover their real Sentiments, and whether they were sincerely disposed for Peace. Accordingly, *Sempronius* set out for *Samnium*, where his Troops were received in all Places with the Marks of a sincere Respect; they were plentifully supplied with all sorts of Provisions; and the Change which there appeared to be in the Hearts of these old Enemies, altered the Dispositions of the *Romans* towards them. The Republick entered into an Alliance with them, on the same Foot as she had done before the Wars.

Liv. B. 9. c. 45.

AND as the *Romans* were thus mild in their Treatment of the Nations which submitted, so they were no less severe in punishing the least Act of Unfaithfulness, in those which left their Alliance. The *Aequi*, those ancient Enemies of the Republick, had long continued faithful in their Subjection to her; but as soon as they saw the *Hernici* their Neighbours go over to the *Samnites*, they likewise, seduced by this bad Example, declared openly against *Rome*. Without keeping any Measures as formerly, they had sent Succours to the *Samnites*, and declared that their Revolt had been universally resolved on by the whole Nation. *Rome* therefore thought it necessary to send *Feciales* to them, to require them to give an Account of this unjust Proceeding, and make Satisfaction for the Injuries they had done the Republick. But the *Aequi* proudly answered, That their Design in coming to de-

¹⁹ The City of *Arpinum*, in the Country of the *Volsci*, between the *Melfis* and the *Liris*, is yet in being, and bears the Name of *Arpino*. It gave Birth to *Marius* and to *Cicero*. The latter had a Villa near it, which he calls, in several Parts of his Works, his paternal Inheritance. His Brother *Quintus* had also an Estate in the Neighbourhood, called *Arcanum*. It lay in the District, in which the City of *Arco* now stands. We have mentioned the Situation of *Sora* above, B. 15. p. 131. of this Vol. Note 106.

²⁰ *Cerfennia*, which formerly belonged to the *Marfi*, stood on the Eastern Shore of the Lake *Fucinus*, near the Place, where a little River, called by the Ancients *Amnis Pizonius*, discharged itself into the Lake. *Cluverius* places it near *Castel Venero*; but *Holstenius* contends, it was about the Place called *Li Colli*. It may not be improper to remark here, that this City has different Names, in

the different Editions of *Livy*; in some it is called *Cersennia*, in others *Cessentia*. But we know of no Cities in *Italy* of those Names. Several conjecture, that we ought to read *Cosentia*; but they don't consider, that this last City stood in the extreme Parts of *Bruttium*, and consequently was very far from *Samnium*, and the Countries bordering upon it, in which the *Romans* made this Campaign. *Cluverius* corrects the Text, and reads it *Aesernia*, a City of the *Samnites*; but this last City was, strictly speaking, within the Territory of *Samnium*; whereas the City spoken of in the Text, only belonged to the *Samnites*, by Right of Conquest.

²¹ *Pliny*, B. 33. c. 1. changes the *Praenomen* of *Publius*, (which the *Fasti Consulares*, and the *Historians*, give *Sulpicius*;) into that of *Lucius*; and he also gives *Sempronius* the Surname of *Longus*, contrary to the *Annalists*, who give him that of *Sophus*, mand

mand Satisfaction, was only to see whether they were cowardly enough to surrender themselves up to the Republick. *The Hernici*, said they, *have given us but too plain a Proof, what Treatment we are to expect from the Romans, after a voluntary Submission. You offered a Part of their Nation, that they should be governed by your Laws, which they refused. You have forced another Part of it to receive them; and they think it a Punishment to be declared Citizens of Rome.* This Answer, several times repeated in the Assembly of the *Æqui*, obliged the *Romans* to declare War with them; and the two *Consuls* entered their Country, and encamped four Miles from their Army. But the *Æqui* were now no longer those formidable Enemies, between whom, and the *Romans*, the Victory had often been doubtful. Their first Subjection, and long Inaction, had enervated their Courage; and they had unlearned the Art of War, during the Peace. Confusion and Disorder reigned among their Troops; and as they had no fixed Commander, the Soldiers lived without any Discipline, or Subjection; whence proceeded Uncertainty in their Councils. Some embraced one Opinion, others the contrary; and none had Authority enough, to bring Matters to a Determination. Some were for marching into the Field, and coming to a Battel; others were for continuing in their Camp, and waiting till they were attacked in it. The greatest Number were terrified with the Apprehension of the pillaging of their Fields, which would soon become a Prey to the *Romans*, and of the approaching Desolation of their Cities, in which they had left but few Troops to defend them: and this Disagreement in Opinion, ended in their taking the most pernicious Measures of any proposed, which were for every one to neglect the publick Interests, and return home, to take care of his own private Affairs. Accordingly, they all left the Camp in the middle of the Night, every one took his nearest Road home, and not a Man was left to defend the Entrenchments; but all the *Æqui* dispersed, and returned to the several Cities in which they had lodged their Effects. At Day-break, the *Consuls*, knowing nothing of the Departure of the Enemy, marched out of their Camp in good Order, to give them Battel; and were surprized at their Silence and Inaction. They neither saw any Advanced-Guards posted round the Camp, nor Centinels on the Ramparts; which made the *Romans* at first suspicious of an Ambuscade; and the Fear of being surprized, made them cautious. Indeed they observed the Footsteps of the Fugitives, and knew by them, that the *Æqui* had divided themselves into small Parties, had taken different Roads, and crossed the Fields; and they followed them some time; but the *Æqui* had too much the start of them. Besides, these scattered Parties had likewise divided themselves into several lesser Bodies, which were not easily to be overtaken, or to be pursued, without Danger. The *Roman* Generals therefore resolved to besiege the Cities, which served for a Retreat to these dispersed Troops. It is probable, That *Sempronius* and *Sulpicius* marched separately, each at the Head of his own *Legions*, to force these Towns of the Enemy; and That *Sulpicius* penetrated as far as to the Territory of the *Marfi*. At least it's certain, that they besieged, and made themselves Masters of, forty-one Cities, or Towns, in fifty Days; and thereby almost exterminated the whole Nation of the *Æqui*. And these rapid Conquests spread Terror among the neighbouring Nations; so that the *Marfi*, the *Peligni*, the *Frentani*, and the *Marrucini*, who dwelt on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea, all sent to *Rome*, to desire Peace, and an Alliance with the Republick, which they easily obtained. By this memorable Expedition, the *Consuls* merited the Honours of a Triumph, which *Rome* granted them, but at different Times, and upon different Accounts. *Sempronius* triumphed over the *Æqui*, on *The seventh of the Calends* of October; and *Sulpicius* over the *Samnites*, on *The fourth of the Calends* of November. It may indeed be objected, that *Sulpicius* could not make War with the *Samnites*, who were already reconciled to *Rome*; and the best Answer to be given to it, is, that *Sulpicius's* Title to his Triumph, was, his having forced the *Marfi*, and other neighbouring Nations, to desire a Peace. Now it is well known, that the *Marfi*, the *Peligni*, the *Frentani*, and the *Marrucini*, were all originally, and by Inclination, *Samnites*, tho' they did not inhabit *Samnium*, properly so called.

§. VIII. AND here it is necessary that we return again to the famous *Q. Fabius*, whom we may well be surprized to see so much forgotten by the Republick, after so many Victories; but he was not absolutely reduced to a private Life. For a time

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Strabo, Pliny,
and others.

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P. SULPICIUS
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Val. Max. B.
2. c. 2. §. 9.
Liv. B. 9 c. 46.

Plut. Life of
Pompey.

time indeed we don't see him shining at the Head of the *Roman* Armies, or entering the City in a triumphant Manner; but Cares of a different kind, which related to the good Order of the State, and the Reformation of the Abuses crept into the publick Administration, found him as honourable Employment as if he had been commanding the Troops. *Rome* had just chosen him *Censor*; and made that illustrious *Plebeian* *P. Decius Mus*, who almost equalled him in Valour, and surpassed him in Virtue, his Colleague. *Fabius* made his *Censorship* memorable by reforming the Abuses the ambitious *Appius* had introduced into the State, when he was *Censor*. He had made two Innovations, which tended to give him great Power, both in the Senate, and among the People. In order to make himself Master of the Decrees of the *Conscript Fathers*, he had brought the Sons of *Freed-men* into the Senate, whom Meanness of Spirit, and the Greatness of the Benefit, made Slaves to his Will: But the Republick had already rectified this Disorder, which lasted but one Year. The Senate had been purged, and restored to its ancient Lustre, by the Exclusion of these mean Persons. In order to enable himself to govern the Elections in the *Comitia*, as he pleased, *Appius* had likewise incorporated some of the *Freed-men* in all the *Roman Tribes*. As these were factious and intriguing Men, they easily commanded the Votes of their respective *Tribes*. By his Power over these Men, who had sold themselves to him, he influenced the Assemblies to act according to his Humour. This gave Birth to civil Broils, and corrupted all Orders of Men in the State; and this Mischief continued till *Fabius* was *Censor*. But as soon as he entered upon his Office, he made it his Business to re-establish Peace, and the Freedom of Elections. In order to this, he again incorporated the Rabble into the four *City-Tribes*, which had been dismembered from those *Tribes*, and distributed among the *Country-Tribes*, in which they had had the Ascendant. After this, as the *Romans* voted by *Tribes*, the *Freed-men* could carry on their Intrigues in four *Tribes* only, and in them their Party was not the strongest. This Reformation which *Fabius* made, was so agreeable to the Republick, that she gave him, for this single Act, the Surname of *Maximus*, or *The Greatest*; a Title which he had not acquired by subduing the *Hetrurians*, the *Samnites*, and the *Umbri*, and which he and his Descendants ever after preserved, in their Branch of the *Fabian* Family.

A new Institution was also made in his *Censorship*, which entertained the City with a new *Shew*, and introduced Order and Regularity into an illustrious Body of Men. The *Roman Knights* had celebrated the Feast of the ²² *Lupercalia*, on *The Fifteenth of the Calends of March*, ever since the Foundation of *Rome*; and there

22 *Ovid. Fast. B. 2.* founds the *Lupercalia*, in an Adventure which he supposes to have happened between *Hercules*, *Omphale*, and the God *Pan*; and his Account of it, shews us the infamous Practices of the Pagans, and the Licentiousness of the Poet, who describes them. He there represents these Persons in such Lights, as are shocking to modest Readers and yet not at all entertaining; it is therefore best to draw a Veil over these lascivious Fictions, which are unbecoming the Gravity of an Historian. *D. Hal.* makes *Evander* establish the *Lupercalia* in *Italy*, after the *Arcadian* manner. The Shepherds then offered up a Sacrifice to *Pan*, the tutelary God of their Flocks; after which, they ran round the Villages, covered only to the Waist, with the Skins of the Victims just sacrificed; and made the Air resound with their Shoutings. This, according to that Historian, was a sort of *Lustration*, or Expiation, in use among the Country-People, and practised in his own Time. It continued till the Reign of the Emperor *Anastasius*, about five hundred Years after *Christ*, and was at last abolished by Pope *Gelasius*, according to *Baronius*. This Festival was solemnized at *Rome*, on the Hill *Palatinus*, because *Evander* had erected a Temple to the Honour of *Pan Lycæus*, at the Foot of this Hill. The Magistrates, and young Men of the highest Nobility, were not ashamed to shew themselves to the whole City, in the most indecent Postures, with Whips or Thongs in their Hands, and naked to the Waist. *Valerius*

Maximus tells us, that *Romulus* and *Remus* gave Rise to this Mummery. The two Brothers had sacrificed Goats to the God *Pan*, at *Faustulus's* Persuasion; then, when their Heads were hot with drinking to Excess at the Feast, in which *Faustulus* served up the sacrificed Victims, they staggered about, and run headlong upon the Company: and the Goat-Skins which were about them, and the grotesque Contortions of their Bodies, making a ridiculous Figure, which raised the Laughter of the Spectators, the *Romans* made it a Law, that they would every Year imitate *Romulus* and *Remus*, in these things, in Honour to the God *Pan*. But *Plutarch* gives us a different Account of this Matter. He says, that (the two Brothers were wrestling naked, when they were told, that some Robbers were going to carry away their Flocks. Upon which, they immediately invoked the God *Pan*, ran after the Thieves, without tarrying to put on their Clothes, and forced them to relinquish the Spoils they had taken. And whatever was the Origin of the *Lupercalia*, the Tradition of which was very uncertain among the *Romans*; this at least is sure, that it was made Matter of Religion to celebrate this Festival. During this odd Solemnity, they sacrificed Goats and a Dog, Animals which were consecrated to *Pan*, to whose Honour the Festival was kept. Then they practised all those fantastical Ceremonies, which we have mentioned above, *Vol. 1. p. 17. Note 69.* This was done in several Cities, which belonged

there was something both very ludicrous and indecent in this Ceremony, which was more ancient than *Rome* itself, and had been brought into *Italy* by *Evander*. The illustrious *Knights* appeared with Whips in their Hands, made of the Skins of the Victims, which had been sacrificed on that Day; ran stark naked thro' the City, whipping all they met, as it were by way of Expiation of their Crimes; and the new-married Women threw themselves in their way, to receive their Stripes, which they thought Preservatives against Barrenness. It was not indeed in the Power of the *Censors* to abolish a Custom which was consecrated by an ancient Superstition; but they established another Ceremony, which in some measure retrieved the Honour of the *Roman Knights*, and served to introduce Order and Discipline in this honourable Body. *Fabius* and his Colleague ordered, that the *Roman Knights* should every Year, on *The Ides of July*, appear ²³ on Horseback, dressed in Purple, and crowned with Olive, and march in Procession from the Temple ²⁴ of *Mars* to the *Capitol*. After this pompous Cavalcade, the *Censors* reviewed ²⁵ these fine Troops, gave them Instructions how to regulate their Conduct, and informed themselves of the Quantity of Land each possessed, and how many Years he had served. By which it appears, how great Authority the *Censors* had in *Rome*, since they could make

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belonged to the *Romans*, particularly at *Præneste*, and *Nisimes*, as appeared by ancient Inscriptions. There were two Colleges of *Luperci* at *Rome*, whose Business it was to run about the Streets, in the manner before described, B. 1. One of these Societies took its Name from the *Fabii*, and the other from the *Quintilii*. Hence the Distinction of *Luperci Fabiani*, and *Luperci Quintiliani*; because the *Fabii* and *Quintilii* were the most considerable Persons in these two Companies, the former of which belonged to *Remus*, the latter to *Romulus*. These two were the only Colleges of *Luperci*, till *Julius Caesar's* time; but he added a third, which were called *Luperci Juliani*, from the Name of their Founder. *Tully* speaks with Contempt, of the Priesthood of the *Luperci*, in his *Oration for Cælius*, in these Words. *Quædam sodalitas & plane pastoria atque agrestis germanorum Lupercorum, quorum cotio illa agrestis ante est instituta, quam humanitas, et leges.* In his second *Philippick*, he reproaches *Anthony* for having run about the Streets of *Rome*, as a *Lupercus*. You ought to have remembered, says he, that this Buffoonery was beneath the Gravity of a Consul. *Ita eras Lupercus, ut te Consul esse meminisse deberes.* Nevertheless, we find that Magistrates, and Persons of noble Birth, were not ashamed to act so unworthy a Part, in the Sight of all the Citizens. Women of the first Quality did not blush to appear in this ridiculous Shew, and throw themselves in the Way to receive the Stripes the *Luperci* gave them, with the Whips they had in their Hands. Being prepossessed with an Opinion, that these Stripes were Preservatives against Barrenness, and the Pains of Child-bearing, they thought themselves happy to be struck by the Ministers concerned in this absurd Ceremony. During the whole time of the Festival, the God *Pan* was dressed in a Goat-Skin, and both Men and Women paid their Vows and Homage to him. The *Lupercalia* was fixed to the fifteenth Day of *February*, because it was reckoned as one of the *Lustrations* and Expiations which were made in that Month.

²³ We have spoken of this magnificent Cavalcade, which ancient Authors say was instituted in Memory of the Battel of *Regillus*, which gave the finishing Stroke to the *Tarquins*, Vol. 1. p. 259. Note 11. This pompous Procession was chiefly made in Honour of *Castor* and *Pollux*. Upon the Credit of an ancient Tradition, it was said, that they appeared in the Action, and fought for the *Romans*. This Story, fabulous as it was, found Credit at *Rome*, and *Fabius* would have *Roman Knights* celebrate the Anniversary of this Apparition, in a Body, by way of Thanksgiving; because the *Roman Cavalry* were thought to have experienced the Protection of these

two Divinities. The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, is the only one who says, that *Fabius* required every *Knight* to appear on a white Horse. If according to *D. Hal.* there were sometimes no less than five thousand in this Cavalcade, it would doubtless have been difficult to have found so many Horses of the same Colour. But Historians agree, that they were all dressed in the *Trabea*, and crowned with Olive. *Pliny* mentions this Custom, B. 15. ch. 4. *Olea honorem Romana Majestas magnum præbuit, turmas Equitum, Idibus Juliis, ex ea coronando.*

²⁴ The *Knights* divided into *Centuries* and Troops, or Companies of thirty Men each, began their March from the Temple of *Mars*, and not the Temple of Honour, according to *D. Hal.* And in this he agrees with the other Historians; in as much as the two Temples were near one another, and both without the Gate *Collina*. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that the most considerable Citizens of *Rome*, walked before the *Knights*, in their Procession.

²⁵ In this general Review, the *Censors* exercised a judicial Power over the Cavalry, with so absolute an Authority, that they had a Right of publicly reprimanding those *Knights*, who had behaved themselves ill; and sometimes the *Censor* even degraded them. In this Case the Offender was thought deprived of the Rank of a *Knight*, and lost the Horse, which had been maintained for him, at the Expence of the Publick. Nor was this all; in order to keep this honourable Body under a continual Dread of Disgrace, Informers, or any of their Enemies, were allowed to take hold of the Opportunity of the Cavalcade, to seize any *Knight*, and carry him to the Tribunal of the Judge. But *Suetonius* says, in his *Life of Augustus*, c. 38. that that Emperor abolished this Custom, when he revived *Fabius's* Institution, which had been long laid aside. In this Review, it was often with some of the Members of this honourable Body, as with some Country-Gentlemen, when summoned to the *Arriere-ban*, where they make but an awkward Figure, and are the Ridicule of the Spectators. And in order to spare those *Knights* this Confusion, whom Age, or some natural Defect, hindered from making a good Appearance, *Augustus* left it to their own Choice, whether they would march in the Cavalcade. He only obliged them to produce their Horses, and appear on Foot themselves, to answer to their Names, when called upon, as usual. And it is with a View to this Law, that *Ulpian* says, c. 2. *de in jus vocatione*, that no *Roman Knight* could be cited to appear upon a Trial, on the Day appointed for the Cavalcade, which was annually made to the *Capitol*.

Year of themselves Masters of the Senate, the *Knights*, and the People, whenever they pleased.

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Val. Max. B. 2.

c. 5. §. 2.

Aul. Gel. B. 9.

Plin. B. 33. c. 1.

Macrob. Satur-

nal. B. 1. c. 1.

§. IX. BUT in spite of all the Care of the *Censors*, the *Curule Ædileship* fell into the Hands of very contemptible Men. One *Q. Anicius*, a Native of *Præneste*, who had, a little time before, been an Enemy to the *Romans*; was chosen to fill this considerable Post; and his Colleague was a Man of meaner Birth than himself. This was one ²⁶ *Cn. Flavius*, whose Grandfather was only a *Freed-man*, and whose first Profession was that of a Writing-Master, from which he afterwards rose to be a sort of *Apparitor* ²⁷ to the *Ædiles*. Nor was his Fortune very great; but being assisted by *Appius*, who had made him his ²⁸ Secretary, when he was *Censor*, he was not ashamed to aspire at the most important Offices in the Republick. Nature had given him all that Industry, Cringing, and Insinuation, which is common in Men of his Rank; and as he was blindly devoted to the Interests of *Appius* his Patron; and entered into his Measures, he made his Court to the People, by betraying the Nobility. It belonged only to the *Pontifices*, who were all of *Patrician* Families, to know on what Days ²⁹ Causes might be heard before the *Prætors*, and on what Days all Decrees were forbidden to be made; as also to observe the rising of the New-Moon, and give Notice of it to the *King of the Sacrifices*, who assembled the People, both of the City and Country, and declared to them on what Days the *Nones*, the *Ides*, the ³⁰ *Feriae*, and the *Pleading-Days* fell, in the ensuing Month. This was some Remains of Authority which the *Patricians* reserved

²⁶ *Cicero, de Oratore, B. 1. and Pomponius the Civilian, give Flavius's Father the Prænomen of Cneius; but Aul. Gellius calls him Annius.*

²⁷ The *Romans* called those inferior Officers *Apparitores*, who were hired to stand by the Magistrates, and proclaim their Ordinances. They generally walked before the Magistrates, and did much the same Office, as the *Huissiers* among the *French*, [or the *Tipstaffs* among us.] None but *Freed-men*, and their Sons, were put in these Offices; the *Romans* thought them servile; and they were therefore disliked by a People who gloried in their Independence. *Aul. Gellius, B. 12. c. 3.* says, that the *Apparitores* tied up their Robes with a Piece of Linen-Cloth, probably to shew, that they were always ready to execute the Magistrates Orders. *Licio transverso, quod Linum appellatur, qui magistratibus præministrabant, cincti erant.*

²⁸ Every Magistrate in *Rome* had his *Scriba*, or *Secretaries*, whose Business it was to set down in Writing, the Decrees passed at his Tribunal, the Laws which were revived, the Proceedings of the Court, and in short, every thing relating to his Administration. And this Office, at the time we are speaking of, was coveted by none but Men of mean Extraction, *Freedmen*, *Mercenaries*, and *Slaves*. But it was otherwise among the *Greeks*, who admitted none into this Employment, but Persons of an honourable Family, and known Fidelity. These Qualifications were made necessary for such, as were to be entrusted with the most important Secrets of State, as we learn from *Cornelius Nepos*, in his *Life of Eumenes*. Indeed this was not always thought a contemptible Employment by the *Romans*. Several *Roman Citizens* gloried in it, and zealously canvassed for it, in *Cicero's* time; as he himself tells us, in his *Third Oration against Verres*. *Ordo est honestus, quod eorum hominum fidei tabulae publicae, periculaque Magistratuum committantur.* The *Scribae* were, according to the *Roman Orator*, a considerable Order of Men in the Republick; for which he gives this Reason, That they were the Keepers of the publick Registers; and That being the Confidants of the Magistrates, they were in some measure the Arbiters of their Fortune. They multiplied exceedingly in *Rome*, after the Republick began to decline; insomuch that they were divided into as many *Decuries*, as there were Tribunals; or Magistrates, at *Rome*, who wanted their Assistance. Most of them got themselves incorporated into some of the Com-

panies, generally by Money. *Suetonius* tells us, that when *Horace* had laid aside the Profession of Arms, he bought the Office of Secretary, or Greffier, to the *Quæstors*. *Scriptum Quæstorium emit.* Under the Emperors, this Office became a Step to the *Roman Knighthood*. As the *Scribae* were thought versed in the Knowledge of the *Civil*, and other Laws, the *Prætors*, and Judges of the *Municipia*, were chosen out of them. *Horace*, in the fifth *Satyre* of his first Book, laughs at the foolish Vanity of one *Aufidius Luscus*, the *Prætor of Fundi*, who having exercised the Office of a *Scriba*, assumed to himself the same Honours which belonged to the chief Magistrates of *Rome*.

*Fundos, Aufidio Lusco Prætores, libenter
Linquimus, insani ridentes præmia Scribae,
Prætextam, & Latum Clavam, Præneque batillum.*

³⁰ We have already spoken of the Difference of the Days in the old *Roman Calendar*, *B. 2. p. 72.* of the first Volume, *Note 84*; *B. 9. p. 395.* of the first Volume, *Note 27*; and *B. 13. p. 15.* of this Volume, *Note 60.* We shall have occasion to exhaust this Subject, in our Historical, Critical, and Astronomical Observations; on the three Calendars of *Romulus*, *Numa Pompilius*, and *Julius Cæsar*, which we will annex to this History.

³⁰ Those Days were called *Feriae* by the *Romans*, which were set apart by Religion, either for offering up some Sacrifice, or for Festivals in Honour to the Pagan Divinities. The Courts of Justice were all shut up, on these Days; and the Citizens obliged to abstain from all servile Work, unless in Cases of Necessity; as to avoid some imminent Danger, to save a Man's Life, or to prevent some considerable Loss. When the *Pontifex Scævola* was consulted on this Subject, he authorized these Exceptions. His Answer, as stated by *Macrobius, Saturnal. B. 1.* was this. *Scævola consultus quid Feriis agi liceret, respondit, quod prætermisum noceret; si bos specum cecidisset, cumque Patrifamilias adhibitis operis liberasset, non est visus Feriis polluisse; nec ille, qui trabem tecti fractam fulciendo, ab imminente vindicavit ruina.* And to the same Purpose, an ancient Interpreter of the Laws, quoted also by *Macrobius*, determines, that in the Actions forbidden by the *Pontifices*, they did not design to include those which relate to the Worship of the Gods, or the necessary Wants of Life. Several of

reserved to themselves, without sharing it with the *Plebeians*; and this Custom continued from the Time of *Romulus*, till *Appius* was made *Censor*. But he formed a Design of robbing the Nobility of this their only distinguishing Prerogative; and in order thereto, directed his Secretary *Flavius*, to be frequently asking the *Pontifices* Questions about the Calendar, which it was their sole Privilege to settle, and to get out of them the Secret of the Days when Pleadings were allowed, and when forbidden. And after *Flavius* had sufficiently informed himself by these Enquiries, he composed ³¹ *Fasti*, or, if you will, a Calendar, which he transcribed, and fixed up in the *Forum*; and by this means he so wrought upon People, who were now free from that Dependence on the Nobility, in which the *Patricians* had hitherto kept them, that they declared both for *Appius*, and his Secretary, whom they looked on as their Deliverer. The Nobility were so deeply affected with this Usurpation of their Rights, that they laid aside their Ornaments, and in particular, their ³² Gold-Rings, which they had lately begun to wear. But *Flavius* having now secured the Protection of the Commons, rose by degrees, even to the *Curule* Magistracies. His first Office was that of ³³ *Triumvir*, which was twice given him; once to command the Watch, which guarded the City by Night; and once to conduct a *Colony*, to

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Lib. B. 9. c. 46.

of these *Ferie* were not set down in the Calendar, as we have already observed; and these especially, were notified to the People by the *Pontifex Maximus*. On every *Feria*, the King of the Sacrifices, and the three *Flamines* of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and *Quirinus*, were always preceded, in their Passage thro' the Streets of *Rome*, by that sort of inferior Officers whom *Festus* calls *Præclamitatores*, or *Prætiæ*. Their Business was, to give the Artificers and Slaves, whom they met, notice to leave off their Work; because, according to the Superstition of those Times, it was thought a Pollution to a *Flamen*, if he, by Accident only, cast his Eye on any Person at work for Hire. It was indeed a sort of involuntary Irregularity; but it disabled him from the Exercise of his Office, till he had purified himself, according to the Pagan Rites. *Servius*, in his *Commentary on the first Georgick*, Line 268. gives the same Employment to the publick Heralds, whose Business it was, to publish the Orders of the *Pontifices*, concerning Festivals, and to assemble the People to the Sacrifices appointed by the Magistrates; and who were therefore called *Calatores*. We should not easily conceive, how rigorous the *Romans* were, in obliging the People to abstain from all Work, on the *Ferie*, if we had not *Macrobius's* Testimony in the Case. He says, that any Person who acknowledged himself to be guilty of the least Breach of this Rule, either through Ignorance, Levity, or Surprise, was obliged to sacrifice a Swine to the Gods, by Way of Expiation of his Fault, tho' involuntary. And those who had been guilty of breaking the *Ferie* deliberately, and designedly, were thought guilty of Sacrilege, and the greater Acts of Irreligion. They were thought the Objects of the Wrath of the Gods, and their Crimes judged irremissible, and not to be atoned for by any Satisfaction. This rigorous Law, concerning the Observation of the *Ferie*, came from the *Hebræans* to the *Romans*; and in all probability was first derived from *Moses*. It is well known, that among the *Jews*, he who broke the Sabbath, was punished with Death, without Redemption; and that nothing was more pressed upon them, than the strict Observation of their Festivals, but with reasonable Limitations. Such are those which the Saviour of the World prescribes in the 12th chap. of *St. Matthew*. On some *Ferie*, as in the *Sabbath*, the *Romans* were scrupulous of committing any Act of Hostility, unless forced to it, by Way of Self-Defence against the Attacks of an Enemy. And this Custom likewise seems borrowed from the *Jews*, who held their Sabbath so sacred, that they forbade all military Acts upon it, even in the most pressing Difficulties, and when under a Necessity of standing to their own Defence.

Pomponius the Civilian, in his Work entituled *De origine Juris*, tell us, that *Flavius* stole from *Appius*, his Collection of the *Roman Civil Laws*; and adds, that he made it Matter of Merit with the Citizens of *Rome*, to divulge what had been hitherto an impenetrable Mystery to them. This new Collection was put into the Hands of the People, and was ever after called *The Flavian Code*. *Appius* had probably been ordered to make a Collection of the Laws relating to Proceedings at Law, and had in order to it been shewn the Registers, which were deposited with the *Pontifices*; and he doubtless digested them into Order, under proper Heads, and made a Body of Laws, which *Flavius* made use of to gain the Suffrages of the People. By his Publication of them, *Flavius* freed the Citizens from the Authority of the *Pontifices*, who had till that time been the absolute Interpreters of the abstruse Points of the *Civil Law*. Recourse was no longer had to them, as before, to consult the Law-Books; which they so carefully preserved in their own Archives, that they had been all along kept secret from the Publick, ever since the Foundation of *Rome*.

³² Gold-rings came very late in Use among the *Romans*. Even the Example of *Tarquin the First*, who wore one, did not so far prevail, as to abolish the Use of Iron ones. Such expensive Toys were little liked by a warlike Nation, which was an Enemy to Luxury and Effeminacy. Only Ambassadors were at first permitted to wear them; which they never did, but on Days of Audience, as a Mark of their Dignity. Afterwards, the *Knights* and the *Patricians* assumed the Right of wearing this Ornament, which the *Roman Ladies* had long used. And lastly, in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*, it became common for all Persons of free Condition, to wear Gold-rings, the *Freed-men* not excepted. We shall have occasion to speak of the different Sorts of Rings, and the Distinctions annexed to them by the *Romans*, hereafter.

³³ The Business of these *Triumviri*, whom the *Romans* called *Triumviri Nocturni*, was only to take the Rounds in the Night, through all Quarters of the City. They marched at the Head of a Company of Men, who were under their Command, and hired by the Republick. Their only Care, according to *Paul The Civilian*, was to prevent, and put out, Fires. *Apud vetustiores, incendiis arcendis Triumviri præerant, qui ab eo, quod excubias agebant, Nocturni dicti sunt.* It belonged to the People assembled by *Tribes*, to elect these Magistrates. *Tacitus, Annal. B. 5.* speaks of some of these *Triumviri*, who were fined for having come too late into *The Sacred Street*, where a Fire had already done a great deal of Mischief.

³¹ *Cicero*, in his *Oration for Murena*, and *Pom-*

Year of the Place where it was to be planted; and after this he was chosen *Tribune of the R O M E People*. Nor did these Honours satisfy the Ambition of a Man whose Birth ought to have excluded him for ever from them. He was aspiring enough to aim at the *Curule Ædileship*; an Office which had been created only for the Nobility, tho' it had lately been divided between one *Patrician*, and one of the most considerable *Plebeians*. He was a Competitor with *C. Poetelius*, and *Cn. Domitius*, both Sons of *Consuls*; and by the Favour of the People, carried the Post from them. There was indeed some Opposition made to this Attempt; the Magistrate who presided in the *Comitia* in which he was elected, refused to admit him as a Candidate, and gave this Reason for it, that *Flavius* ³⁴ yet did the Office of a Secretary, under the *Ædiles*. But *Flavius*, to remove all Obstacles out of the way of his Rise, broke his Utensils to pieces, swore that he for ever renounced his former Trade; and this Expedient satisfied the People, who were disposed to oblige him. He was chosen *Ædile* with *Anicius* (a Man of much the same Stamp,) and when elected, behaved himself with the usual Haughtiness of Men of no Condition, when in Dignities which they acquire by Artifice and Intrigue. *Anicius* fell sick, and *Flavius* going to pay him a Visit, found a great Company of the young Nobility of *Rome* at his Collegue's House, who all kept their Seats, and none of them rose up to do him Honour. But the *Ædile*, tho' touched to the quick, kept his Temper, and revenged the Contempt shewn to his Person, by assuming an Air of Superiority. He ordered his *Curule* Chair to be brought into the sick Man's Apartment, placed himself in it, and continued his Visit, with the Distinction due to his Office. Nor was it enough for him to have mortified the Nobility who had affronted him; he carried his Ambition yet further. He was greedy of Honour, and had a Desire to be the Consecrator of a new Temple ³⁵ of *Concord*, which stood in the Court of the Temple of *Vulcan*. By ancient ³⁶ Custom, the Honour of performing these Consecrations had not been granted to any but *Consuls*, or Generals of Armies; and therefore *Cornelius Barbatius* the *Pontifex Maximus*, at first rejected the Petition of the ambitious *Ædile*. But he was forced to comply. What could he do against a Man born upon the Wings of the popular Faction? The Commons obliged the *Pontifex* to draw up and dictate the Form of the Dedication which *Flavius* pronounced. The Senate indeed afterwards reformed the Abuse by a Decree, which enacted, That no Person should for the future consecrate any Temple, without the Approbation of the Senate, and the Consent of the major Part of the *Tribunes of the People*; and the *Comitia* confirmed the Law. But it came too late; *Flavius* had already obtained the Honour he desired. These little Incidents may perhaps be thought below the Dignity of the History I write; but they may at least serve to shew us the great Extent of the Authority of the People; and to what a Pitch of Grandeur they raised the meanest Persons, either out of mere Capriciousness, or when they would reward their Services.

Cic. pro Muræna; & B. 6. ad Attic. Ep. 1.

Liv. B. 9. c. 46.



Silver.

³⁴ According to *Licinius Macer*, an old Annalist, quoted by *Livy*, *Flavius* had long renounced the Profession of a *Scribe*, when he stood for the *Curule Ædileship*: and in Proof of it, this Author says, he had been made *Tribune*, and twice *Triumvir*, before he was raised to the Dignity of *Ædile*.

³⁵ The *Romans* represented *Concord*, as a beneficent Divinity; and under this Persuasion erected several Temples to her. The ancient Monuments represent this Goddess, under the different Symbols of two Right Hands joined, with a *Caduceus* between them; of two Serpents twisted round an Al-

tar; of an Harp, whose Strings are unharmonious, unless it be tuned to an Unison; of two *Cornucopias*, to shew that *Concord* is the Source of all good things; and lastly, of two Hearts, united in one. On an old Silver Medal of the *Fontein* Family, we find the Head of *A Concord*, with this Inscription; P. FONTEIUS CAPITO. TRIUMVIR. CONCORDIA.

³⁶ We have already mentioned the Ceremonies observed by the *Romans*, in the Dedication of Temples, several times. See *B. 5. p. 218.* of the first Volume, *Note 71.*

S. X. AND

§. X. AND now, the Republick having no more Enemies which appeared formidable to her, since a Peace was settled with the *Hetrurians*, and the *Samnites* kept the Alliance they had made with her; she no longer gave herself any great Trouble, about chusing such *Consuls* as were Men of Ability in the Art of War. *Serv. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Genucius Aventinensis*, were placed at the Head of Affairs, and almost the whole time of their Administration was spent in Works of Peace. Colonies were sent to *Sora*, a City of *Latium*, on the Confines of *Campania*; and to ³⁷ *Alba*, a City in the Territory of the *Marfi*, which was a very different Place from the *Alba Longa* in *Latium*. The Romans who were sent to people and defend *Alba*, were in Number six thousand; and those sent to *Sora*, four thousand. The latter City had formerly received a *Roman Colony*, had put it to the Sword, and had surrendered itself up to the *Samnites*. But the Romans secured it ever after this time; the strong Garrison they now placed in it, kept the *Samnites* in Awe. At the same time, the Inhabitants of ³⁸ *Arpinum*, and ³⁹ *Trebula*, one in the Country of the *Volsci*, the other in *Campania*, had the Right of *Roman Citizenship* granted them; whilst those of ⁴⁰ *Fusino*, another City of the *Volsci*, were punished according to their Deserts. They were deprived of a third Part of their Lands, for having (as was well known) solicited the *Hernici* to revolt; and the Authors of the Revolt, after proper Informations had been brought against them by the *Consuls*, were beaten with Rods, and beheaded. Rome had not now, for a long time, enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity; and just began to taste the Sweets of it, when a sudden Storm arose, which was neither long nor dangerous; but the Presence of a *Roman General* was necessary to lay it. A Troop of Robbers had assembled together in *Umbria*, and ravaged the Country far and near. Their Retreat was a deep Cave dug in the Rock, into which there were only two Entrances, which were both narrow, and pretty difficult to find out. However, the Romans secured the principal Entrance into the Grotto, and marched into it in good Order; but were driven back with Stones, and retired with Wounds, which were not much to their Honour. Nevertheless, the Besiegers did not give over; they were so diligent, that they at length found the second Avenue, which was the Gate thro' which the Robbers went in and out at Pleasure; and then it was no difficult Matter to destroy them, without suffering one to escape. Great Fires were lighted at both Mouths of the Cave, and some of these Wretches, who were no less than two thousand in Number, were stifled with the Smoke, others threw themselves into the midst of the Flames, and perished in them.

§. XI. THIS trifling Expedition was followed by a War as inconsiderable. The Romans had sent out a *Colony* of six thousand Men to *Alba*, the last Year; and the *Æqui*, as much weakened as they were by the Victories of *Sempronius* and *Sub-*

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCL.SERV. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS, Consuls.
Velleius Paterculus, B. 1.Liv. B. 10.
C. 1.Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLI.

M. LIVIUS DENTER, M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Consuls.

³⁷ Ptolomy, and Antoninus's *Itinerary*, give the City of *Alba*, here spoken of, the Name of *Alba Fucentina*, or *Alba Fucentis*, to distinguish it from the old *Alba Longa*, and two other Cities of the same Name in *Italy*. It stood on the Side of an Hill, three Miles from the Lake *Fucinus*, and consequently in the Country of the *Marfi*, in the Center of which this Lake lay. *Cæsar*, *Festus*, and most ancient Geographers, give it this Situation. It did not therefore belong to the *Æqui*, as *Livy* pretends; tho' *Strabo* seems to favour his Opinion, when he says, that *Alba* which bordered upon the Territory of the *Marfi*, was the farthest up in the Country of any of the *Latin* Cities. We have the Testimonies of the greatest Number of Historians, to set against them. Besides, *Livy* may have designedly confounded the *Marfi* and *Æqui*, because these two Nations, which bordered upon one another, and often joined together against *Rome*, were thought to be but one People. *Appian* says, that the Romans made *Alba* a strong Place, when it came under their Dominion; tho' he at the same time speaks of it, as a little City, considerable for nothing, but its advantageous Situation. The Republick afterwards made it a secure Place, in which she kept Prisoners of War; and it to this Day retains its old Name, with the small Variation of being now called *Albe*, *Albi*.

³⁸ See above, §. VI. of this Book.

³⁹ Several Cities in *Italy* had the Name of *Trebula*. One of them, called *Trebula Mutusca*, was in *Sabinia*, seven Miles, and five hundred geometrical Paces from *Reate*, where *Monte Leone* now stands. Another, which stood likewise in *Sabinia*, tho' we don't know exactly where, was distinguished from the former, by the Name of *Trebula Suffena*. *Pliny* mentions both these Cities, B. 3. c. 12. *Trebulani qui cognominantur Mutuscai, & qui Suffenates*. Ancient Authors speak of another City of this Name, whose Inhabitants were called *Trebulani Balinenses*; and place it in *Campania*, on the Right Bank of the *Clanis*. It is conjectured, that it was not far from the Place, where *Trentola* now stands. *Cicero* had a *Villa*, in the Neighbourhood of this City, and it was from thence called *Trebulanum*. Tho' we can't be certain, to which of these three Cities, the *Roman Republick* granted the Right of *Citizenship*; yet it is probable, that *Livy* understood it of the latter. The Romans were then making War in these Parts, and probably were willing to gain the Good-will of the Nations newly conquered, by granting them these Privileges.

⁴⁰ The City of *Fusino*, now *Fraselone*, stood in the Country of the *Volsci*, near the River *Cosa*. Its Inhabitants are called *Frasinates*, by the *Latin* Authors.

picus,

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLI.

M. LIVIUS
DENTER,
M. ÆMILIUS
PAULUS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 10.
c. 1.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLI.

JUNIUS BRU-
TUS, Dictator.

Fast. Capit.

Plin. B. 35. c. 4.
Aul. Gel. &
Val. Max. B. 8.
c. 14. §. 6.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 2.

picius, took Umbrage at this neighbouring City, which the *Romans* seemed to have fortified so well, only to keep them in Awe. No sooner were the new *Consuls*, *M. Livius Denter*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus* ⁴¹, entered upon their Office but the *Æqui*, forgetting their present Weakness, and considering only their past Glory, mutinied, and took Arms. This rash Resolution gave *Rome* some Apprehensions; the weaker the *Æqui* were, the more surprizing it was to the *Roman*, that a subdued Nation should dare to rise. They believed the Revolt had been concerted with the neighbouring Nations, and expected to see them take Arms on a sudden, and fall on the Republick when they imagined she thought herself most secure. But perhaps no Republick ever neglected proper Precautions less than the *Roman*. Upon the first News of the Motions of the *Æqui*, she nominated the famous *Junius Brutus Dictator*; and he chose *M. Titinius* for his General of Horse. Whilst *Brutus* was preparing for his March, the *Æqui* entered the Country of the *Marsi*, and laid Siege to *Alba*: But the numerous *Roman* Garrison there was sufficient to defend it, and sustained the Efforts of the Enemy till the *Dictator* arrived. Nay, it had the Advantage of the Besiegers, and repulsed them: till at length the *Dictator* came, and then the Enemy, reduced to Despair, would not decline a Battle, but were soon punished for their Audaciousness. The valiant *Romans* overpowered them, upon the first Onset; and the *Dictator's* Victory was so quick, and so complete, that he was under no Necessity of tarrying in the Country to keep the Vanquished in Subjection; but immediately returned to *Rome*, and received the Honours of a Triumph. His Expedition was finished in eight Days; and he entered the City triumphantly, on *The Third of the Calends of August*. The remaining Part of his *Dictatorship* was made memorable by a pious Ceremony. *Junius Brutus* had made a Vow in his *Consulship*, to build a Temple to the Goddess of *Health*, had discharged this Vow, and built the Temple ⁴² on the Hill *Quirinalis*, when he was *Censor*; and nothing remained but to dedicate it, which he himself now did, when he was *Dictator*. No Ornaments for this magnificent Structure were spared; and this is the first time History mentions the Use of the Art of Painting in *Rome*, which was then practised by a Man of Distinction. *C. Fabius*, whose Name sufficiently shews the Nobility of his Extraction, did not think it beneath him to handle the Pencil, for the Honour of the Gods. He painted ⁴³ all the Walls of the Temple *Brutus* had built, in *Fresco*, and set his Name to his Work, that Posterity might know his Zeal for Religion, and his Skill in an Art which had been brought from *Greece* to *Hetruria*, before it came to *Rome*. *Fabius* gloried in the Surname of *Pictor*, or, *The Painter*, which he ever after bore, and transmitted to the illustrious Descendants of his Branch of the *Fabian* Family. We shall hereafter see a *Fabius Pictor* raised to the *Consulship*; and other *Fabii* of the same Surname signalize themselves in the first Employments in the Republick.

§. XII. BUT *Junius Brutus* seems to have had other Enemies to engage with during his *Dictatorship*, which were, till then, unknown to the *Romans*. Some Historians indeed rob him of the Glory of the Expedition we are going to relate in order to give it to *Æmilius*, one of the *Consuls* of the Year. And we shall therefore only affix the Name of *Brutus*, to our Narrative of this glorious Event without determining whether the Honour of it belonged to the *Dictator*, or the *Consul*. *Cleonymus* ⁴⁴ the *Lacedemonian*, of the Family of the *Agide*, and Son of *Cleomenes*, King of *Sparta*, was come from *Laconia*, with a large Fleet, and was endeavouring

⁴¹ The *Fasti Capitolini* have supplied us with the Surnames of these two *Consuls* for this Year. *Livy*, *Diodorus of Sicily*, *Marianus*, and *Cassiodorus*, have only given us their proper Arms. *Diodorus*, and the *Triumphal Tables*, have also told us what the *Prænomen* of *Æmilius* was, which none of the Authors last mentioned, had determined.

⁴² This Temple, which was built on the Top of the Hill *Quirinalis*, gave the Name of *Salutaris* to the neighbouring Gate, which was before called *Porta Collina*. See our Account of the Goddess *Salus*, p. 498. of this Volume, Note 70.

⁴³ *Pliny* tells us, B. 35. c. 4. that this Painting was preserved, till the Temple was consumed by a Fire, when *Claudius* was Emperor.

⁴⁴ This *Cleonymus* is, according to some Mo-

derns, the same, who after the Death of his Father *Cleomenes the Second*, King of *Sparta*, was excluded from the Throne by the *Lacedemonians*. Being grown odious to all the People, by his haughty Behaviour, and Violences, they all voted for *Areus* his Brother's Son. They revolted from the Uncle and bestowed the Royal Authority on his Nephew and this Disgrace was followed by the domestic Afflictions which he had to suffer from the impatient Temper, and loose Behaviour, of his Wife *Chelidonis*. She, in Contempt of her Husband, entered into a criminal Conversation with him; and the Disdain of this Princess, whose Beauty made her dear to him, could not but rouse him to Revenge. In his Fury he resolved to besiege his Rival in *Lacedemon*; and

endeavouring to settle in *Italy*, or at least to gain himself Renown, by some signal Adventures there. Being driven by the Winds towards ⁴⁵ *Thurium*, or *Thuria*, which before was called *Sybaris*, a City of *Lucania*, he took this important Post, and made himself Master of the Country between the River *Sybaris*, and the ⁴⁶ *Crathis*. But the Republick could not suffer him to enjoy a Conquest quietly, which so nearly affected her, since almost all the Eastern Parts of *Italy* were at least in Alliance with her; and the Dictator therefore set out to try what the Roman Valour could do against an Army of *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by the Son of a Spartan King. Indeed the Romans had been taught to despise the Greeks settled in *Italy*, by their late Conquests; but they had not yet tried their Strength with the Greeks, from the other Side the Water. The bare Name of *Lacedæmonians*, which was so renowned in *Peloponnesus*, must doubtless have alarmed the Romans; but it did not discourage them. Brutus led his Legions into *Lucania*, and there fought a Battel, in which he had all the Advantage. The *Lacedæmonians* being put to Flight by the Dictator, and very happy in being able to find a Retreat in their Ships, sailed away from *Thurium*, and left the *Lucani* in Tranquillity, and at Liberty to cultivate their Lands. But *Cleonymus*, tho' driven from a Country defending by the Romans, was not discouraged; nor did he lay aside all Thoughts of making Conquests in *Italy*. He sailed with a fair Wind to the Promontory of ⁴⁷ *Japygia*, coasted round it, and then entering the *Adriatick* Sea, appeared off ⁴⁸ *Brundisium*. There, being surprized with a sudden Storm, finding no Port to secure himself in, on the *Italian* Coast, and being afraid of drawing too near to ⁴⁹ *Illyricum*, *Istria*, or *Liburnia*, whose cruel Inhabitants were much dreaded for their Piracies, he suffered himself to drive before the Wind, and arrived at the extreme Part of *The Adriatick Gulph*, where he resolved to make a Descent. But this second Expedition of *Cleonymus* is foreign to my Subject; it is a Digression, which *Livy* is pleased to make, out of Regard to *Padua*, his native Country, whose Inhabitants had the greatest Share in the Victory gained over the *Lacedæmonians*. Nevertheless, we will follow him, tho' with different Views. We shall thereby inform ourselves beforehand of the Condition of this fine Part of *Italy*, whither the Roman Conquests had not yet reached, but which we shall soon see become a Part of them.

THE Coast on which *Cleonymus* arrived, was a flat Country, which was marshy;

engaged *Pyrrhus* to revenge his Quarrel. This King came to his Assistance, and laid Siege to the Capital; but this Expedition was not successful to either, as will appear, when we come to treat of *Pyrrhus's* Wars.

Diodorus Siculus speaks likewise of a *Lacedæmonian* called *Cleonymus*, who, he says, went into *Sicily*, to succour the *Tarentini*, then at War with the Romans. He took *Thurium*, in the Territory of the *Salentini*, according to *Livy*; and was put to Flight, by the Consul *Æmilius*. But it is easy to discover *Diodorus Siculus's* Mistake in this Account. The Roman Republick did not take Arms against *Tarentum*, till about the Year 472. How then could this Author carry this Event back as far as the present Year 451? We will not indeed venture to affirm, that the *Cleonymus* who landed in *Italy*, was the Son of *Cleomenes* King of *Lacedæmon*. But be that as it will; if we suppose they were two different Persons, yet it is at least certain, that they were both Contemporaries with *Pyrrhus*, or lived very near his time. The Family of the *Agide*, from which one of the two descended, trace their Origin as far back as to *Agis* King of *Sparta*, who made himself formidable to the *Athenians*.

⁴⁵ It is surprizing, that *Livy* should place this ancient City of *Thurium*, in the Territory of the *Salentini*; since all Geographers and Historians agree, that it stood in that Canton of *Lucania*, which now makes a Part of *The Basilicata*. This Mistake in Point of Geography, makes it credible, that his Text has been altered by the Copyists: upon which Supposition, some read *Rudias* instead of *Thurias*; and in Proof of it, observe, that the City, called *Rudias* by the Ancients, actually belonged to the *Salentini*.

This was the very City, which is said to have given Birth to *Ennius*; and the Place on which it formerly stood, is called *Ruia*, by the Natives, to this Day. See what we have said of *Thuria*, or *Thurium*, Vol. 1. p. 515. Note 22; and p. 418. of this Volume, Note 25.

⁴⁶ The *Crathis*, now the *Crati*, rises some Miles above *Cosenza*: The *Sybaris*, or the *Cochile*, discharges itself into the Sea, near the Mouth of it.

⁴⁷ The Promontory of *Japygia*, or Cape *Salentinum*, is already spoken of, under the Name of *S. Muria di Lenca*.

⁴⁸ *Brundisium*, a maritime City of *Calabria*, is now called *Brindisi*. See Book 22.

⁴⁹ Some of the ancient Geographers make *Illyricum* larger, some narrower. Some extend it from *The Lake of Constance* to the *Euxine* Sea, and from the *Adriatick* Sea to the *Danube*, and from Mount *Hemus* to the Mouth of that River. *Strabo* comprehends *Istria* and *Carniola*, within this vast Tract of Land. But others, as *Ptolomy*, confine it within narrower Limits. It now contains only that Country, which reaches all along the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea, as far as to the Frontiers of *Macedonia*; that is, only ancient *Liburnia*, and *Dalmatia*.

⁵⁰ By *Istria*, is generally understood that Province, which lies between *The Gulph of Triasto*, that of *Quarnero*, and *Liburnia*. The latter comprehended the Country, which is bounded by the Frontiers of *Istria*, by *Dalmazia* properly so called, and by the *Adriatick* Sea. We shall have occasion to give a particular Account of these three Countries hereafter.

and

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLI.
JUNIVS BRU-
TUS, Dictator.

and full of Ponds, formed by the Waters of the *Adige* and *Po*, mixed with the Sea. It was the very Place, where *Venice* was long after built. The People who then inhabited this Shore, were most probably descended from those *Gauls*, which formerly went into *Italy*. The *Lower* ⁵¹ *Bretons* of *Vannes*, which had settled on this Coast, still retained their ancient Name, and were called *Veneti*. A little higher up in the Country, was a City called *Patavium*, now *Padua*, which was built by *Antenor* the *Trojan*, if we credit Fable, or *Livy*; but which was probably the Work of the *Gauls*. ⁵² *Patavium*, and its Territory, were then watered by two Rivers, which both bore the Name of ⁵³ *Meduacus*, (which Name alone makes some learned Moderns conjecture, that it was given to these two Rivers by the *Gauls*) and discharged themselves into the *Adriatick* Sea. This was the fine Territory, on which *Cleonimus* had a Design; and he first landed some of his Men on the Strand, to reconnoitre the Country, and bring him an Account of it. The Spies observed, that a pretty narrow Dyke divided some Marshes, full of Sea-Water, which the Tide, tho' scarce sensible in any other Part of the *Mediterranean*, raised about two Foot, at certain times. They likewise reported, That beyond this Dyke were large Plains, bounded by Hills; That the Fields were watered by two Rivers, which discharged themselves into the *Adriatick* Gulph; and That they had seen some Vessels under Sail at the Mouths of them. By this Intelligence, the *Lacedæmonian* judged it a proper Place for a Descent; and advancing with his Barks, sought for the Mouth of the Rivers, in order to sail up them. Accordingly, the Barks easily entered them, but the great Ships drew too much Water to follow them. The flat-bottom Vessels were therefore loaded with a good Number of Soldiers, who were brought to a Place, where there were three Villages, which served for a Retreat for the Peasants, who manured the Country. There, the *Lacedæmonians* pillaged and sacked the Houses, carried off the Men and Cattel, and burnt all that they could not take away. After this, their Greediness of Booty carried them a great Way from their Ships, and all the Neighbourhood round *Patavium* took the Alarm. This City was well provided with warlike Citizens; the Insults she had Reason to fear from her Neighbours keeping her always upon her Guard; and her Inhabitants divided their Infantry into two small Bodies. One marched into the Heart of the Country, towards the Place where the *Greeks* were busy in plundering; the other kept to the Banks of the River, where the flat-bottomed Boats stopped, after the *Greeks* were landed; and the Battel the former fought with the Pillagers was successful. The *Lacedæmonians* fled, and being routed hastened to recover their Vessels; but the *Veneti* of the Neighbourhood, who were gathered together, intercepted them, and cut them in Pieces. As for the flat-bottomed Vessels, the other Body of *Paduans* fell upon them so suddenly, and with so much Ardour, that they killed the greatest Part of those who guarded them, and took a great Number of Prisoners. The rest escaped, by the Help of their Oars, to the opposite Bank, where there was no Enemy to fear. Nor was this all. The *Paduans*, learning by the *Lacedæmonians* their Prisoners, that *Cleonimus* with his great Vessels, lay at Anchor at the Mouth of the *Meduacus*, three Miles off, they immediately secured their Captives in the neighbouring Villages, went, some into their own Barks which they had made for passing their Rivers and Ponds, some into the Vessels they had taken from the Enemy, and made the best of their way towards the great Fleet, in order to attack it. Some of these Ships they found stranded on the Flats, others in Perplexity which way to steer, lest they should run foul on the Coasts which they were not acquainted with; and they surrounded them all. The *Greeks* made only a faint Resistance, but were very precipitate in their Flight. The *Paduans* pursued them to the Mouth of the River, where they burnt those Vessels which had run aground in the Hurry of the Flight; and *Cleonimus* did not

⁵¹ See what we have said of the Origin of the *Veneti*, p. 7. of this Volume, Note 40.

⁵² One of the two Rivers which water the Territory of *Padua*, is called by the ancient Geographers, *Meduacus Major*, the other *Meduacus Minor*. They both rise in *Rhetia*, or the Country of the *Grisoni*, and discharge themselves into the *Adriatick* Gulph. The first, now called *Brenta*, ran beyond *Padua* towards the North. The little *Meduacus* washed the Walls of the City; and is now

called *Bacchiglione*.

⁵³ *Patavium*, or *Padua*, was always reckoned among the chief Cities of *Italy*. It is now one of the most considerable in the Republick of *Venice*. Its Inhabitants were thought to be descended from the *Veneti*, a People of *Lower Bretagne*, who settled in this Country, after they had driven out the Natives, as has been observed already, p. 7. of this Volume, Note 40.

out to Sea, till he had lost five Parts in six of his Fleet. Then he returned to *Laconia*, without having done any Execution, on the Coasts of *The Adriatick Sea*. As for the *Paduans*, they adorned an old Temple of *Juno* with the Beaks of the Ships which had been taken from the Enemy, where they continued long after. Nor did this alone content them; they, in Memory of this glorious Victory, instituted a Festival, which was annually solemnized, with a Representation of a Sea-Fight, in the middle of the City, on that River which run thro' it. We have taken this Account of an Adventure which is foreign to our Subject, from *Livy*; but tho' we have had the Complaisance to join with him, in doing Honour to his native Country, we have not imitated him in the Hatred which he shews both in this, and other Places, to the ancient *Gauls*.

§. XIII. In the mean time ⁵⁴ *Rome* was threatened with two Wars, one upon the Back of another, which made her nominate two *Dictators* successively. They continued in Office ⁵⁵ a whole Year, each his six Months; so that there was no Necessity for chusing *Consuls* to govern the Republick, during that time. Indeed the *Consulship* was now in a manner reduced to a mere military Employment, which could be discharged as well by *Dictators* as *Consuls*. The ⁵⁶ *Marsi* had just revolted, and broken their Confederacy with *Rome*, by Acts of Hostility; and without doubt, one of the *Consuls* of the last Year was obliged to nominate ⁵⁷ *Fabius Maximus* to the *Dictatorship*. This Great Man discharged his new Office with the same Ability

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Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS, Dictator.

⁵⁴ Without the Assistance of the *Fasti Capitolini*, it would be impossible to digest the Occurrences of this Year, in a chronological Order. *Livy* himself is so far from being a Guide to us, that he seems to grope in the dark, not knowing what Road to take. The Confusion which appears in his Narration, is a sufficient Proof, that he knew not in what Order to place the Events we are going to mention, for want of authentick Memoirs.

⁵⁵ *Livy* has not distinguished this Year 452 from the preceding one, but confounded them both together. Inasmuch that he seems to suppose, that the two *Consuls* for the last Year, abdicated before the Expiration of it, in order to lodge the Government first in the Hands of *C. Junius* the *Dictator*, and then in two more *Dictators* after him: *Cassiodorus*, and several modern Annalists, have fallen into the same Error, as well as the *Roman Historians*. But the Remains we have of the *Capitoline Tables*, leave us no room to doubt, that the two *Dictators* who are coming upon the Stage, governed the Republick in a different Year, from the preceding *Consular* one. Besides, the *Triumphal Tables* record the Triumph of the *Dictator Junius* in the Year 451, and that of the *Consul Fulvius*, in the Year 455. And in order therefore to make out the Years, between the Year of *Rome* 451, and the Year 455, we must allow one whole Year to the two *Dictators*, here spoken of, *Fabius* and *Valerius*; otherwise *Cneius Fulvius's* Year will be the 454th, and not the 455th. And we have also another Proof of the Truth of this Order, in *Cicero de Officiis*; where speaking of *Appius Claudius Cæcilius*, he says, that there were ten Years between his first and second *Consulship*. Now *Appius* was *Consul* the first time, in the Year of *Rome* 446, and the second time, in the Year 457. This makes the ten Years difference; which we must reduce to nine, if we cut off the Year, which the *Fasti Capitolini* allow to the two *Dictators*, *Fabius* and *Valerius*. *Livy* is therefore been guilty of a Mistake, in placing the Facts under the Year 451, which he ought to have carried on to the Year 452. *Cuspinian*, by comparing the Years of *Rome* with those of the *Olympiads*, found out this Mistake of *Livy*, and *Cassiodorus*; but in endeavouring to avoid it, he fell into another. Being deceived by bad Memoirs, he gives the two *Dictators*, *Quintus Fabius*, and *Aureus Valerius*, only the Rank of *Consuls*, and not that of *Dictators*, by their Surnames of *Rullianus* and *Corvus*. And if *Valerius Corvus's* *Dictatorship* were

to be reduced to a *Consulship*, it is certain it would be his fifth *Consulship*, and not his second, as *Cuspinian*, by Mistake, thought it to be.

⁵⁶ The Colony *Rome* sent to *Carseolis*, a City of the *Aequi*, according to *Livy*, gave occasion to the Revolt of the *Marsi*. *Simul Marsos agrum vitucri, in quem Colonia Carseoli deducta erat*. This Passage seems to imply, that the *Roman Republick* had assigned a Part of the neighbouring Territory which belonged to the *Marsi*, to the new Colony. The latter, probably enraged at being deprived of their ancient Inheritances, that they might be divided among New-comers, undertook to oppose this unjust Usurpation sword in Hand. The City of *Carseolis* stood on the Right Bank of the *Anio*, or *Teverone*, near *The Valerian Way*. It is now called *Arsuli*. The *Romans* afterwards made it a strong Place, in which they confined their Prisoners of War. *Ovid* speaks of it, *Fasti*, B. 2. and says, the Soil about it was not fit for Olives; but in return for that, produced a great deal of Corn:

*Frigida Carseolis, nec Olivis apta ferendis
Terra, sed ad Segetes ingeniosus Ager.*

⁵⁷ According to *Livy*, the *Dictatorship* was only conferred on *Valerius*, who made *Marcus Æmilius Paulus* his General of Horse, and not *Quintus Fabius*, as some ancient Authors imagined: and he gives his Reason, why he inclines to favour *Æmilius*. It is, says he, very improbable, that *Quintus Fabius*, who was so venerable for his Age, and the Employments he had been honoured with, should act as a Subaltern under *Valerius*. To which he adds, that the Surname of *Maximus* gave Rise to the Mistake. But it must be confessed, that *Livy* expresses himself so obscurely, as to this last Particular, that it is scarce possible to make Sense of what he says. It is very true, that the Surname of *Maximus* was common in the *Valerian* and *Fabian* Families; but does it follow from thence, that therefore some People may have confounded *Æmilius Paulus* with *Quintus Fabius*? The former had not the Surname of *Maximus*; and therefore there was no Danger of taking him for one who had it. Perhaps he meant, that some, deceived by the Surname of *Maximus*, fancied, that *Quintus Fabius* exercised the *Dictatorship*, without *Valerius*. But be that as it will; it is certain that *Livy* mistakes in making *Valerius* the only *Dictator*; the *Fasti Capitolini* expressly contradict him. On the one hand, we find the Surname of *Maximus* given to the first *Dictator* in

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lity and Success which attended him in all Places. He had made *Emilius Paulus* his General of Horse; and one single Victory which they gained over the *Marsi*, dispersed the Army of the Enemy. The Rebels fled for Refuge to their strongest Places, which the *Dictator* took by Force. He made himself Master of the three Cities of *Milonia*, *Plestinia*, and *Fresilia*, in a few Days; and the Revolters were punished, with being deprived of a Part of their Lands. By this means the *Dictator* first quieted the Country, and then granted it the same Privileges it had enjoyed before. But *Fabius* did not triumph, after an Expedition which wholly concerned the bringing back Allies to their Duty. The obtaining a Triumph depended as much on the Nature of the Wars in which the Generals were employed, as on their Valour and good Conduct.

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VALERIUS
CORYVS MAX-
IMVS, Dicta-
tor.
Fast. Capit.
Liv. B. 10. c. 3.

S. XIV. THE Alarm of a new War, was what made the Republick have Recourse to a second *Dictator*. But we cannot discover either by whom, or how, this *Dictator* was nominated. Even *Livy* himself is defective in his History of this Year; and the best Accounts we can collect concerning it, are as follow. The *Hetrurians* had taken up Arms anew, and the domestick Broils which had arisen in *Hetruria*, seemed very likely to turn at last to the Prejudice of the *Roman* Republick. The two powerful Families of the *Aretini*, and the *Cilnians*, had raised this Storm. *Cilnius* was the Head of the *Cilnian* Family; and his great Wealth raised the Jealousy of the *Aretini*, who had Interest enough to prevail on the *Hetrurians* to take Arms, to drive *Cilnius* out of his native Country. It is indeed highly probable that the latter had entered into Engagements with *Rome*, since it was her Practice to bring the most powerful Families in her Neighbourhood into her Interest, by her Negotiations; but whether that were the Case or not, the Republick thought it necessary to march to *Cilnius's* Assistance, and suppress the Faction of those who envied him. In order to this, she raised *Valerius Corvus*, surnamed *Maximus*, (who had been four times *Consul* already, but whom the Republick had now suffered to lie buried in Oblivion many Years,) to the *Dictatorship*, a second time. This Great Man appeared again in publick Life, all on a sudden; and took upon him the Command of an Army, tho' very much advanced in Years. His General of Horse was *P. Sempronius Sophus*; a Man who was both an able Soldier, and Civilian; and yet he seems to have forgotten himself, on an Occasion wherein he ought to have shewn more Prudence, and a Regard for the Laws of War. As soon as the *Roman* Army was entered into *Hetruria*, and come within reach of the Enemy, *Valerius* remembered that there had been some Defect in the Ceremony of his

in the Year 452; and on the other, we find the Triumph of *Valerius Corvus*, who is called *Dictator*, mentioned in the same Year. So that there were two Magistrates who exercised the *Dictatorship*; one of which has the Surname of *Maximus*; the other is called *Valerius Corvus*, in the *Triumphal Tables*. All that remains, is, to know who it is, that is here called *Maximus*; and all Circumstances concur in making it most probable, that the Opinion of *Sigonius* and *Pighius* is the true one, who think that *Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus* was the Man. *Livy's* Account, the *Fasti of Cuspinian*, which make him *Valerius's* Collegue in the Year 452, the Reputation this great Man had acquired, and the Advantages he had gained over the Enemies of the Republick, all make it likely, that he was the first pitched upon, to subdue two rebellious Nations. And if we suppose this *Dictatorship* to have been thus divided between *Fabius* and *Valerius*, this will give us a Key to the unconnected Passage of *Livy* before spoken of; wherein he says, that the Surname of *Maximus* had led some into an Error. *Dictus M. Valerius Dictator, Magistrum Equitum sibi legio M. Emilium Paulum. Id magis credo, quam Quintum Fabium, ea etate, atque eis Honoribus, Valerio subjectum. Ceterum ex Maximi Cognamine ortum errorem haud abnuerim.* What Mistake does he here mean? It was this. The ancient *Fasti* shewed, that *Valerius Maximus*, and *Fabius Maximus*, had been successively raised to the *Dictatorship*. And it being unusual to create two *Dictators* immediately after one another, in the same

Year; some therefore thought that only the first of the two Magistrates, namely *Valerius*, whose Names they found in the Annals, had really been *Dictator*, and that *Quintus Fabius* had only been General of Horse.

58 *Livy* seems to be inconsistent with himself, as to the Situation of the Cities of *Milonia* and *Plestinia*. Here he says, that *Milonia* belonged to the *Marsi*; and in another Place, B. 10. he says, that this City was taken from the *Samnites* by the *Romans*. In his ninth Book, he speaks of a City of *Plestinia*, (which *Cluverius* thinks was the same with *Plestinia*) places it in *Samnium*, and calls it a City in Alliance with *Rome*: and yet he here owns, that it belonged to the *Marsi*. *Sigonius*, to avoid the Contradiction, supposes that *Milonia* and *Plestinia* were two different Cities from *Milonia* and *Plestinia*; so that, according to him, the two former belonged to the *Marsi*, and the two latter to the *Samnites*. But he gives us no Proofs of his Conjecture. Besides, *The Abridger of Stephens* reckons *Milouia* among the Cities which stood on the Confines of *Samnium*, and of the Canton of the *Peligni*. And lastly, it is no uncommon thing for ancient Authors to confound the *Marsi* with the *Samnites*. These two Nations bordered upon one another, were united in Interest against the *Romans* their common Enemies, and were therefore thought to be one and the same Nation. As for the City of *Fresilia*, it is plain, from what *Livy* says of it, that it stood near the two former.

Investiture; and the Scruple made him go back to *Rome*, to be inaugurated anew. During his Absence, the General of Horse ventured to make an Incursion without Orders, and fell into an Ambuscade which the Enemy had prepared for him. The *Romans* were worsted in the Engagement; some of their *Colours* were taken; a great many of their Men killed; the rest routed, and forced to retire to their Camp. And the News of this Defeat caused more Uneasiness in *Rome*, than the Loss deserved. But Men accustomed to Prosperity, are terrified at the smallest Disadvantages. In Testimony of their Grief, the *Romans* shut up their Courts of Justice at *Rome*, as was usual when a whole Army had been cut in Pieces. They strengthened the Guard at the Gates of the City; raised Levies among the Citizens, in all the Quarters of *Rome*, to stand Centinels on the Ramparts; brought Arms thither of all Sorts; and lastly, swore all the Youth, which were enrolled, and led to the Camp, by the *Dictator*. But *Valerius*, upon his Arrival, found Things in a much better Condition than Fame had represented them. The General of Horse had changed his Post, since the Diminution of his Forces, and had encamped in a Place which was more safe, and less accessible. The *Manipuli*, which had lost their *Colours*, were forced to continue Day and Night, in great Shame and Disgrace, without the Camp, where they had no Tents, or any other Covering; and the whole Army desired nothing so much as a Battel, that they might have their Revenge. When the *Dictator* had himself seen the good Disposition of his Troops, he led them into the Fields of ⁵⁹ *Russellæ*, one of the twelve Capitals of *Hetruria*; pretty near the Sea, and not far from the Lake ⁶⁰ *Prilis*. The *Hetrurians* marched after the *Romans*, and, proud of their first Success, hoped to have had the like in a general Action. But nevertheless, they did not neglect those Stratagems of War, in which they had succeeded. They observed, That at some Distance from the *Roman* Camp, *Fulvius*, one of the *Dictator's* Lieutenant-Generals, had possessed himself of a Fort, which he defended with a pretty good Number of Troops; and, That there were near the Fort, the Ruins of a Village which the *Romans* had burnt in their Passage: and they thought, they might there lay an Ambush for *Fulvius*, draw him thither with the Hopes of Booty, and seize his Post, if he marched out of it. With this View, they hid a great Number of Soldiers behind the Rubbish of the ruined Houses, and the *Romans* could see nothing but Flocks of Cattel feeding upon the Grass, which was grown up in the Village, since it had been destroyed. An *Hetrurian* Officer, disguised like a Shepherd, kept the Flocks; and as a Bait for the *Romans*, brought them within their Sight. But *Fulvius* did not suffer himself to be imposed upon by Appearances; not one of his Men quitted his Post. Then the Head of these pretended Shepherds advanced quite to the Ramparts of the Fort, and cried out with a loud Voice, to the Shepherds his Companions; *Why do you loiter there? Why don't you make Haste and bring our Flocks on? You may safely lead them quite thro' the Roman Camp.* He spoke this in the *Hetrurian* Language; but *Fulvius* happened very fortunately to have some *Carites* in his Detachment. They, tho' *Hetrurians* by Extraction, were *Romans* by Inclination; *Care*, their native City, having long been turned into a *Roman Colony*; and *Fulvius* ordered them to watch the Behaviour and Discourse of this pretended Shepherd. They found that he did not speak the Jargon of the Peasants of *Hetruria*, and observed that he had nothing rustick in his Air: And upon their Report to *Fulvius*, he commanded them to go and tell this pretended Shepherd, from the Top of the Ramparts, *That it was as difficult to deceive the Romans, as to vanquish them.* Upon which Words, the *Hetrurian*, who saw his Stratagem was discovered, threw off the Mask, and ordered his Troops which lay in Ambush, to come out of the Village, and appear in the Plain. *Fulvius* saw them march, *Colours* flying, and judging by their Numbers, that he was not able to sustain their Attack, sent to the *Dictator's* Camp; which was not far off, for Succours. In the mean time, the *Hetrurians* besieged the Fort, *Fulvius* made a vigorous Resistance, and whilst the brave Lieutenant-General was fighting with Courage, the News of the Danger of the *Roman* Detachment was brought to the Camp; upon which, the Ardour of the *Legions* to fly to its Relief, was not to be expressed. Their natural Valour, their Love for their Companions, and the Desire of revenging the Disgrace they had received, during

⁵⁹ See B. 3. p. 113. of the first Volume, Note 34. is now known by the Name of *Lago di Castiglione*.
⁶⁰ The Lake *Prilis*, which *Pliny* calls a River, *lione*.

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CORVUS MAX-
IMUS, Dicta-
tor.

the *Dictator's* Absence, all conspired to animate and invigorate them. They prevented the General's Orders for taking their Arms, and repairing to their Colours. All he could do, was only to restrain a little the Impetuosity of his Troops, and prevent their marching to; or falling upon, the Enemy in Confusion. What encreased their Earnestness, was the Shouts of the Combatants, which they heard at a distance, and which redoubled in proportion as the Attacks were renewed. So that the *Romans* mutually exhorted one another to hasten their Pace, and encouraged their Ensigns to march fast; but the greater the Ardour of the Soldiers was, the more the prudent *Dictator* endeavoured to temper it, and ordered them to march slowly. In the mean while, *Fulvius* had all the Forces of the *Hetrurians* upon him, who were gathered together round the Fort; Expresses were continually coming to the *Dictator*, to tell him the Danger to which the Besieged were exposed; and *Valerius* himself saw the Difficulties they struggled with, from an Eminence. But all this did not stagger him. He believed the Besieged had Valour enough to be able to sustain the Efforts of the Enemy some time longer. Besides, he himself was near enough to relieve them, in case of extreme Necessity; and he thought it a Matter of the last Consequence, to let the *Hetrurians* spend their Fire in attacking the Rampart. His Design was prudent, and was crowned with Success. The *Dictator* continued advancing, but so slowly, as not to fatigue his Men; and this very Delay quickened their Desires of coming to a Battel. At length, the *Roman* Army approached so near the Enemy, as to be able immediately to begin the Action; and then the *Dictator*, who intended to surprize the *Hetrurians*, artfully drew up his Men in such a manner as to leave no Room in the two Wings of his Army for his Cavalry. His Infantry only faced the first Line of *Hetrurian* Infantry: But he had left several large Spaces between the different Corps of his Foot, through which his Horse could freely pass, and come up to the Enemy. And indeed, upon the first Shout of the *Romans*, it was not the Infantry that gave the Onset, but the *Roman* Squadrons rode thro' their Battalions full Speed, and came and fell upon the *Hetrurian* Foot, who did not expect them; and who not being prepared to sustain this sudden Irruption of the Cavalry, were affrighted, and put into Disorder. Then *Fulvius's* Detachment, tho' not succoured till late, and invested on all Sides, had Time to breathe. None engaged but the *Dictator's* fresh Troops; and the Battel was neither long, nor doubtful. The *Hetrurians* were put into Disorder, and returned towards their Camp, which they soon reached, and crouded themselves up in one Corner of it. Those who wanted to get out of it, hindered one another, by pressing too fast to the Gates, which were too little to let out so great a Number of Fugitives. The greatest part of the Vanquished mounted the Ramparts of the Camp, either to defend themselves, or in order to find out some Way to escape; which a lucky Accident made very easy. The Rampart of Earth, on that Side of the Camp to which they retired, was ill built, and it gave way under their Feet. Thus Chance opened them a Passage to escape; which they took Advantage of, and returned Thanks to the Gods for it. By this means a good Number of the Enemy got away; but, for the most part, without Arms. This new Overthrow weakened the *Hetrurians* extremely; and they finding by their Losses, that their State was upon the Brink of Ruin, had Recourse to the Clemency of the *Dictator*, and prayed him to grant them a Suspension of Arms, and Leave to send to *Rome* to treat of a Peace. *Valerius* complied; but upon these two Preliminaries, That the Conquered should furnish the Conquerors with two Months Provisions, and give his Troops a Year's Pay. In the City, the Senate and People deliberated, whether it were proper to shew the Suppliants Favour; and judging it best not to give them all they asked, only granted them a Truce for two Years. This Action of *Valerius Corvus* was of too much Importance to the State, and his Conduct in it had been too prudent, not to be rewarded; and therefore the Honours of a Triumph were granted him, and he entered *Rome* in Pomp ⁶¹ a fourth time, on *The Tenth of the Calends of December*.

Fast. Capit.

⁶¹ Though *Valerius Corvus* had also the Sur-name of *Maximus*, as *Aulus Gellius* observes; yet we must take Care how we confound him with

another *Valerius Maximus*, who had not yet been *Dictator*, and who triumphed but once.

S. XV. AND now, the Republick being too much indebted to *Valerius*, to suffer him to fall again into Obscurity, she honoured his old Age with the *Consulship*, to which he was promoted a fifth time; and one *Q. Apuleius*, surnamed *Pansa*, was made his Collegue. When, during the *Interregnum*, the *Comitia* were held in the *Campus Martius*, for the Election of *Consuls*, *Valerius* was yet in the Field; so that this great Man was chosen in his Absence. And the Suffrages of the People favouring also the brave *Fulvius*, who had defended the Fort against the whole *Hetrurian* Army with Steadiness, and by his brave Resistance, paved the Way for his *Dictator's* Victory; he, from being a Lieutenant-General in the Army, was now made *Prætor* of *Rome*, and thereby first introduced into the superior Magistracies. So true is it, that in these fortunate Ages of the Republick, no important Piece of Service was suffered to pass unrewarded! As for the new *Consuls*, they had no difficult Wars with powerful Nations to maintain. The *Samnites*, so often vanquished, kept the Treaties they had made with *Rome*, rather for want of Power to take Arms, than out of any sincere Love for Peace: and the *Hetrurians*, on the other hand, continued quiet after their Losses, and enjoyed the Truce *Rome* had granted them. But it was the Fate of *Rome*, to be in Commotions at home, whenever she had no Enemies abroad. Two *Tribunes of the People* of the same Family, and probably Brothers, undertook to embroil the People with the Nobility. They were both *Ogulnii*; and the *Prænomen* of one was *Quintus*, of the other *Cneius*. These two Brothers did their utmost to stir up the whole Body of the Commons against the *Patricians*: but the most factious *Plebeians* having been lately removed elsewhere, and the Senate having purged the City of the most seditious Part of the Populace, by the great Number of *Colonies* planted in the conquered Countries; the *Ogulnii* therefore found it necessary to confine their Design, to the engaging the Heads of the *Plebeians* only, in a Faction against the Nobility.

ROME had hitherto divided all publick Honours equally between the two Parties; and this had preserved Union among all Orders of Men in the Republick. The *Plebeians* had their Share in the *Consulship*, *Censorship*, *Prætorship*, *Curule Ædileship*, and *Quæstorship*. These Offices were equally divided between *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. There was no Dignity, into which the *Plebeian* Families were not admitted, except the Priesthood, or rather the Colleges of *Pontifices*, and *Augurs*. The absolute Direction of the Worship of the Gods, was the only Remains of Distinction, which the Nobility had preserved entire to themselves, the Commons having made but slight Attempts towards it; and this was the ⁶² Bone of Contention, which the *Ogulnii* threw in the Way, in order to divide the City. They drew

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⁶² It is not to be wondered at, that in a popular Government, the Dignities of *Augur* and *Pontifex* should excite the Ambition of the *Plebeians*. We think it proper to add, to what we have already observed, in several Places, of the Prerogatives inseparably annexed to the *Pontificate* and *Augurate*; that the *Pontifices* were honoured with all the Distinctions annexed to the supreme Magistracy. They had *Apparitores*, *Scribes*, and publick Criers, always attending them, and at their Command. They were always guarded by two *Lictors*, if we receive the Conjecture of some Moderns. The *Prætecta*, or Robe embroidered with Purple, was their usual Habit. It is past doubt, that the Republick gave them the Honour of the *Curule Chair*, since she granted it to the *Vestals*, and the *Flamines* of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and *Quirinus*, tho' inferior in Rank to the *Pontifices*. And lastly, the Sacerdotal Dignity had this Advantage over the Civil Magistracies; that whilst the latter were only transient, and for a certain time, those who were once invested with the Priesthood, enjoyed it during Life, unless convicted of some Crime. In that Case indeed, they were degraded by the *Pontifex Maximus*, who had the Inspection over the *Pontifical* College; and others were chosen in the room of the Criminals. But the most considerable of all these Privileges, which they still preserved, was that which exempted them from the

Jurisdiction of the People and Senate, in civil and criminal Affairs.

As for the *Augurs*, besides that they wore the Robe embroidered with Purple, by Way of Distinction, as the Magistrates of the first Order did; or at least the scarlet *Trabea*, according to some; it appears in what Honour they were in ancient *Rome*, by what has been already said in this History. Being in some measure the Arbiters of the Laws, Assemblies, and publick Deliberations, it was in their Power, under the Pretence of Religion, to suspend any Undertaking of Consequence, on the Part of the Gods, whose Interpreters and Deputies they pretended to be. Nay, it often happened, that they disannulled a Decree of the Senate, or a *Plebiscitum*. So that their Authority at last became so venerable, that they were not liable to Degradation, on any account whatsoever. The *Augural* Dignity, which was for Life, screened them from all criminal Prosecutions: tho' this Privilege had no better Foundation, than the Prejudices of a superstitious People. The Principles of the *Augural* Science passed for so many sacred Mysteries, which could not be revealed to the prophane, without Irreligion. For this reason, those who were admitted into the *Augural* College, engaged themselves by the most solemn Oaths, not to divulge these Secrets to the World. And as it was their Interest not to disclose

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Liv. B. 10. c. 6.

drew up a Petition, and desired the assembled People, to give the many *Plebeians* who had been distinguished by *Consulships* and Triumphs, leave to share the *Pontificate*, and be admitted among the *Augurs*. Ever since *Numa's* Time, there had been but four *Pontifices* in *Rome*; and *Romulus*, who had instituted the *Augurs*, had chosen but three, one out of each *Tribe*. Afterwards this Number was increased; and tho' it is not known when the Addition was made, it's certain three others were added to the three former; so that their exact Number at this time was six: tho' the Superstition still prevailed, which required that they should always be of an unequal Number. But a subtle Distinction had been found out, to hinder Religion from suffering by it; the three of the first, and the three of the second Institution, were counted separately. Nevertheless, when the Question came to be started, about admitting *Plebeians* into the *Augural* College, there were but four *Augurs* in *Rome*; perhaps by the Death of two of them. But however that be, the *Ogulnii* presented their Petition, which was this; *That four Plebeian Pontifices should be added to the four Patrician; and That, as the College of the Augurs was then reduced to four Persons only, it should be filled up with five more, all chosen out of the People.* These nine *Augurs* were to be reckoned as three times three, after this third Creation; and so each to make an uneven Number, according to Law. The Nobility were under the utmost Uneasiness, to see this last Distinction between them and the Commons taken from them; but past Experience made them the less active in defending a Privilege, which was as ancient as *Rome* itself.

THE *Patricians* had found how fruitless their Opposition had been, when they had attempted to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Consulship*; but nevertheless they openly declared, *That in the present Case, the Innovation was a wicked Attempt against the Gods themselves, who would revenge their injured Honour.* May Heaven, added they, *avert the Evils with which we are threatened!* These Complaints arose from a Distrust of their own Strength. The Faction of the People had always been successful in their Struggles with the Nobility: But nevertheless, there was one *Patrician*, who seems to have undertaken to defend the Privileges of his Body, out of pure Caprice. This was the same famous *Appius Claudius*, who in his *Censorship* was wholly devoted to the *Plebeian* Party; but now, mere Humour, or some new Interest in view, had brought him back to the *Patricians*; and the same Man who had so far debased the Senate, as to introduce the Sons of *Freedmen* into it, became the most zealous Defender of the Nobility. He had forgotten his former Project, of prophaning the Priesthood, by lodging it in the vilest Hands; and he even harangued the People, in favour of the *Patricians*. But as all his Harangue was Repetition, and turned wholly upon what had formerly been pleaded to hinder the *Plebeian* Families from being every Year admitted into the *Consulship*, the Historians have not transmitted it down to us. *Appius's* Opponent was *P. Decius Mus*, a *Plebeian* of great Distinction; whom we have already seen twice *Consul*, once *Dictator*, and once *Censor*; and he spoke in Behalf of the People, with all the Weight and Dignity which his Employments, his Credit, and the Reputation of his Virtue, gave him. He made the same Answers to *Appius's* trite Objections, which the Defenders of the *Plebeians* had all along given to them, when Disputes arose about admitting them into the highest Offices; and to them he added some new Strokes, which the Historians have not omitted, and which therefore we shall not pass over.

THE Advocate for the People laboured to shew, that the Ministry of the *Plebeians*, in the sacerdotal Offices, would be as acceptable to the Gods, as that of the *Patricians*; and his Proof of it was new, and taken from his own Family. He

an Art, the Vanity of which was well known to them; they very well understood how to make great Advantage of the common Deceit, in order to gain themselves Credit, and absolute Authority over the Minds of Men. Lest therefore the *Augurs* should think themselves discharged from their Oaths, if they were deprived of their Dignity, the Law-givers thought fit to give them an unalienable Right to it. The Discharge of a Ministry of this Importance, must doubtless have made it necessary, to be very

cautious, what Persons were invested with it; and the Laws therefore required, That they should be sound in Body and Mind. An *Augur* seized with a Fit of Sickness, or who had an Ulcer about him, could not lawfully discharge his Office. The annexing so many Privileges to the *Augurate*, was what induced the *Roman Emperors* to assume the Title of *Augur Maximus*, or Master of the *Augural* College, in order to gain themselves the more Veneration from the People, and to enlarge their Power.

quoted

quoted the Example of his own Father, who had *devoted himself* to the Gods, about forty six Years before, for the Service of his Country. *Decius* the Father was then *Consul*, and *T. Manlius* was his Collegue. These two Great Men had made War with the *Latins* together; but *Decius* had been the only Man who had sacrificed himself to the *Manes*, and had, according to the prevailing Prejudice of that time, merited the Victory, by shedding his own Blood. The Remembrance of so agreeable an Event, could not but do Honour to the Son of such a Father; and at the same time gain upon the Assembly in favour of the *Plebeians*, who had produced so brave a *Consul*, and so acceptable a Victim to Heaven, out of their Body: And it was here chiefly, that the Eloquence of the *Consul* triumphed. He represented his Father at the Head of the *Roman Legions*, with his Robe girt about him, and lifted up upon a Spear, pronouncing the Form of Words whereby he *devoted himself*; and after this lively Description, he proceeded thus: *Was then the Sacrifice a Plebeian made of himself less acceptable than that of Manlius the Patrician would have been, if he had devoted himself, as my Father did? Could not this Decius, who gave so signal a Proof of his Piety, have been raised to the Priesthood, if he had desired it? Would his Birth have excluded him from a Ministry of which his Virtue had made him worthy? Will Appius dare to say, that he can perform the Ceremonies of Religion with purer Hands than my Father's? Recollect, and if you can, recount the Vows so many Plebeian Consuls and Dictators have made to the Gods, either when they set out for Wars, or in the Heat of Action. Were not these Vows accepted? Their Victories and Triumphs demonstrate that they were. Shall then our Plebeians have any room left to envy the old Nobility, after having been admitted into the first Dignities? Would the Senate or People place a greater Confidence in Heads chosen out of the Patricians, than in those of Plebeian Extraction, in case a new War should break out? The Republick has already conferred on us all the Marks of Honour which give Pre-eminence, and Distinction. Curule Chairs, purple Robes, embroidered Vests, Robes sprigged with palm Branches, triumphal Crowns, a Right to hang up the Spoils of the Enemy at our Doors; and, in short, all the Prerogatives annexed to distinguished Valour, you have already granted us. And what hinders you then from enabling us also to bear the Titles, and wear the Ornaments, of Pontifices and Augurs? Shall a Plebeian, whom we see enter Rome in Triumph, dressed like ⁶³ a Jupiter, who is drawn thro' the City in a gilt Chariot, and conducted to the Capitol, with the Acclamations of the People, be thought unworthy to appear in the Presence of the Gods, with his Head veiled, and carrying a Knife in his Hand, to slay the Victims, or a Vase to make Libations? Shall we be suffered to give ourselves, at the Bottoms of our Pictures, the Titles of Consuls, Dictators, Censors, and even Triumphant Victors, and yet not be permitted to write ourselves Pontifices, or Augurs? I will be bold to say, that Rome will never have any more Cause to repent of promoting us to the Priesthood, than she has had of having admitted us into the Consulship. As for the Gods, they whom we honour so acceptably in private, will never reject our Ministry in the publick Ceremonies. Have they disapproved of our being admitted into the two venerable sacerdotal Offices, of which we have already been possessed? Half the Decemviri, to whom is committed the Care of the Sybilline Books, have long been chosen out of the Plebeians; and it is from among us that the Priests are chosen for the Celebration of the Secular ⁶⁴ Games, in Honour to Apollo. Nor have you, who are now Pontifices, and Patrician Augurs, any Reason to be jealous of the Petition which two worthy Tribunes of the People now offer, in favour of the Plebeians: They don't pretend to displace you. There will still continue to be four Patrician Pontifices, and as many Patrician*

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PANSA, Con-
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Liv. B. 10.
c. 7.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 8.

⁶³ The Statue of Jupiter set up in the Capitol, was adorned with a Robe wrought with Gold; and the same Ornament was worn by those who enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph. For this reason, *Vopiscus* calls this stately Habit, *Capitolina Palmata*; or, as some imagine, because it was customary to take off Jupiter *Capitolinus's* Robe, and dress those who triumphed in it.

⁶⁴ *Livy* seems to speak here, only of the Games instituted in Honour of Apollo. The Decemviri indeed presided at this Festival; but it is certain, it was not known to the *Romans*, of this time. *Livy*

himself fixes the Institution of these Games to the Year 542. And it is therefore probable, that those here meant, are *The Secular Games*, which the *Romans* celebrated in Honour to all their Gods, and among the rest, to *Apollo*, and *Diana*. The first of the three Days, which were appointed for this Festival, was spent in Theatrical Sports to the Honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*; and the third, in singing Hymns to these Divinities; as we shall observe in another Place, when we come to speak of the Order and Pomp of *The Secular Games*.

Year of Augurs. *All the Difference is, that if four new Pontifices, and five Augurs, in order to make their Number unequal, be chosen out of our Body, you will then have the Benefit of their Assistance. They will be of the same Service to you in sacerdotal Offices, as they have been in the civil Administration, in commanding Armies, and numbering the People. Our Promotion will not prejudice yours. Will Appius think it a Dishonour to have a Plebeian his Associate in the Priesthood; when he thought it none, to have a Plebeian Collegue in the Censorship, and Consulship? Or would he be ashamed to become a General of Horse, under a Plebeian Dictator? And pray, from whence has he this Nobility, of which he boasts so much, and which, as he pretends, entitles him to such Advantages? One Actius Clausus, who afterwards took the Name of Appius Claudius, came to Rome from Sabinia; and our Patricians receiving him into their Body, he all at once became Noble. And what do we now desire of his Descendant, but that we may be admitted into the Number of the Pontifices and Augurs, as we ranked the first of his Ancestors among our Patricians? We shall at least carry with us into the sacerdotal Colleges, if we enter them, great Merit, important Services, and a long Series of Dignities. Shall we then, Appius, hear you eternally repeating, That the Patricians alone can shew their Descent, and prove themselves derived from a long Chain of Ancestors; and That, they alone have, for that Reason, a just Claim to Government, whether in the City, or the Camp? Let us look back a little into the Origin of this Title, which makes you so haughty; did you come down from Heaven with the Quality of Patricians? Surely not. Romulus bestowed it on your Ancestors, because they could prove themselves descended from Fathers of free Condition: Whereas I myself can boast of a Father who was honoured with the Consulship; and my Son may hereafter glory in a Grandfather and Father, who filled the highest Posts in the Republick. But why all these Reasonings? Our Adversaries are only raising Disputes: They know we gain all that they refuse us. I am therefore of Opinion, Romans, that you ought to comply with the Motion the Ogulnii have made, and pass it into a Law, by your Suffrages.*

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THIS Discourse was pronounced before the assembled *Curie*; Orders were already given, for calling the *Tribes* together, to determine the Affair in more honourable *Comitia* than those of the *Curie*; and it seemed impossible, but the *Plebeians* must prevail over the *Patricians*; when the latter had Recourse to an Artifice with which they had more than once succeeded. They gained over some of the *Tribunes of the People*, who opposed the Law, and the Assembly of the *Tribes* was therefore postponed to the next Day. But then the protesting *Tribunes* withdrew their Protests, upon the Advice, and at the Request, of their Collegues; and the Affair was determined in favour of the *Plebeians*, almost unanimously. The *Tribes* immediately chose four new *Pontifices*, and five new *Augurs*, out of the People. The new *Pontifices* were *Decius Mus*, who had been defending the Cause of the *Plebeians*, *Sempronius Sophus*, *C. Marcius Rutilus*, and *M. Livius Denter*; and the *Augurs* were, *C. Genucius*, *P. Ælius Pætus*, *M. Minucius Fessus*, *C. Marcius* and *T. Publilius*. Thus the College of the *Pontifices* was now made to consist of eight Persons; and that of the *Augurs* of nine; which Regulation took place, till the Dictatorship of *Sylla*, who increased both one and the other to fifteen Persons.

Florus, Epi-
tome 89.

§. XVI. The Ogulnian Law was the Work of the two *Tribunes of the People*; the Consul *Valerius* undertook to revive another Law, which had its Rise from his own Family. The *Valerian* Family is well known to have been always attached to the Interests of the Commons: and *Valerius Poplicola* in particular, who was one of the first Consuls after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, had made a Law, that in criminal Affairs, the Accused should have a Right of appealing to the *Tribunes of the People*. But the *Patricians* had often had Interest enough to interrupt the Execution of an Edict, which protected the Weak from their Violences; and the another *Valerius* had afterwards renewed this Law; yet the most Powerful had his Authority enough to cause the Execution of it to be again neglected. Unfortunate *Plebeians* were yet condemned to die, notwithstanding their Appeal to the People.

THE Consideration of this cruel Injustice therefore affected *Valerius Corvus* in his fifth Consulate; and the Peace which then reigned in Rome, gave him an Opportunity of reviving a neglected Law, for which the Commons were indebted to his Family. He drew it up in stronger, and more distinct Terms than before.

but the only Punishment it denounced against the Infractors of it, was this; *That Year of*
whoever should not have regard to a Citizen's Appeal to the People, in an Affair, R O M E
which concerned his Life, should be deemed guilty of an unjust, and an unreasonable CCCCLIII.
Action. So that no other Punishment was incurred by those who transgressed this *M. VALERIUS*
Law, but a Stain upon their Character, which always affects Men of Honour, in CORVUS, Q.
the most tender manner. A slight Punishment indeed for a more corrupted Age! APULRIUS
But sufficient at this time to restrain Romans, who piqued themselves upon their Pansa, Con-
Virtue, and who were never chosen for great Employments, unless they had pre- suls.
served their Reputation pure and untainted. We must, however, take care not to
confound this Law of Valerius, with another afterwards made by Porcius Læca, Cicero pro Ra-
concerning Appeals to the People. Porcius added this Clause to the Valerian Law; binio, Perduel-
That those also who were only condemned to be whipped, might appeal to the People lionis reo; &
assembled by Centuries. Denarius cita-
tus ab Augus- tinc.

BUT these Works of Peace at home, were soon interrupted by some slight Mo-
tions of the conquered Nations. The *Æqui*, who had been so often subdued,
that they were almost brought to nothing, gave way to their natural Restlessness,
and took Arms again. A less able General than *Valerius*, would have been suffi-
cient to have brought them to their Duty; however, he marched against them.
The Weakness of his Enemies detracted much from the Glory of his Victory,
which was so easily gained, that he did not obtain a Triumph for it. As for the *Liv. B. 10.*
Consul Apuleius, the Revolt of a City famous for its Mutinies, called him into *U-* C. 10.
mbria. This City was called *Nequinum*⁶⁵ from a *Latin* * Word, which signifies * *Nequitia.*
Breach of Faith, Perfidiousness, and a Corruption of Manners; but it afterwards
changed its Name, and was called *Narnia*, from the River⁶⁶ *Nar*, which runs by
it. *Nequinum* was then, with regard to Situation, one of the strongest Places in
Italy. It was built upon the Edge of a Rock, cut into Precipices; was too in-
accessible to be taken by Assault; and was ill situated for an Army to encamp
round it, and to invest it. Nevertheless, *Apuleius* ventured to lay Siege to it; but
the Expiration of his *Consulship* drawing near, and it requiring Time to reduce the
Place, he left that to be completed by his Successors in the *Consulate.*

§.XVII. *ROME* held her *Comitia* in the *Campus Martius*; and there the fa- *Year of*
mous *Quintus Fabius* did, what no Man had done before him, since the Founda- *R O M E*
tion of *Rome.* He foresaw that the People would incline to chuse him *Consul*; CCCCLIV.
and he therefore prepared to divert a Blow, which he did not so much fear, out *M. FULVIUS*
of Modesty, as out of a refined Ambition. He considered, that the *Consulship* PATINUS, T.
would bring him little Honour, in a Year of Tranquillity; and that it would be MANLIUS
better to reserve the Good-will of the People for a time of War, when he might TORQUATUS,
take a Part, which might immortalize his Fame. He therefore did not march with Consuls.
the rest of the Nobles and *Plebeians*, to give his Suffrage in Order, in his *Century*,
but tarried at home; and posted Men all the Way from his House to the Place of
the Assembly, to bring an Account, what turn the Elections were like to take.
When he was informed, that all the *Centuries* were ready to make him *Consul*, tho'
he had not caused his Name to be entered among the Candidates; he sent to de-
sire the *Comitia* not to think any more of him at present, but reserve shewing him
those Marks of their Affection, till a more tempestuous Season. He did not dis-
own, that a pacifick Employment in the present Circumstances, would be more
agreeable to him, than the Command of Armies; and nothing can better testify,
the universal Esteem the brave *Fabius* was in, among the *Romans*, than their
complying with his Desires, as soon as they knew them. They deferred chusing
him *Consul*, and only raised him to the *Curule Ædileship*, with *Papirius Cursor*,

⁶⁵ The Name of *Narnia*, which the *Romans* gave
Nequinum, is almost preserved entire to this Day,
that of *Narni*, which it now bears. This City,
which stands on the Declivity of an Hill, belongs
to the Ecclesiastical State. Near it, there are yet
remaining the surprizing Ruins of a Bridge, which
Emperor *Augustus* built, to join one Part of the
to another, which is on the other Side of the
It is supposed, that the depraved Manners of
the inhabitants, or the inconvenient Situation of a
Place placed on a steep Rock, gave rise to the in-
us Name of *Nequinum.*

⁶⁶ The *Nar*, now called by the *Italians*, *La Ne-*
ra, rises in that *Apennine Hill*, which the Ancients
call *Mons Fiscellus*, near the Confines of *The Mar-*
quisate of Ancona. From thence it takes its Course
to *Umbria*, which it divides from *Sabinia*, and dis-
charges itself into the *Tyber*. Its Waters are whi-
tish, and almost of the Colour of Sulphur; for
which reason the *Sabines* gave it the Name of *Nar*,
which in their Language answers to the *Latin Word*
Sulphur. *Virgil* had this *Sabine Word* in View,
when he said, *Æneid.* 7.

Sulphurea Nar albus aqua.

Year of the Son of his old Rival. They chose two Men of less shining Merit for the *R O M E* *fuls*hip; one of whom was *M. Fulvius Pætinus*, the other *T. Manlius Torquatus*. *CCCCCLIV.* *Fulvius's* first Business, was to go, and carry on the Siege of *Nequinum*, which *Ap. puleius* had begun. The *Samnites* seem to have joined the *Nequinians*, and sent them Succours; and the Approaches to a Place so difficult of Access, being at first carried on but slowly, the *Romans* seemed likely to linger a long time, before an insuperable Rock. But the Treachery of two *Nequinians* facilitated the taking of the City. These Traitors lodged pretty near the Rampart; and their Plot was to dig a Passage under Ground, deep enough to go under the Wall, and long enough to reach to the Advanced-Guard of the *Roman* Camp. This they compassed by dint of hard Labour, and passing through the Way they had made, appeared all on a sudden before the *Roman* Guard. They were immediately carried before the *Consul*, who carefully examined them, resolving not to trust them, without great Caution; but the Affair appearing to be of great Importance, and it being equally rash to neglect it, or undertake it inconsiderately, he thought the most judicious Way of Proceeding, was this. One of the two *Nequinians* was detained as an Hostage, whilst the other was sent back to the City, through his subterraneous Passage, with two brave *Roman* Soldiers to attend him; and these, who carefully observed every thing, making such a Report, as increased the Confidence of the *Romans* in the Deserters, *Fulvius* then gave them three hundred chosen Men, who followed them through the Way they had made under Ground, and enlarged it. They entered the City by it in the Night, and seized one of the Gates; whilst the *Roman* Army was in Motion near it, and ready to enter it upon the first Signal. As soon as the Gate was opened, the *Consul* and his Troops made themselves Masters of the Place without fighting, and without Blood-shed: and all the Punishment inflicted on the *Nequinians*, was that of being forced to receive a *Roman* Colony to keep the rest of *Umbria* in Awe: And then the Colony changed the infamous Name of *Nequinum*, into that of *Narnia*. *Fulvius* was rewarded with a Triumph, which he enjoyed on *The Seventh of the Calends of October*. Some add, That the Siege was preceded by a Battel, in which the *Nequinians* and *Samnites* together were defeated by the *Consul* *Fulvius*; and *Frontinus* tells us, that he made use of this Stratagem, in order to facilitate his Victory. He made his Troops believe, that he had corrupted one of the Enemy's *Phalanx's*; and even shewed them the Money, ready told, which he was to pay for its Desertion. He had borrowed this Money of the richest of his Soldiers, promising to return it, with a great Reward, after the Victory; and the Promises of the General, and the Hopes of being assisted in their Conquest by the Enemy themselves, redoubled the Ardour of the *Romans*. But they were in no Want of Treachery to assist them; they found it easy to obtain a Conquest without it.

Fast. Capit.
Frontin. Strat.
B. 11.

§. XVIII. IN the same *Consulate*, the *Hetrurians* broke the Truce they had made with *Rome*. The two Years Suspension of Arms they had obtained, were not yet expired; for the Year in which the Treaty was made was not included as one of them. But at the same time that they were preparing to enter the *Roman* Territories, the *Gauls* made an Irruption into *Hetruria*, and suspended the Designs of the Traitors, tho' not long. The Animosity of the *Hetrurians* against the Republic was too virulent; they chose rather to buy off the *Gauls*, than repel them by Force; and engaged them to join with them in their War they designed to carry on to the very Gates of *Rome*. *Hetruria* was rich; and squandered away vast Sums upon these new Friends, under Pretence of making them her Allies. But the *Hetrurians* were both blinded by their Malice, and cheated by the *Gauls*. The latter pretended to accept the Offers made them, took the Money, and left *Hetruria* in Tranquillity. But when they were to march towards *Rome*, and perform the Promises they were supposed to have given, they disavowed them. *We only promised, said they, not to pillage Hetruria; and have we not withdrawn our Troops from thence? If the Hetrurians will employ our Arms against the Romans, let them first secure us a Retreat in their Country, and assign us Lands, on which we may settle.* These *Gauls* seem to have been a Swarm of some one of those Clans of *Gauls* which had settled in *Italy*, and which being already greatly multiplied, sent out their Youth to seek their Fortunes. But however that be, their Proposal surprized the *Hetrurians*, who conferred upon it, in their Diets; and at length resolved, not

to give Footing in *Hetruria*, to a warlike and restless Nation, whose Neighbourhood might cost her dear. The *Hetrurians* would not have been sparing of their Lands, if these Neighbours who had a mind to settle among them, had been less formidable; but however, the *Gauls* carried off great Treasures, from an Expedition in which they neither had been at any Labour, nor encountered any Dangers.

As for *Rome*, she was not without Apprehensions, at these Negotiations between the *Gauls* and *Hetrurians*; and doubled her Precautions, in order to put herself in a Condition to maintain a War with Confederates whom she dreaded. At that time, the Inhabitants of *Picenum*, a Nation which extended itself all along the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea, and was bounded on one Side by those formidable *Senones*, whose Valour the Republick had but too well experienced, desired an Alliance with the *Romans*; and the Republick granted it without Delay; not so much out of a Love of Peace, as on account of the present perplexed State of her Affairs. After this, an Army was immediately sent away to punish the *Hetrurians* for their Breach of Faith; the *Consuls* drew Lots, which should go upon this Expedition; and it fell to *Manlius*. But it proved a very unhappy one to this unfortunate General, who was exercising his Cavalry soon after he entered the Enemy's Country, and was wheeling about with the rest, when his Horse gave him a sudden Shake, threw him, and left him upon the Ground half dead. He did not survive his Fall three Days; and by his Death left a Vacancy in the *Consulate*. Upon the Loss of him, the City was filled with Grief, and with Perplexity whom to choose for his Successor. Some particular Senators were for nominating a *Dictator*; but the Heads of the Republick were for assembling the *Centuries* to elect a new *Consul*, to take upon him the Command of the Army: And all their Suffrages were given in favour of *M. Valerius Corvus*, who was now raised to the *Consulship* a sixth time. A singular Honour, of which there had never yet been an Instance in the Republick, nor will there be another till the Time of *Marius*, who was promoted to that Office seven times. Those who were for a *Dictator*, and those who were for electing a *Consul*, had the same Point in View, without knowing it. The Aim of both was to place *Valerius* at the Head of the Army; and he was therefore chosen with universal Consent. This Great Commander was then of a very advanced Age; yet he made the Campaign with all the Vigour of a Man in the Bloom of Life. Indeed *Hetruria* disappeared, if I may so speak, at the Sight of him, and durst not bring her Troops into the Field. As soon as she understood that the formidable *Valerius* was at the Head of the *Romans*, she remembered her Conqueror with Dread. As for *Valerius*, he did all that was possible to draw the Enemy into the Plain; but they were fled to their Entrenchments for Refuge, and removed from their Camp into an impregnable City. *Valerius* ravaged all the Neighbourhood, and pillaged and sacked the whole Country. But the *Hetrurians* were more concerned about preserving their Lives than their Estates. They kept close within their *Asylum*, and durst not cope with a General who alone was able to suppress their Insolence. A kind of Victory which brought great Glory to *Valerius*; was preferred to the most magnificent Triumph, by those who knew how to set a just Value upon it; and was the last of his Exploits.

THE venerable old Man had now nothing to do, but to retire, and enjoy the Tranquillity of a private Life, after so many Labours, and so plentiful a Harvest of Glory. In what Year he ended his Days is not known; but it is certain he lived above an hundred Years. He was a thorough Patriot, a good Father of a Family, and a perfect Pattern, of the Zeal Men in publick Stations owe their Country, and of the Care the Head of a great Family owes to his Children and Relations. During this long Life, he was promoted to Offices which gave him a Right to sit in a *Curule Chair*, one and twenty times; which can be said of no *Roman* but himself. At the times when the Republick seemed to forget him, he took Advantage of those Intervals of Rest, to manure his paternal Estate. He wholly employed himself in Agriculture, improved his Lands, and the Produce of them was the only Usury he would take. Great in Peace, and Great in War, *Valerius Corvus* outshone the greatest Part of those Heroes, who appeared in the most glorious and most virtuous Age of *Rome*!

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLIV.
M. FULVIUS
PÆTINUS,
T. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLIV.
M. FULVIUS
PÆTINUS,
M. VALERIUS
CORVUS,
Consuls.
*Plut. Life of
Marius.*

Plin. B. 7. c. 48.
Val. Max. B.
8. c. 13. §. 1.
Cicero in Cato
Major; and
Plut. Life of
Marius.

Year of
ROM E
CCCCCLIV.
M. FULVIUS
PÆTINUS,
M. VALERIUS
CORVUS, Con-
suls.
Liv. B. 10.
c. 11.

§. XIX. Q. FABIVS RULLIANVS supplied the Absence and Loss of *Valerius* with Dignity. *Fabius* had just refused the *Consulship*, and had desired to be made ⁶⁷ *Ædile*; and in this new Employment he shewed how useful Men of superior Merit are, in any Station whatsoever. There was then a Scarcity of Corn in *Rome*; and it being the Business of the *Ædiles* to procure Plenty, and supply the Wants of the Publick, *Fabius* applied himself wholly to it. No Man ever shewed more Ardour to conquer an Enemy, than he did to guard the People from Famine. His whole Business was to get Corn brought to the City, and to distribute it among the People with Equity, and OEconomy. In short, all acknowledged that the Poor owed their Lives to him; and that he did his Fellow-Citizens more Service by his wise Administration, than he did the Republick by his Conquests: And the *Romans* were then convinced, that the most able Generals are commonly best qualified to sit at the Helm of Civil Government in great Emergencies.

Fast. Capit.

NOR did *Sempronius Sophus*, and *Sulpicius Saverrio*, the *Censors*, discharge one of the chief Parts of their Office with less Care. They made a *Census* of the *Roman People*, which terminated in what we reckon the twenty ninth *Lustrum*, since their Institution. And at length, the Republick, by what Means I know not, ⁶⁸ fell into an *Interregnum*. Perhaps it might be, because *Valerius* died in his *Consulship*; or laid it down, before it expired. But whatever were the Cause, *Appius Claudius* was the first who governed the State for five Days; and *P. Sulpicius*, who succeeded him, would not prolong the *Interregnum*. He assembled the *Comitia by Centuries*, which were disturbed by the extravagant Pretensions of *Appius Claudius*. He took it into his Head to hinder one of the *Consuls* from being chosen out of the *Plebeians*, tho' this had now been an invariable Custom, for a long time. But *Curius Dentatus* the *Tribune* had Eloquence and Credit enough, to withstand the Rhetorick and Authority of *Appius*. He found Means to oblige the Senate to confirm the Custom of always choosing one *Plebeian*, and one *Patrician*, to be Con-

⁶⁷ *Livy*, upon the Testimony of *Licinius Macer*, and *Tubero*, assures us, that *Quintus Fabius* was created *Curule Ædile*, by the *Tribes*; and according to those two Annalists, whom *Livy* quotes, *Lucius Papirius Cursor* was his Colleague. Nevertheless, he owns, that *Piso*, an ancient Writer of great Authority, had in his Annals placed *Caius Domitius Calvinus* the Son of *Cneius*, and *Spurius Carvilius Maximus* the Son of *Quintus*, in the *Ædileship*, for the Year 454. But *Livy* at the same time supposes, that *Piso*, deceived by the Surname of *Maximus*, which was common to them both, might take *Spurius Carvilius* for Q. *Fabius*. He doubtless could not but think, that an inferior Magistracy was more suitable to the former, than to one who had been already distinguished by three *Consulships*, and by *Triumphs*. And indeed it was not very natural to believe, either that *Quintus Fabius* should look no higher than the *Ædileship*, or that the *Comitia* should offer him a much worse Post than he deserved. But nevertheless, it must be granted, that the Testimonies of *Licinius Macer*, and *Tubero*, are, in this case, of more Weight than that of *Piso*.

⁶⁸ This Year was also remarkable for the Addition of two new *Tribes* to the thirty one already established, at different times, according as the *Roman Republick* extended her Territories. The Difficulty is, to find out the Names and Situation of these two *Tribes*. In most Editions of *Livy*, we read, *Tribusque additæ duæ, Aniensis, ac Terentina*. But it is evident, that the former of these was of a much more ancient Date. The Country of the *Sabines*, and consequently the Country about the *Anio*, had been the first Conquest of the *Romans*; or rather, all this Territory had long since become *Roman*: and it is therefore improbable, that the Republick should, for so long a Course of Years, neglect uniting those Citizens to her, in the Form of a *Tribe*, who had made Acquisitions, or had settled, in this Canton near *Rome*. In order to convince ourselves

of this, we need only consider, that the People and Senate of *Rome*, made it their first Business to secure the *Provinces* newly conquered, by settling *Colonies*, or *Tribes*, in them. With this View, the *Romans* flocked to them in Numbers, and got themselves Estates in them. These different Members of the same Body, made up so many different *Tribes*, who borrowed their Names from the chief City, or from the District which they possessed. Thus we have seen the Number of the *Tribes* increase by degrees, with the Territory of the Republick, in proportion as that was extended among the neighbouring Nations newly subdued. It is therefore probable, that *The Tribe of the Anio* is not the *Tribe* here spoken of, but *The Tribe of the Arno*, or *Tribus Arnensis*. The Copyists might very probably take *Arnensis* for *Aniensis*. Add to this, that the *Romans* had just carried on their Conquests to the River *Arnus*, now the *Arno*; after they had defeated the *Tuscan*s, first near *Sutri*, and afterwards near *Perusia*. They even penetrated as far as *Umbria*. So that the Circumstances of Time and Place shew, that *Livy* meant *The Tribe of the Arno*, and not *The Tribe of the Anio*. As to *The Tribe Terentina*, we don't know its ancient Situation; but we suppose it possessed a Canton of *Hebruria*, tho' most Moderns are of a different Opinion. Some have thought, without reason, that the City of *Tarentum* gave Name to this *Tribe*; but they did not consider, that the most distant of the *Country-Tribes* were that of the *Arno*, towards the North, and *The Tribe Falerina*, near *Campania*. Others have thought, that *The Tribe Terentina* was so called, from a Part of the *Campus Martius*, called *Tarentum*, which we have spoken of before, p. 223. of Vol. 1. Note 85. But is it likely, the *Romans* should be so long before they erected a *Tribe* in a Place which was a Part of the Territory of *Rome*? It is more natural to place it in some Canton of *Hebruria*, which the Republick had just then made subject to her Dominion.

fuls.

fuls. So that *Cn. Fulvius* ⁶⁹*Centumalus*, of a *Plebeian* Family, was made Collegue to *L. Cornelius Scipio*, who was nobly descended.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLV.

§. XX. THEN the Republick was again forced to divide her Forces, to make War with two of the most formidable Nations in her Neighbourhood. The *Hetrurians* had broken the Truce, and the *Samnites* had already openly declared War against *Rome*, notwithstanding their Treaty of Alliance. The Assistance the latter had lately given the *Nequinians*, tho' perhaps without the Consent of the whole *Samnite* Body, shewed at least a Disaffection in these new Allies; and the *Romans* were fully convinced of their ill Disposition, when they had heard the Complaints of the *Lucani* who came to *Rome* on purpose to implore the Assistance of the Republick against the Oppressions of the *Samnites*. Those very *Samnites*, said they, *who now force us to have Recourse to you, solicited us to take Arms against you: They have spread themselves over our Frontiers, with no other Design, but to punish us for our Attachment to your Interests. Romans, we have but too severely repented of our past unfaithful Conduct; and are now so obstinately bent on serving you, that nothing shall separate us from you. Neither the Incursions of our Neighbours upon our Lands, nor the plundering and burning of our Houses, shall be able to alienate our Affections, and make us unfaithful to Rome. We therefore intreat you to favour us with a powerful Protection, to guard us against the Attacks of the Samnites. What better Security can you have of our Fidelity, than our having entered into the War with them? But if you desire further Securities from us, demand the Hostages you would have, and we will deliver them into your Hands.*

CN. FULVIUS
CENTUM-
LUS, L. COR-
NELIUS SCI-
PIO, Consuls.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 11.

Liv. *ibid.*

Liv. *ibid.*

D. Hal. in ex-
cerpto tertio
Legationum,
Liv. B. 10.
c. 12.

D. Hal. *ibid.*

Liv. B. 10.
c. 12.

THIS Application from a distressed, tho' often rebellious People, made great Impressions on the Senate; and it was the Policy of the *Romans* to defend the Oppressed. They therefore did not long deliberate about what was to be done; all the Senators agreed, That the *Samnites* should be obliged to make the *Lucani* Reparation for all the Damages they had suffered; and That War should be declared with the *Samnites*, if they refused. The Hostages were received; and *Feciales* sent to *Samnium*, with Orders to require, in the first place, that the *Samnites* would withdraw their Troops from *Lucania*, and leave the Allies of the *Romans* in Peace. But the *Samnites* were not very tractable; they considered their Alliance with *Rome* as nothing, and boldly took the first Step towards a Rupture. They did not suffer the *Feciales* to advance far into their Country, before they sent them word, That they had nothing to do but to return home; and That if they appeared in any Assembly of the *Samnite* Nation, no Regard would be shewn to their Character. And from hence it appears, that every Canton of the *Samnites* had its particular Diet. As for the *Romans*, after these first Proofs of their equitable Inclinations, they were in Haste to renew the War with the *Samnites*; and indeed the *Romans* were not a little jealous of them. The *Samnites* grew more and more powerful every Day, and the Conquests they had made in *Lucania*, would probably be followed by a Confederacy between the Conquerors and the Nations bordering upon the *Lucani*. It was therefore to be feared, that *Samnium* would recover her Losses, and grow too powerful, if time was given her to extend her Limits, and form Alliances. So that the *Roman* People ratified the Decree of the Senate, without Hesitation, and the War was resolved on.

ROME raised two Armies without Delay, and when the two *Consuls* drew Lots, which should march against the *Samnites*, and which against the *Hetrurians*, the former Expedition fell to *Fulvius*, the latter to *Scipio*. This General is said to have expected to have found the *Hetrurians* as timorous, and as cautious, as the Presence of *Valerius* had made them the last Year; and *Scipio* did not know what Difference the Enemy justly made between an old Officer, a perfect Master of the Art of War, and a young General, who had never yet commanded in chief. But the *Hetrurian* Army made the first Advances, met *Scipio*, and engaged him in the

⁶⁹ Thinking it necessary to distinguish these two *Consuls* by their Surnames, we have taken them from the *Greek Tables*, for want of the Assistance of the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Marianus*, who often fail us, when we want them. *Livy* has pre-

served only the Surname of *Lucius Cornelius* the first *Consul*. The *Triumphal Tables* give us all the Appellations of the second *Consul*, that is, his *Prænomen*, Name, and Surname.

Year of Fields of 70 *Volaterræ*, a City far up in *Hetruria*. The Battel was continued all
 R O M E Day; but it did not appear which Side had the Victory. There was an equal Ar-
 CCCCLV. dour, and an equal Slaughter on both Sides. The Night put a Stop to the Fight,
 CN. FULVIUS but neither of the two Armies could flatter themselves with having had the bet-
 CENTUMA- ter. Yet an unaccountable sudden Terror seized the *Hetrurians*; the Consequence
 LUS, L. COR- of which was what has often happened, in Armies which consist of Bodies of
 NELIUS SCI- Men which have no Dependence on a common General, and acknowledge no Su-
 PIO, Consuls. periors, but their own little Sovereigns, each of which had furnished his Contin-
 gent. They deserted their Camp in the Night-time, and retired in small Compa-
 nies, to their respective *Lucumonies*: either because they imagined they had been
 overcome; or because they were afraid to hazard a second Battel. Then the *Con-*
ful, seeing himself Master of the Field of Battel, contrary to his Hopes, plundered
 the Camp the *Hetrurians* had so hastily deserted, and led back his Army nearer
Rome, into the Country of the *Falisci*, not far from *Falerii*. From thence, after
 he had fixed his Camp, and secured his Baggage, he undertook to make long In-
 cursions, and over-run all *Hetruria*. He pillaged and sacked the whole Country,
 made a great Booty, burnt the Villages and Castles, and spared only those Cities,
 into which all the Country-People were retired.

THIS is the Account *Livy* gives us of the Campaign in *Hetruria*. According to
 him, *Scipio* had all the Advantage in it; and he seems much inclined to give his
 Hero the Honours of a Triumph, which he undoubtedly had deserved, if this His-
 torian's Account be true. But it is possible, that *Livy* may have been willing to
 make his Court to the Family of the *Scipio's*, who were in great Power at the time
 he wrote; or he may have adopted Memoirs which they furnished him with; or
 lastly, he may have consulted Annals which were partial to them. At least, a more
 certain Monument than *Livy's* History robs *Scipio* of the Defeat of the *Hetrurians*,
 and ascribes it to *Fulvius* the *Plebeian*; and our Love of Truth obliges us to make
 this Restitution. Nor was this the only Glory *Fulvius* gained during his *Consul-*
ship. After he had finished his Expedition against the *Hetrurians* (for it appears that
 he only took the Field, whilst *Scipio* continued in the City) he turned his Arms
 against the *Samnites*. This audacious People thought that Army strong enough to
 oppose the *Romans*, which they had raised to go against the *Lucani*, and which had
 signalized itself by Victories over a weak and inconsiderable Nation: And with this
 their usual Confidence, the *Samnites* faced the *Roman* Forces. The latter were
 commanded by *Fulvius*; and all Historians agree, that he gained one of those un-
 questionable Victories, in which the Vanquished themselves acknowledge that they
 were conquered. The Battel was fought near *Bovianum*; one Fruit of the Defeat
 was the taking of that City, which was accustomed to change its Masters; and
 this was soon followed with the Conquest of 71 *Aufidena*, an important Place in
Samnium, which was taken by Assault, as *Bovianum* had been.

AFTER all these Exploits, *Fulvius* returned to the City, where the Honours of a
 Triumph were decreed him on a double Account: 1st. For having conquered the
Samnites. 2^{dly}. For having defeated the *Hetrurians*. So that both Victories were
 gained by him. His Procession was made on *The Ides of November*.

§. XXI. WHILST *Fulvius* was yet *Consul*, before the *Comitia* assembled to chuse
 new ones, there was a Report spread in *Rome*, that the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites*
 were bent upon making themselves amends for their Losses. In all the Diets of
 the *Hetrurians*, they had loudly declaimed against the Heads of the Nation, who
 had, out of Fear, neglected to engage the *Gauls*, at any rate, to enter into a League
 with them against the *Romans*. And on the other hand, the *Samnites*, in all their
 Assemblies, broke out into Complaints against the Rashness of their Generals, who
 had opposed the *Romans* with a small Army, raised only to act against the *Lucani*.

70 The Canton of *Volaterræ*, was formerly one
 of the twelve *Hetrurian Lucumonies*. The City
 stood beyond the River *Arnus*, a little way from the
 River *Cecina*, on the Summit of a steep Mountain,
 whose Declivity was, according to *Strabo*, fifteen
Stadia, that is, above two thousand Geometrical
 Paces, from the Ridge to the Foot. It is now cal-
 led *Volterra*, and belongs to the Great Duke of
Tuscany.

71 We have spoken of the Situation of *Bovian-*
um already. As for the City of *Aufidena*, it stood
 near the River *Sagrus*, now the *Sangro*, and is at
 present called *Alfidena*. *Ptolomy* places it in the
 Canton of the *Caracini*, on the Frontiers of the
 Territory of the *Frentani*. The Name of *Caracini*
 was probably given to the Inhabitants of this little
 Country, from the Name of a strong Place, which
Zonaras calls *Caricium*.

So that numerous Armies being raised in both these Nations, and such Preparations made for the next Campaign, as seemed formidable; *Rome* was not negligent in such perilous Circumstances. Her first Care was to chuse such *Consuls* as should be Men of Valour and Experience enough, to be able to withstand the most violent Efforts of the two Nations, who were more enraged than ever; and the universal Esteem *Fabius* was in, turned all Mens Thoughts upon him. And since nothing could, in all Appearance, be more agreeable to him, than to be chosen *Consul* in a Year in which he might gain Glory to himself, and do important Services to his Country; who can judge, what Motives could make him regardless of the Dignities, to which the People intended to raise him? In short, he did not stand for the *Consulship*, as many others did, and when it was proposed to him, he declined it. His Speech to the assembled People was this. *Alas! Why should you overload a Man of my Age, with a Burden too heavy for him to bear? I have looked into my self, and find I have lost that Vigour of Mind and Body, which I had in my Youth. Besides, it is no unusual thing, for Fortune, and her Attendant Glory, to desert those whom they have most favoured, when Tears come upon them. How do I know, but some God may⁷² envy me for having enjoyed a more constant Course of Prosperity, than belongs to a Mortal? I am indeed raised above the old Men of my time; But I with Pleasure see the young Men increase in Glory and Honour. The Republick abounds with Men worthy of the highest Employments, as well as with Employments worthy of the greatest Men.* But this Discourse, in which there was a Mixture of Ostentation and Modesty, would have made it believed, that *Fabius's* Refusal was only Affectation, if he had not had Recourse to the Laws to authorize it. He ordered that Law to be read with a loud Voice, which forbid any Man to bear the Office of *Consul* twice⁷³ in ten Years; and which had been made about forty four Years since, when *C. Marcius* and *Q. Servilius* were *Consuls*. But it had not been constantly observed, and therefore the People who were for electing *Fabius* *Consul*, drowned the Voice of him that read it, with their Noise. Then *Fabius* cried out, *To what Purpose are Laws made, if those who make them are the first to transgress them! They are no longer Rules of Practice, when once the Legislature comes to explain away their Meaning, and dispense with them!* This he said because the *Tribunes of the People* threatened him, that they would get the People to vote him a Dispensation; which indeed they did not do, but, in spite of *Fabius's* Resistance, proceeded to the Election. As fast as the *Centuries*⁷⁴ entered the Voting-Place in their Order, to give their Suffrages, they all cried out, *We Vote for Fabius*; and then he was forced to yield to the earnest Desires of the Republick. *Fabius* at last accepted the *Consulship*, but desired he might have a Collegue to his own Mind. *May the Gods*, said he, *prosper the Choice you have made, and are going to make! But vouchsafe, since I obey your Will, to grant me one Request. When I was last Consul, my Collegue was Decius Mus; a Man famous for his Father's having devoted himself to Death, and for his own Merit. A perfect Concord reigned between us, we maintained it all our time, and did our Country Service. How much then shall I be indebted to you, if you again join this wise and brave Citizen with me in this Office!* *Fabius's* Desire was granted; all the *Centuries* which were yet to vote, gave their Voices for *Decius*; so that the latter was now made *Consul* a third,

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLV.

CN. FULVIUS
CENTUM-
LUS, L. COR-
NELIUS SCI-
PIO, Consuls.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 13.

⁷² We have already observed, that the Pagans represented the mischievous Divinities, as jealous of the Prosperity of Mankind.

⁷³ *Quintus Fabius* was *Consul* the third time, in the Year of *Rome* 445. Now from the beginning of that, to the beginning of the Year 456, which was his fourth *Consulship*, were ten Years. *Fabius* had waited the time the Law required. Nevertheless, he urges this Law against himself, to hinder the *Centuries* from proceeding to elect him. Whence it must be inferred, that these ten *Consular* Years were not complete ones. We have already observed, that there often was not a Year's distance between one *Consulship* and another; and consequently, the Years of the World cannot be computed by those of the *Consuls*.

⁷⁴ In the Enclosure, which the People were brought into, to vote either *viva voce*, or by Ballot, there were always built several *Pontes*, or *Bridges*;

for this was the Name given to some narrow Scaffolds, which were separated from one another, by Rails. One was not enough for the Passage of the Crowd of Citizens, which came from all Parts to the Place of the Assembly. In order therefore to shorten the *Comitia*, there were as many of these *Bridges* as *Tribes*, say some; or as *Centuries*, say others. Every *Tribe*, or *Century*, appeared at the Entrance into that which was assigned it: and there stood several Persons, whose Office it was to collect the Votes of the Citizens, either for the Affirmative, or Negative. The Citizens mounted the Bridge in Order, according to their Ranks, and went out of it at the other End, to make room for those who followed. Thus every thing was done with Order, and without Tumult. But in later Ages, this Custom was somewhat altered, as we shall observe in its proper Place.

Year of and the former a fourth, time. The rest of the Year was spent in restraining the
 R O M E Avarice of those who possessed more Lands than the Law ⁷⁵ allowed; and many Per-
 CCCCLV. sons, who were accused before the *Ædiles* for having above five hundred Acres,
 were all condemned. This was a Check very necessary to be put to Mens insatiable
 Desire of Riches; especially since the two last Conquests of *Rome* had enlarged
 her Demesns.

Year of §. XXII. THE two *Consuls* were no sooner in their Office, but they prepared to
 R O M E carry the War into *Hetruria* and *Samnium*; and, without drawing Lots for their re-
 CCCCLVI. spective Provinces, each offered the other his Choice, and both consulted, like good
 Q. FABIVS Citizens, where each could be of most Service. They were not governed by Am-
 MAXIMUS bition, and Punctilio's of Honour. They desired to suit their Employments to
 RULLIANUS, their personal Talents, and each only wished to be employed against that Enemy,
 P. DECIUS which he was best qualified to oppose. But whilst Politeness and mutual Esteem
 MUS, Consuls. suspended the Division of the Armies between the two *Consuls*, an unexpected
 Piece of News put an End to their Irresolution. Deputies arrived at *Rome* from
Sutri, *Nepete*, and *Falerii*, who all agreed, that the *Hetrurians* had resolved in
 their last Diet, to send to *Rome* to desire a Peace. Then *Fabius* and *Decius* put
 themselves each at the Head of his Army, without Delay, in order to go and make
 War with the *Samnites* only: And the better to deceive them, the two *Consuls* took
 different Routs. *Fabius* took the shortest, and entered *Samnium* by the Territory
 of *Sora*. *Decius* marched along the Sea-Shore, in order to gain the Country of
 the *Sidicini*, and enter the Territory of the *Samnites* on that Side. The Conduct
 of the two *Consuls* was the same. They both dispersed their Troops about the
 Fields to get Spoils; but both were very cautious in their IncurSIONS. Lest the
 Love of Plunder should draw their Men to too great a distance, and lead them
 into Ambuscades, Spies were sent a great way before them, to discover the En-
 emy. They knew the *Samnites* were more expert at Stratagems of War, than
 fighting Battels; and this prudent Distrust preserved *Fabius* from the Snare they
 laid for him. His Scouts gave him notice, that the *Samnites* were in Ambush
 on the Banks of the *Tifernus*, and waited for his coming into a deep Valley, where
 they intended to attack him from the Hills. But this did not make the brave *Con-
 sul* alter his Course; he chose to go himself, and attack the Enemy in their Am-
 buscade, and surprize them. He informed his Troops that he was going to fight,
 lodged his Baggage in a safe Place, with a Detachment to guard it, drew up his
 Troops in a square Form, and marched towards the *Samnites*. As soon as the En-
 emy perceived him, they despaired of either being able to deceive the *Roman* Gen-
 erals, or avoid a Battel; and the *Samnite* Army therefore instantly marched out of
 their Covert, and drew up in a Plain, with more Temerity than Hope. Their first
 Onset was terrible. They had assembled all the Forces in their Country; a nume-
 rous and vigorous Body of young Men appeared, conducted by Officers who looked
 on this Battel as the decisive Stroke; and hence proceeded their Courage and Ani-
 mosity. The fierce Resistance of the Enemy gave *Fabius* no little Disquiet; he saw
 the impenetrable *Samnite* Battalions sustain the Charge without being broken; and
 then he called two *Legionary Tribunes*, and commanded them to carry his Orders
 to the Cavalry, and put themselves at the Head of the Squadrons. *Make them sen-
 sible*, said he, *that if they would do the Republick considerable Service, now is the
 time for them to signalize their Valour. The Enemy's Infantry stand their Ground,
 nothing but our Horse can move them.* And to these Directions he added Caresses,
 Praises, and Promises. But tho', as is well known, the *Roman* Cavalry usually did
 great things, when they rode full Speed on the Enemy's Battalions, yet their Ef-
 forts were now vain. Not that their General's Orders were not punctually obey'd;
 the Cavalry, led on by the two *Tribunes*, made their Way between the first Lines
 of both Armies, when most hotly engaged, and placing themselves in the first Rank,
 equally threw both Parties into Disorder. From thence, they fell furiously on the
Samnite Infantry, which they could not break through; the latter closed, and

⁷⁵ We have spoken of this Law above, p. 64. of this Volume. It was made at the Request of *Licinius Stolo* and *Lucius Sextus*, in the Year of *Rome* 377. According to *Appian*, *De Bello Civili*, B. 1. it not only fixed Land-Estates to five hundred Acres, but enacted, That the most considerable Citizens

should not be Masters of more than one hundred of black Cattel, and at most five hundred of Goats and Sheep. To which *Pliny* adds, B. 18. c. 3. that after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, no Plebeian was permitted to possess more than seven Acres of Land.

kept their Posts, without losing an Inch of Ground. And after this Attempt, which proved fruitless, the *Roman* Cavalry retired thro' the Spaces in the Lines, and quit-
 ted the Fight. But *Fabius* had more Expedients than one. Resolving to try what he could do by Artifice, since he could not succeed by Force, he had already sent for *Scipio*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, and he gave him these Orders. *Take the Hastati of the first Legion, and detach them away from the rest of it, without the Enemy's perceiving it. March them silently round, to the Top of the neighbouring Hill; and come from thence, and fall on the Enemy in the Rear.* These Orders were executed with Address; neither the *Romans* nor *Samnites* perceived this Motion; but in the mean time, the Enemy pushed the *Romans* briskly. The Advantage they had had over the *Roman* Cavalry, and the Glory of having forced them to quit the Fight, raised their Courage. The first Line of the *Consular* Army already lost Ground; it was fatigued, and began to give way, when *Fabius* ordered it to retire slowly, but still facing the Enemy; and at length, it retreated into the midst of the main Body, thro' the Spaces in the second Line. Then the *Principes* of which that Line consisted, took their turn of engaging. They were quite fresh, and tho' they put a Stop to the Impetuosity of the *Samnites* for some time, yet their Ardour was not entirely abated. But *Fabius's* Stratagem put an End to this warm Action, which had hitherto been to the Disadvantage of the *Romans*. Whilst the second Line were attacking, and defending themselves, with Courage, there appeared at a Distance the Ensigns of a Body of Troops, which advanced with slow Pace. This was the Detachment which *Scipio* commanded, and with which he was marching down from the neighbouring Mountain, and seemed coming to attack the *Samnites* in the Rear. The *Consul*, who first perceived it, because he expected it, cried out, *What unexpected good Fortune! I see yonder my Colleague Decius's Army drawing near to us;* and the General's Words were carried thro' all Parts of the *Roman* Army. They passed from *Legion* to *Legion*, and were heard in the Enemy's Battalions; and as they gave new Life and Vigour to the *Romans*, so they filled the *Samnites* with Terror and Discouragement. They were tired with fighting, were afraid of having another *Consular* Army upon them, and therefore soon resolved what to do. They dispersed, without waiting for Orders from their Generals, and sought to secure themselves by Flight. Which indeed they did; for the Slaughter was not great, after the Defeat; the Enemy left only three thousand four hundred Men dead upon the Plain; which was an inconsiderable Loss for so great a Victory. But the *Romans* in some measure made themselves amends for having slain so small a Number, by the Colours they took, which were no less than twenty three.

SUCH was the Success of a Battel, in which only *Decius's* Name was made use of; and yet he may be said to have contributed something towards it. The *Apulians* were to have joined the *Samnites*, before the Action; but *Decius* prevented it, at a time when they were marching towards them with great Expedition. He came up with them at *Maleventum*; and brought them to a Battel, which ended in a Rout. They fled very fast, and thereby saved the shedding of much Blood; for they lost but two thousand Men. After this, *Decius* entered *Samnium* triumphantly; and it is incredible, what Devastations the two *Consular* Armies made, for five Months together, in a Country, which had been in a flourishing Condition, during a pretty long Interval of Peace. The two *Consuls* divided it between them, and separating, each ravaged his Part of it. *Decius* changed his Camp forty five times, and *Fabius* fourscore and six. By this means, the Fields were all laid waste, one after another; and every new Encampment served to facilitate the carrying off the Booty from the neighbouring Lands. But *Fabius* was not content with pillaging only, he likewise took the City of ⁷⁶*Cimetra*, which was perhaps then so utterly destroyed, that the very Memory of it was entirely abolished. Two thousand four hundred Prisoners were taken in these Expeditions, and four hundred and thirty of the Inhabitants, who were found under Arms, were put to the Sword.

THE End of the Campaign, and the Approach of the Time for the *Comitia* for Elections, recalled *Fabius* to *Rome*. He found that *Appius Claudius* had not only made an Interest to be elected *Consul*, the next Year; but being both ambitious, and

⁷⁶ The Names of *Cimetra* and *Cimetria*, which we find in some Editions of *Livy*, are as little known, as that of *Cimetra*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCVI.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
RULLIANVS,
P. DECIVS
MVS, Consuls.
Front. Stratag.
B. 2.
Liv. B. 10.
c. 14.

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CCCCLVI.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
RULLIANVS,
P. DECIVS
MVS, Consuls.

a professed Enemy to the *Plebeians*, he had likewise formed a Scheme a second time, not to have a *Plebeian* chosen for his Colleague, but to confine the *Consulship* again wholly to the *Patricians*; and his Artifice to bring this to bear, was not ill contrived. He was sure of being raised to the *Consulship* himself; and he knew the general Esteem the People had for *Fabius*, and that his late Victory had increased it; and he therefore resolved to get him chosen his Colleague. In order to this, he prevailed on the *Patricians* unanimously to desire *Fabius*, to consent to his being elected. It belonged to *Fabius* to preside in the *Comitia*; and as soon as they were assembled in the *Campus Martius*, the first *Centuries*, which chiefly consisted of the Nobility, instantly chose him *Consul*, or rather appointed him to continue in his Office, for the next Year. But *Fabius*, who was present, and displeased at it, declared he never would consent to his own Election. He again objected his Age, and the Laws; and in short, urged all the other Reasons he had brought against it the last Year, with more Force and Energy than before. The whole Body of the Nobility in vain surrounded him, encompassed the Tribunal on which he sat, and conjured him, *To take the Consulship out of those vulgar Hands, which dishonoured it, and restore this first Office in the State, and the whole Patrician Body, to their ancient Lustre.* *Fabius* proclaimed Silence, and appeased the passionate Men who beset him, with these Words. *Were the Question, Whether I should approve of the Election of any other Patrician than myself, I would readily declare in the Affirmative, in case he was nominated by the Suffrages of the People. But to suffer myself to be elected contrary to Law, in the Comitia in which I preside, is to give the Republick a pernicious Precedent.* This *Fabius* said with so decisive an Air, that the *Centuries* which were yet to give their Suffrages, thought no more of him; but nominated *Volumnius Volens* a *Plebeian* to be *Appius's* Colleague, in the *Consulship*, as he had already been ten Years before.

Cicero in Cato
Major.

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L. VOLUMNIVS FLAMMA
VIOLENS,
Consuls.

§. XXIII. THE *Patricians* shewed their Dissatisfaction at *Fabius's* having refused the *Consulate*, by their Discourses. He was afraid, said they, of being surpassed in Eloquence and Conduct by the expert *Appius*. But the People put no ill-natured Construction upon *Fabius's* Moderation and Equity. On the contrary, they rewarded his Services with a new Mark of Distinction which they gave him, and which seemed necessary for the publick Good. He and his Colleague *Decius* were nominated *Proconsuls* for six Months, and sent into *Samnium*, at the Head of the same Troops they had so successfully commanded the last Year. So that the Republick had soon four Armies on foot, commanded by four Generals of very different Characters. The *Consul Appius* was in no Reputation as a Soldier. He was better at speaking, than fighting; and better understood, how to manage an Intrigue in the City, or support a Faction in the *Comitia*, than how to make a Campaign, give Battel, or carry on a Siege. His Colleague *Volumnius* had Talent for War; but had little of that Wit, and Turn of Imagination, which make Men shine in publick Assemblies, and are often useful even to those, who are naturally formed for War. The *Proconsul Decius* had a great Fund of Eloquence, joined with the sweetest Temper, and most engaging Disposition. His Love for his Country was boundless; this single Affection was the Mainspring, which set the Powers of his great Soul at work; and he was always ready to do, or suffer any thing, to promote the publick Good. As for *Fabius*, he was one of the Heroes whom Nature is too frugal, to lavish often on Mankind. He was an excellent Statesman; a great Commander; formed vast Designs, carried them on with Constancy, and executed them with Success. In short, as Equity was the sole Rule of his Conduct in Civil Affairs, so his Valour and Prudence always secured him Success, in his military Expeditions. He may be said to have had those good Qualities united in himself, which Heaven had shared among other Men.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 16.

DECIUS was the only General of the four, who had continued in *Samnium* to make Head against the Enemy. *Fabius* had been obliged to come from thence to preside in the *Comitia*. He indeed lost no time, in returning to his Army, with the Title of *Proconsul*; but his Expedition brought more Advantage to the Republick, than Glory to himself. For Men of solid Worth, are less sollicitous about what will bring Honour to themselves, than what will promote the Welfare of the Publick. A strange kind of Commotion was raised in *Lucania*, which

been begun by the vilest, and meanest of the People; and *Fabius* aimed at nothing more in his *Proconsulate*, than keeping the *Lucani* in Awe, and hindering them from joining the *Samnites*. But *Decius*, who had not left his Army, either at the end of his *Consulship*, or since he received his Commission to command it six Months longer as *Proconsul*, had taken this Opportunity of pushing the *Samnites* to the last Extremity. He had already plundered the whole Country, whilst the Enemy's Army durst not face him, and give Battel; and in short, had so harassed it, that it was forced to quit *Samnium*, and go into a kind of Banishment, into another Country. This was a decisive Stroke; and he reaped all the Advantage from it, that was possible. As soon as he understood, that the Enemy's Troops were gone, he assembled his own, and bespoke them thus. *Why do we lose our time in running about the Fields of Samnium, and carrying on a War from Village to Village, which gives us more Trouble than Profit? Nobler Objects for the Exercise of our Valour present themselves to us. We have now no Army of the Enemy to fear in all Samnium. Why don't we then set about taking their Cities? We can do it without Opposition.* This Design of the *Proconsul* being approved of, by his Troops, (for the Form of the popular Government was kept up, in the Camp, and the Resolutions of the Generals communicated to the Armies) they immediately consented to it, and laid Siege to *Murgantia*, a strong City between *Bovianum* and *Beneventum*. The Ardour which the *Romans* shewed on this great Expedition, is scarce to be imagined. They loved their General, and laboured to gain him Glory, with Pleasure. But it must be confessed, that they likewise found their own Account, in the Plunder of Cities, which were much more wealthy, than the Country Cottages; and they therefore were so vigorous, that they made themselves Masters of *Murgantia*, in one Day. It was taken by Assault, and all those who were found under Arms were made Prisoners, to the Number of two thousand one hundred and ten. The Spoil taken in it was considerable; and the General therefore, fearing lest his Soldiers should be overburdened with so great a Booty, and their Care of preserving it, should make them neglect the Service, assembled them, and addressed himself to them, in this manner. *I don't pretend, Fellow-Soldiers, so far to limit your Good-fortune, as to confine it to the pillaging of one City. Extend your Hopes beyond the taking of Murgantia. All the Cities in Samnium will soon fall a Prey to your Valour, which has already put our Enemies to Flight, and which ought to exert itself in making the best use of their Retreat. Don't therefore lose time about a few trifling Moveables, which the Right of War has given you, and with which you overload yourselves. Sell these troublesome Spoils, and draw all the Merchants of the neighbouring Places after the Army, in hopes of Gain. I will take care you shall soon have new Merchandise to expose to Sale.* *Romulea* ⁷⁸, a City less difficult to be taken, and more plentiful, than *Murgantia*, is in this Neighbourhood; and the Plunder of it shall furnish you with new Merchandizes. This Advice was universally followed, all the Soldiers sold their Effects, and carried nothing with them but the Money they produced. *Romulea* was now their Point in View, and they earnestly desired leave to march thither. When they came, they did not besiege it in Form: they neither used Ram, or *Ballista*, against it; their Scaling-Ladders were sufficient to make them Masters of the Place. The Moment the *Romans* came before it, every one mounted the Wall directly before him; the Resistance of the Besieged was vain; they could not repel Men determined to die, or pillage; and *Romulea* was taken and sacked. Two thousand three hundred Men were killed in it; and six thousand made Prisoners of War. All the Booty was sold by the General's Order, and the *Roman Army* marched without delay to *Ferentinum*, a City of the *Hernici*, now in the Possession of the *Samnites*. This was one of those Places which were not easily to be taken by Assault. It was defended by good Ramparts, and situated on an Eminence, and was not to be subdued without great Danger, and the most vigorous Efforts. But is any thing impossible to brave Men, animated by the

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⁷⁸ We have no Footsteps left of *Murgantia*; but I think it was the same City which is now called *Forcone*, in the County of *Molisa*, a Province of Kingdom of *Naples*.

Romulea, or according to some ancient Au-

thors, *Romula*, was a City which belonged to the *Hirpini*, who were *Samnites* both by Inclination and Extraction. It stood on the *Apennines*, and was the same City which is now called *Bisaccia*, and is a Bishoprick.

Year of Hopes of Gain? *Ferentinum* was taken by Assault, and plundered: and about three thousand Men were killed upon the Ramparts, who made a very desperate Defence. Thus *Samnium* was reduced to the last Extremity; and to complete its Misery, the new *Consul Volumnius* was marching thither with another Army of two *Legions*, and fifteen hundred Auxiliaries. Some Historians indeed make him share the Glory of the *Proconsul*, and ascribe a Part of *Decius's* Conquests to him. But be that as 79 it will, it is at least certain, that the War with the *Samnites* fell by lot to *Volumnius*, and that with the *Hetrurians* to his Collegue *Appius*.

*Liv. B. 10.
c. 18.*

§. XXIV. AND indeed, the Storm began already to gather on that Side. The *Hetrurians* had received the fugitive *Samnites*, whom *Decius* had forced to fly their native Country; their Fear had driven them thro' different Nations, by different Ways; and after they had passed the *Tyber*, they had fallen down upon *Hetruria*. When they came thither, they desired a Diet of the chief *Hetrurian Lucumonies* might be called; which was granted. One *Gellius Egnatius* was at the Head of the *Samnite* Army, and he, without doubt, was their Speaker, in the *Hetrurian* Assembly. *We are now come, said he, even into your Dominions, to request the Alliance we have so long desired. What endless Wars have we had to maintain, with the ambitious Romans? During these many Years, that we have declared ourselves their Enemies; we have tried all possible Means to preserve ourselves, and prevent our sinking under their Arms. War, Peace, Truces, Alliances, have all been tried, and all to no purpose. War has ruined us; Peace has not freed us from our Yoke; Truces have not dissipated our Fears; nor have we gained any thing by our Alliances with the Romans; but have been thereby reduced to a most shameful Slavery. Hence our frequent Changes and Insurrections. What remains then, but to have Recourse to Hetruria, the most flourishing Country in Italy? You abound with Arms, Soldiers, Officers, and Money. Your Neighbours the Gauls are Men born and bred in War. Their natural Courage will also be improved, when regulated by Art, and modelled by good Examples. They will remember, that they brought the imperious Republick to the Brink of Destruction, and forced Rome to ransom herself with Money. As for you, Hetrurians, what hinders you from reviving the happy Days of Porcenna? In the time of this brave Lucumo, the Roman Republick was shut up within narrow Bounds. The Tyber was formerly her Barrier, and bounded her Dominion. The Romans being driven back from the Country beyond the River, were so far from dreaming of aggrandizing themselves, that they thought of nothing but standing to their own Defence. Heaven offers you this happy Opportunity of recovering your ancient Possessions, and preserving the rest of Italy, from the insupportable Yoke with which it is threatened. A Samnite Army is come to march under your Command. Not to say any thing of its Valour and Experience, which have been tried in so many Wars; it is at least ready to march, is well provided with Arms and Ammunition, and will carry on the War, at its own Expence, without being any Burden to you. Employ us therefore, and we will obey your Commands, should they be to encamp at the Foot of the Capitol.*

THESE Offers, and these Hopes, had a great Effect on the Minds of the *Hetrurians*. They thought this Reinforcement sent to them by Heaven, at a time when they had not expected it, and had determined to oppose the *Romans* without it. Those *Lucumonies* therefore which had not resolved on War, now joined those who had declared for it; and all *Hetruria* was in a Flame. The Desire of fighting seized even those who lived on the Confines of *Umbria*; and Endeavours were already made to gain the *Gauls* by Money, and draw them into the League. These Motions therefore, Accounts of which were brought to *Rome*, obliged the Senate to dispatch away the *Consul Appius*, to the Province allotted him, without Delay. *Hetruria* had fallen to his Lot; and his Collegue was already in *Samnium*. He marched thither in all Haste, with an Army consisting of two *Legions*, and twelve thousand Auxiliaries, that is, about twenty three thousand Men; and he came and posted him-

79 *Livy* says, That some ancient Annals gave *Fabius* alone, almost all the Glory of the Expedition, which *Decius* had finished against the *Samnites*, with so much Success; adding, That the Republick was indebted to him for the taking of *Romulea* and *Fer-*

rentinum. As for *Decius*, they left him the Honour of having taken the City of *Murgantia* by Assault. Others, whom *Livy* quotes, ascribe the Advantages gained over the *Samnites* this Year, to both *Consuls*.

self within Reach of the Enemy. His Expedition surprized the Enemy more than either his Reputation, or his Ability, had terrified them; but nevertheless, some of the Cantons of *Hetruria* suspended their Hostilities, more out of Dread of the Roman Name, than Fear of the General. *Appius* was indeed worsted, in many slight Actions. He neither understood how to time a Battel well, or to chuse his Ground: and the little Advantages gained by the Enemy, increased their Confidence, and made them promise themselves certain Victory, in a general Action. In short, things were come to that pass, that the Soldiers suspected the *Consul*, and the *Consul* was jealous of his Soldiers; and in this Extremity, *Appius* is said * (for the Fact is not absolutely certain, though it be very probable) to have written to his Collegue, to leave *Samnium* immediately, and fly to his Assistance. *Volumnius* was then busy, in continuing the Devastations the *Proconsul Decius* had begun, in the Country of the *Samnites*; and had already taken three Castles, in which he had killed about three thousand Men, and made fifteen hundred Prisoners. But upon *Appius's* Letter, his generous Collegue put a stop to his Exploits; hastened to join the *Consul* who sent for him; and left *Decius* to ravage *Samnium*, and *Fabius* to quiet and awe *Lucania*.

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L. VOLUMNI-
US FLAMMA
VIOLENS,
Consuls.

* Ex tribus
Annalibus ci-
tatis apud Lit-
vium.

WHEN *Volumnius* arrived at the *Roman* Camp, the Troops, and their General, received him in a very different manner. The Soldiers received him with Shouts, and extraordinary Acclamations; but *Appius* seemed surprized to see him. If indeed he had sent for his Collegue, it was very ungrateful to give him so ill a Reception; but if the Letter *Volumnius* pretended to have received, was false, or forged, *Appius* had reason to shew some Uneasiness. But however that were, the odd Temper of *Appius* gave the Publick room to believe, That he had written to *Volumnius*, when he thought himself in Danger; and That he was afterwards ashamed of having discovered, how much he wanted Assistance. *Appius* was proud, contemptuous, and an Enemy to the *Plebeians*; and would scarce vouchsafe to salute his Collegue. Well, Sir, said he to him, how stand Matters in *Samnium*? What has induced you to leave the Province allotted you? All is well, replied *Volumnius*; and my only Motive to come from thence, was a Letter I received as from you. If it be forged, and my Presence here is not necessary, I will be gone with my Troops this Instant. Go then, replied *Appius*, no body wants you here. It is not very handsome for you, who can scarce maintain yourself in your own Post, to march elsewhere, in order to gain the Reputation of having assisted others. It is mighty well, answered *Volumnius*; but I had rather be reproached, with having been too hasty in my March, upon false Advice; than with having suffered *Hetruria* to want a second Consular Army. It is indeed surprizing, that nothing was said about discovering the Author of this forged Letter; nor can it be supposed, that *Appius*, who was so well versed in Prosecutions, would have suffered so heinous an Offence against the publick Good, and so derogatory of his own Honour, to have escaped unpunished, if it had not been genuine. But such is the Weakness of Men of little Merit: when they want Assistance, they are glad to get it at any rate; and when they have received it, they become Enemies to those who gave it. To do them Service, is to cast such a Reproach upon them, as their Pride will not suffer them to forgive.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 18.

AFTER this private Interview, the *Consuls* appeared in publick, and were immediately surrounded with the Lieutenant-Generals, and *Tribunes*, of both Armies. Some applied themselves to *Appius*, and endeavoured to convince him, that he ought not to reject the Assistance of a Collegue, who voluntarily came to offer him his Service; and whom he ought to have sent a great way for, in case he had not come to his Camp. Others followed *Volumnius*, and intreated him, not to refuse his Assistance, when the common Cause called for it: and the greatest Part were for forcibly opposing *Volumnius's* Departure, and for stopping him whether he would, or not. What, said they to him, shall we suffer a Misunderstanding between the two *Consuls* to prove fatal to the Republick? We are just ready to give Battel; and if Matters should succeed ill with us, to whom will it be imputed? Will it be enquired, whether *Appius* treated you with Arrogance, or not? No; the Publick will only consider the ill Success of the Battel, and impute it to your too hasty Resentments. You say, *Appius* drives you away. We grant it; but the Republick requires you to stay. This you may see, by the Desires and Suffrages of the Army.

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VIOLENS,
Consuls.

As they were thus discoursing, the Officers led on the *Consuls* insensibly to that Part of the Camp, where the Soldiers used to be convened, to be harangued; and they found them assembled together. There the *Consuls* opened their Complaints against one another more at large, than they had done in their private Conversation; and as *Volumnius* had the best Cause, he defended it with Eloquence, and surpassed himself: for he was not born an Orator. But *Appius* rallied him for it. *Very wonderful indeed!* said he, *I have made a dumb Man speak.* *Volumnius* could scarce open his Mouth, all the time of our first Consulship, and for some Months of the second; but now he is become eloquent. *What a prodigious Change have I wrought in him!* If you have taught me to speak, replied *Volumnius*, you may in return learn of me how to fight. There is Instruction for Instruction, with this difference, that what I have to teach you, is of much greater Consequence, than what I have learnt from you. In our present Situation, it is of little Importance to be able to talk well; the Business is, to know how to conduct a Battel. *We have Wars to carry on in two Places, Samnium; and Hetruria: Do you therefore take your Choice.* It is indifferent to me, in which Province I command. At these Words there was immediately but one Voice, and one Opinion. The universal cry was, *This is the proper Place for the two Consuls to make War together, without separating.* I have then misunderstood the Intention of the Troops, replied *Volumnius*, when represented to me by my Collegue; and lest I should be guilty of a second Mistake, if you will have me tarry here, shew it by your Shouts. Instantly the Army made a general Shout, which was heard in the Enemy's Camp; and this loud Acclamation hastened a Battel. The *Hetrurians* and *Samnites*, who were then united in the same Camp, took their Arms; and the *Hetrurian* Army marched first out of the Camp; because *Egnatius* the *Samnite* General was then out a foraging, at the Head of some of his *Cohorts*. During his Absence, his Troops, tho' deprived of their Commander, marched into the Plain, but came last thither; and it was much the same Case with the two *Roman* Armies. *Volumnius* with his Troops, first marched out to engage the *Hetrurians*, and drew up in Battalia against them: but *Appius* hesitated for some time, whether he should join in the Battel. *Whether I have any Part in the Action, or no,* said he, *Volumnius will have all the Honour of the Victory;* and nothing determined him, but the Fear of being deserted by his Army. They discovered an Inclination to follow *Volumnius*, in Defiance of their General's Orders; and *Appius* complied with the Desires of his Soldiers, and gave the Signal for the Battel. The Troops on neither Side were formed in any great Order; the Absence of *Egnatius* on the one hand, and the Division of the *Consuls* on the other, produced some little Disorders in both. Besides, as the Armies had marched out of their Camps, at different times, the Generals had not time to dispose of their different *Corps* with due Care. *Volumnius* had even begun the Attack, before *Appius* was arrived; and, as if Fortune had made it her Business to change every thing, neither of the two *Roman* Armies fought with the Enemy it used to engage with. It fell to *Volumnius*, to engage the *Hetrurians*; and to his Collegue, to fight the *Samnites*. Nevertheless, what cannot an Emulation for Glory, and the Shame of being obscured by a Rival, effect! Spight, and Fear of Contempt, rouzed *Appius* to such a degree, that he exerted himself with much more Courage, than could have been expected. He gave his Orders like a good Commander, and fought with Intrepidity. He, at the Head of his Army, addressed himself to ⁷⁸ *Bellona*, in these Words; *Goddess, if thou crownest me with Victory, I make a Vow to erect a Temple to thee!* And then,

⁷⁸ The ancient Poets accustomed to multiply the Pagan Divinities, and deify the Creatures of their own Imaginations, made themselves a Goddess, who shared the Superintendency of War with *Mars*. They gave her the Name of *Bellona*, (from *Bellum*, War) to denote the Province they assigned her. But whether she was the Mother, Sister, or Wife, of the God of War; and whether she made it her principal Business to lead his Horses, or guide his Chariot, in the midst of Battels, are some of those arbitrary Opinions, about which the Mythologists dispute. Nevertheless, as they have no other Foundation than the Fictions of the Poets, and the Extravagancies of

Polytheism, we leave them to be discussed by those, who love to amuse themselves with the Dreams of Paganism. It is sufficient to know, that *Bellona* was worshipped by the *Greeks*, as the Companion of *Mars* in Armies, under the Name of *Enia*, whence the God of War was called *Enyalios*. The *Romans* gave this Goddess the same Qualities, and often the same Symbols, as *Pallas*. We find them both on the ancient Monuments, in the same Attitudes, and with the same Arms. They are both armed with an Helmet, a Buckler, and a Lance; so that it is very difficult to distinguish them on Medals. The same *Appius Claudius Cæcus*, who in the midst of his

then, full of Confidence in the Protection he implored, he almost equalled his Collegue, both in Bravery, and Conduct. He inspired his Men with Ardour, and made it his whole Business, to excite them so to exert themselves, that the first Advantage might be gained, where he commanded; and the Enemy were immediately

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DIUS CÆCUS,
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US FLAMMA
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Consuls.

his Engagement with the *Hetrurians*, made this Vow to build a Temple to *Bellona*, afterwards performed it. This Temple was built by his Orders, beyond the Walls, near *The Circus Flaminius*, without *The Gate Carmentalis*. After it was finished, he hung up in it the Bucklers and Images of his Forefathers; and inscribed on the Walls of it, all the Titles of Honour, which had been bestowed on his Ancestors. *Pliny the Naturalist* indeed, from whom we have taken this Account, makes another *Appius Claudius*, who was Consul with *Caius Servilius*, after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, the Founder of the Temple of *Bellona*: but it is plain, that here is a Mistake crept into the Text, through the Negligence, or Ignorance, of the Copyists. They make him say, B. 35. c. 3. that one *Appius Claudius* caused the Arms of his Ancestors to be hung up in the same Temple. *Suorum vero Clypeos in sacro, vel publico privatum dicare, primus instituit Appius Claudius, qui Consul cum Servilio fuit, anno urbis 259. Posuit enim in Bellonæ Aede Majores suos, placuitque in excelsis spectari & titulos honorum legi.* How could *Servilius's* Collegue hang up the Bucklers and Images of his Ancestors, in a Temple of *Bellona*, in the Year 259, when that Temple was not built till two hundred Years after? Such an Anachronism cannot without Injustice be imputed to an Author, so learned as *Pliny* was, in the History of his Nation. *Donatus* the Jesuit, and after him *Nardius*, discovered the Mistake we complain of. They have both, in their Descriptions of ancient Rome, restored the Passage entire. They have very justly put *Appius Claudius Cæcus* the Collegue of *Volumnius*, in the Text, instead of the other *Appius Claudius*, the Collegue of *Servilius*, who lived long before him here mentioned. Instead therefore of, *Appius Claudius qui Consul cum Servilio fuit anno urbis 259*; we ought to read, *Appius Claudius qui Consul cum Volumnio fuit, anno urbis 457*. And lest it should be thought, that we found this Correction upon Conjecture only, we shall add, that we have *Ovid's* Authority for it. He, *Fast. B. 6.* imputes the founding of the Temple of *Bellona*, to *Appius*, surnamed *Cæcus*; and says it was the same Man, who by the Force of his Eloquence, dissuaded the *Romans* from accepting the Peace *Pyrrhus* offered them.

This Temple was built without the City; because of a prevailing Superstition of that time, which made the People afraid of having any Commerce with a Goddess, who delighted in Slaughter and Trouble. They were apprehensive, that if they received her respectively in Rome, Dissentions and Quarrels would enter the City with her. She was thought a dangerous Neighbour, in a City, whose Safety and Increase depended on the Union of all its Inhabitants. For these Reasons, the *Romans*, in Conformity to the Religion and Rites of the ancient *Hetrurians*, shut all those Divinities without the Compass of Rome, which made themselves formidable by their Power to hurt Mankind. Nevertheless, this Custom did not long subsist. We shall soon see Altars erected in Rome, to the sanguinary and mischievous Gods. But to return to the Temple of *Bellona*, the Senate used to assemble in it, to give Audience to foreign Ambassadors, who lodged without the City; and to the victorious Generals, who claimed the Honours of a Triumph. We have already shewn the Policy of the *Romans* in it.

When the Republick had extended her Frontiers beyond Italy, the Distance of the Places, and the Hazards of long Journeys, which are often inconvenient and hazardous, hindered her from sending

Feciales to declare War with her Enemies: and then she contented herself, with only erecting near the Temple of *Bellona*, a little Marble Pillar, which was for that reason called *Columna Bellica*. To this Pillar the Consul, and a *Fecialis* attending him, came with great Ceremony; and after he had pronounced a certain Form of Words, he raised up a Pike to the Top of the Pillar; or, according to others, threw a Dart towards that Part of the World, where the Provinces lay, which the *Romans* resolved to enter Sword in hand. This first Act, or rather Appearance of an Act, of Hostility, was deemed a Declaration of War made in the Name of the People and the Senate. We have *Servius's* Testimony for this, in his Comment on these Words of the ninth *Æneid*;

*Et Jaculum intorquens emittit in auras
Principium Pugnae, &c.*

He says, that the *Romans*, when they were ready to take Arms against *Pyrrhus*, seized one of his Soldiers, made him sit down in *The Circus Flaminius*, near the Pillar of *Bellona*; and by a *Fecialis* formally proclaimed War with him, as if he had represented all his Nation. They persuaded themselves, that by this Ceremony, they discharged the Duty of Justice, and fulfilled the Laws of *Numa*, concerning the Formalities to be observed, before an open Rupture. *Festus* mentions the Pillar and Ceremony in these Words. *Bellona dicitur Dea Bellorum, ante cujus Templum erat columella quæ bellica vocabatur, supra quam hastam jaciebant, cum bellum indicebatur.* *Victor* also, in his Description of Rome, gives us much the same Account of it; *Ædes Bellonæ versus Portam Carmentalem. Ante hanc adem columna index belli ferendi*: and *Ovid* has not omitted this Custom, in the sixth Book of his *Fasti*. Some Authors say, that agreeably to this Custom, the *Roman* Armies, before they took the Field, presented themselves before this Pillar in a fighting Posture, and with their Darts levelled towards the Enemy's Country.

The Ministers consecrated to the Worship of *Bellona*, under the Name of *Bellonarii*, generally confined themselves to the Temples of the Goddess. They there affected frantick Transports, which they made pass for a prophetick Enthusiasm. In these mad Fits they armed themselves with Daggers, cut themselves in all Parts of their Bodies; caught the Blood which flowed from their Wounds in a *Patera*, and offered it up to *Bellona*, by way of *Libation*. To which *Tertullian* adds, *ch. 9.* of his *Apolo-logy for the Christians*, that they distributed a Part of this Blood, to those who were initiated in their Mysteries. After this cruel Operation, as if they had been intoxicated all on a sudden with some divine Vapour, their Looks grew wild, a sudden Trembling seized them in all Parts of their Bodies, and they made the Temple ring with their Howlings. By these forced Agitations, and hideous Contortions, they imposed on the simple People, who took them for Prophets; and as they were persuaded, that these Impostors were possessed by the Spirit of the Goddess, the broken Words they pronounced in these violent Agitations, passed for so many Oracles. Thus they first imposed on the credulous People, in making them believe, that they penetrated into the Secrets of Futurity: and then intimidated those who were present, with Predictions of War, Famine, and the like Disasters. These mad Fellows endeavoured to give a visible Representation of the fiery and turbulent Temper of their supposed Goddess; by these affected and strange Postures.

This

Year of diately overpowered, and put to flight. How could they resist two *Consular Ar-*
R O M E mies, who had been but little superior to one? They were repulsed, and driven
 CCCCLVII. back fighting to their Camp; and then *Egnatius* appeared with his *Cohorts*, which
 he led back from foraging. His Presence revived the Courage of the Vanquished,
 APPIUS CLAU- and they rallied, and sustained the Attacks of the *Romans* for some time longer;
 DIUS CÆCUS, but the second Defeat soon followed the first. So that the Conquerors had no-
 L. VOLUMNI- thing to do, but to make themselves Masters of the Camp, which they attacked
 US FLAMMA upon the Spot. *Volumnius* advanced with his Troops towards the Rampart, whilst
 VIOLENS, *Appius* was encouraging his Soldiers, incessantly repeating the Name of *Bellona*.
 Consuls. At length, after filling the Ditch, the *Romans* climbed up the Rampart; the Camp
 was taken and pillaged, and all the Booty given to the Soldiers. The Enemy left
 seven thousand three hundred Men dead upon the Place, and two thousand one
 hundred of them were made Prisoners of War. It is not to be denied, but *Appius*
 bore a good Part in this glorious Action; and it must be granted, that if he in-
 spired *Volumnius* with Eloquence, *Volumnius* inspired him with Courage.

Liv. B 19.
c. 20.

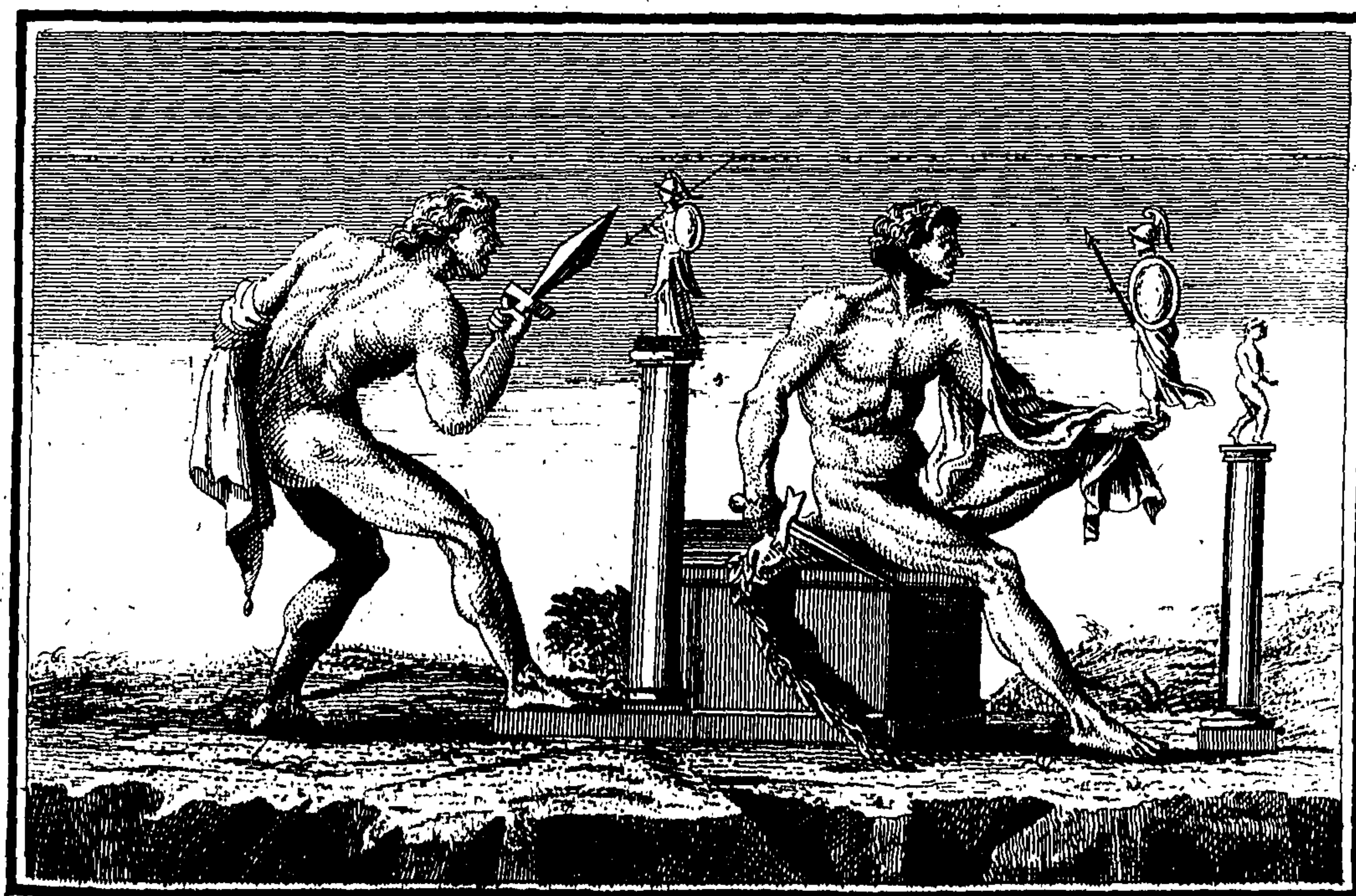
§. XXV. AND now, their having reaped an equal Share of Glory, united the two
Consuls, whom Jealousy had divided. They agreed to act jointly, and employ all
 the Forces of *Rome* against *Hetruria*; but an unexpected Event called back *Volum-*
nus to his Province. It is indeed scarce credible, that the *Samnites* should be able
 to raise new Forces, and send them into the *Roman* Territory, after they had been
 so much exhausted: But nevertheless, it is certain, they did levy new Troops, which
 took their March thro' the Territory of *Vescia*, in order to pass into *Campania*,
 which then belonged to the *Romans*. They sacked this fine Country with the more
 Ease, because the Commissions of *Fabius* and *Decius* were ready to expire; and *Vo-*
lumnus therefore hastened to succour the *Campani*. During his March, *Rome* was
 seized with a Pannick, as usual, upon the first News of this new Enterprize of the
Samnites: And her Terror was increased, upon Reports, That since the Departure
 of *Volumnius*, *Hetruria* had recovered her Courage; That the *Lucumonies* were
 going to unite; That the General of the *Samnites* was preparing for new Battels;
 That the *Umbri* had Thoughts of deserting the Cause of *Rome*; and That the *Gauls*
 were earnestly pressed to declare against her. These Accounts intimidated the Sena-
 tors, who ordered a general Suspension of all Civil Affairs. The Courts of Justice
 were shut up; and the Citizens were wholly employed in making new Preparations
 for the War. *P. Sempronius*, the *Prætor* who commanded in the City, made an ex-
 traordinary Levy of Troops there; The young Citizens, and Persons of free Con-
 dition, were not the only People enlisted; the military Oaths were administered even
 to old Men, of whom several *Manipuli* were raised, and to the Sons &c of *Freed-*
men: which done, the next Business was to fortify the City, and store it with
 Provisions. During these Alarms, *Volumnius* advanced gradually towards *Campan-*
ia; and was no sooner entered those fine Plains, at the Foot of Mount *Massicus*,

This was the Phanaticism, for which the Pagans re-
 veyed the Priests of *Bellona*, who were therefore
 called *Fanatici*, by way of Distinction, as being in-
 spired Persons, who did nothing, but what the Di-
 vine Spirit moved them to. The Ancients call them
 by no other Name. Thus *Juvenal*, Satyr 4. *Sed*
ut Fanaticus æstro Percussus, Bellona, tuo. The three
Bellonarii, which we have engraven, according to
 the ancient Monuments, are agreeable to the De-
 scriptions the Historians give us of them, both as to
 their Attitudes, and all other Particulars. The first
 Figure represents one CORNELIUS JANUARIUS, un-
 der the Title of the FANATICUS of ISIS, of SERAPIS,
 and of BELLONA. Near the second and third, stands
 the Pillar before described. An ancient Inscription,
 mentioned by *Gruter*, gives one QUINTUS CÆCI-
 LIUS, the Title of FANATICUS of BELLONA.

79 It will doubtless seem strange, that the new Ar-
 my of the *Samnites* should take their Rout through
 the Lands of *Vescia*, which lay near the River *Liris*,
 in order to come into the Territory of *Falernum*,
 which lay between Mount *Massicus*, and the River
Vulturnus, and consequently was nearer *Samnium*.
 It seemed natural to take the shortest Way, instead
 of marching a great way round about. The disse-

rence of these Roads is visible, by a Cast of the
 Eye on the Map. But these new Troops were nei-
 ther numerous, nor strong enough, to dare attempt
 to pass through the Country of the *Volsi*, and *Au-*
runci. They would have run great hazards in a
 Province, where the greatest Part of the Inhabitants
 were *Romans*. And as the *Samnites* found it for
 their Safety, not to go far from their Frontiers, so
 they did not think it proper to advance too far into
Campania.

80 We have often observed already, that accord-
 ing to the *Roman* Laws, only Persons of free Con-
 dition had a Right to be incorporated in the *Legions*;
 and only such of these, as were of the five first Classes
 instituted by *Servius Tullius*, were commonly ad-
 mitted into them. The *Capite-censi*, and *Proletarii*
 were generally excluded; only in great Emergen-
 cies, both they, and the *Freed-men*, and Slaves, were
 admitted. But the latter had their Liberty given
 them at the same time; and so acquired a conside-
 rable Advantage. They were put upon a foot with
 the other *Legionaries*; and after having served a sta-
 ted time, could, in their turns, enjoy Honours, and
 military Offices.



Priests of Bellona.

in the District of *Cale*, but he was an Eye-witness of the terrible Ravages the *Samnites* had committed there. The Inhabitants informed him, that the *Samnites* were so loaded with Spoil, that they could scarce march in Order of Battel; and their *Design*, said they, *is to march home to Samnium, to ease themselves of their Prey; and then to return hither, to complete the Devastation of our Houses and Estates.* The Ruin of so many poor Allies affected the *Consul*; but tho' he believed the Report of the People of the Country, he was willing to get some further Assurances of the Condition of the Enemy. In order thereto, he sent out some Horse to make Discoveries; with Orders, to bring him all the *Samnites* they found dispersed about the Country to plunder. He examined the Prisoners himself, and was by them informed, That the Enemy was encamped on the Banks of the *Vulturturnus*; and That they were to march away from thence, in the middle of the Night following, in order to return to *Samnium*. Upon this Intelligence, *Volumnius* took his Measures like a skilful Commander. He advanced with his Troops so near the Enemy, as to be able to watch their Motions, but not near enough to be discovered by them. Before Day, he renewed his March; and drawing near the *Samnite* Camp, he ordered some of his Soldiers, who understood the *Oscian* Language, which was spoken in *Samnium*, to enter it. These Spies, who were not discovered in the Night, and in the Hurry of decamping, brought the *Consul* word, That the first Battalions were already gone; That the greatest part of the Army had laid aside their Arms; That the Booty, and its Guard, were defenceless, and in a manner without Commanders; That they were for the most part a Company of contemptible Wretches, who were very intent upon preserving their Rapines, and had little Resolution to fight; and lastly, who had scarce any good Understanding among one another, or Deference for their Leaders. *Volumnius* therefore thought this the critical Time to begin the Attack, for the Day appeared; and he fell unexpectedly on the advanced Guard, which was not prepared even for its own Defence. Some of the *Samnites* were armed; others were not. The latter hastened their Pace, and drove those who had the Booty, before them; the former deliberated, whether it were best for them to return to the Camp, or advance; and whilst they were hesitating, and consulting what to do, the *Romans* fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. After this, the *Consul* marched his Army towards the Camp, to besiege it; and it was no sooner attacked but taken. The *Romans* were already upon the Rampart; every thing was already in Confusion, and the Slaughter begun in the Enemy's Trenches, when the *Campani*, whom the *Samnites* had taken Prisoners, increased the Tumult, and favoured the *Romans*. The first of these Captives who broke their Chains, delivered their Companions, and all together seized the Arms, tied up in Bundles, which they readily found, and made use of them for their own Deliverance. These desperate Men made a greater Slaughter in the Center of their Camp, than the *Romans* did in the Battel; and they made a bold Attempt, which did them much Honour. They surrounded *Minatius Stajus*, one of the Chiefs of the *Samnites*, as he was riding thro' the Ranks of his Army; dispersed his Guard, seized him, and brought him to the *Consul*. In the mean time, the Advanced-Guard, which the *Romans* had only in part defeated, returned to the Camp to defend it, and upon their Arrival, the Battel became more bloody than before; but this Ardour was soon abated. The *Romans* killed about six thousand *Samnites* in the Action, and took two thousand five hundred Prisoners, among whom were four *Tribunes*. They had the Pleasure of taking thirty Colours from the Enemy; and the much greater Satisfaction of having broken off the Chains of seven thousand four hundred *Campani*, who were ready to be condemned to Slavery. All the Booty the *Samnites* had taken in *Campania*, being also recovered, the Inhabitants of the pillaged Places were assembled, and as every one knew his own Effects, they were restored to him. Those Goods which were not owned in a certain time, were distributed among the *Roman* Soldiers; who, by the General's Order, sold them, lest they should be too much incumbered with them.

THE News of this complete Victory calmed the Minds of the People in *Rome*; and publick *Supplications*⁸¹ were there ordered to be offered up, in the Name, and

⁸¹ These publick Prayers were called by the *Romans*, *Supplicationes*. They were appointed by the Senate to appease the Wrath of the Gods, or to put a stop to a contagious Distemper, or other great Calamity; but chiefly, by way of Thanksgiving for a Victory, or the Success of any Enterprize, which

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APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS,
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA
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Year of
R O M E
CCCCLVII.
APPIUS CLAU-
DIUS CÆCUS,
L. VOLUMNI-
US FLAMMA
VIOLENS,
Consuls.

to the Honour, of *Volumnius*. All the Temples were opened, and the People crowded to them with Joy. Civil Affairs, which had been interrupted for eighteen Days were again carried on, as usual: And it being then taken into Consideration, what would be the most proper Means to secure the Country the *Samnites* had so lately ravaged, from their Incursions for the future; it was deemed proper to settle two Colonies, one at the Mouth of the *Liris*, called *The Colony of Minturnæ*; and another in a City built by the *Greeks*, formerly called *Sinope*, and now ⁸² *Sinuessa*. Pursuant to this Resolution, the *Tribunes of the People* drew up a Law, commanding *Sempronius* the *Prætor*, to nominate three Commissioners for each Colony, to conduct them to their respective Places, and distribute some Lands among them, for their Property. But it was observed, that the Populace were not very fond of these new Settlements. They looked on this Part of *Campania*, as a Country infested with Enemies, which would oblige them to be continually under Arms, and not give them time to cultivate their Lands. Insomuch, that tho' the Law was passed, it was not put in Execution till the Year following. Matters of greater Importance employed the Republick for the present; not barely Reports, but certain Advices, were brought, that the *Hetrurians* had concluded a League with the *Samnites*, *Umbri*, and *Gauls*. The Armies of these four Nations were already assembled in two Camps; and *Appius* was left alone in *Hetruria*, to make Head against this great Number of Enemies.

§. XXVI. IN the mean while, the Time drew near for assembling the *Comitia* for Elections; and *Appius's* Presence being necessary in *Hetruria*, it was not thought proper to recall him, to preside in them. *Volumnius* therefore returned to *Rome*, held the Assembly in the *Campus Martius*, and before the *Centuries* entered into the Voting-Place, he made this Harangue. *I have known by Experience of what Importance the War is, with which you are threatened in Hetruria. Both Appius and myself together, were scarce able to resist the Force of the Enemies which we had upon our Hands the last Year. One General was not sufficient for so perilous an Undertaking. What then is to be thought of the next Campaign? Two new Nations have already joined those, which so much alarmed us. The Umbri, and the Gauls have joined the Samnites and Hetrurians, and the Number of your Enemies increases as fast as your Glory. Consider then the Importance of making a good Choice. You must find out two Men who are well qualified to make Head against four Armies. For my own part, I would, of my own Authority, nominate a Dictator, were I not persuaded that you will commit the Management of Affairs to none but the greatest Generals in Rome.* These Words turned all Mens Thoughts and Inclinations to *Fabius*; and it was not to be doubted but this Great Man would be unanimously elected. The first *Centuries* had already declared in his favour, and given him *Volumnius* for his Collegue; but the Difficulties he himself started, about his Election, suspended the voting of the last *Centuries* for some time. *Fabius* excused himself, as he had formerly done, on account of his Age, and the Regard he had for the Laws. But it was replied, That the Necessity of Affairs, and the unanimous Consent of the People, ought to make him sacrifice his Reluctancy to the Love of his Country: And he at length submitted to bear the Burden which was laid upon him, provided he might have his faithful *Decius* for his Collegue. *Decius*, said he, *is the only Man who can supply the Defects of my old Age. His Proceedings in the two Consulships, and the Censorship, in which we were Collegues, have satisfied me that we shall act with Harmony. And what Advantages has not the Republick Reason to expect from thence? Men of my Age are hardly brought to comply with the Temper of those they don't know. But I shall find less*

had proved advantageous to the Republick. Then the Temples were opened, and all Orders of Men visited them with great Ceremony. These pompous Marches have been adopted into Christianity, and consecrated in the Church of *Rome*, under the Name of *Processions*. During these Solemnities, the whole City rung with joyful Acclamations. Nothing was any where heard, but Hymns sung to Instruments of Musick. The Altars streamed with the Blood of Victims, and the Festival ended with Sports, and publick Rejoicings. In a word, the Courts of Justice were shut up, and it was thought an Offence

against Religion, to do any servile Work on these Days. See p. 496. of the first Volume, Note 146.

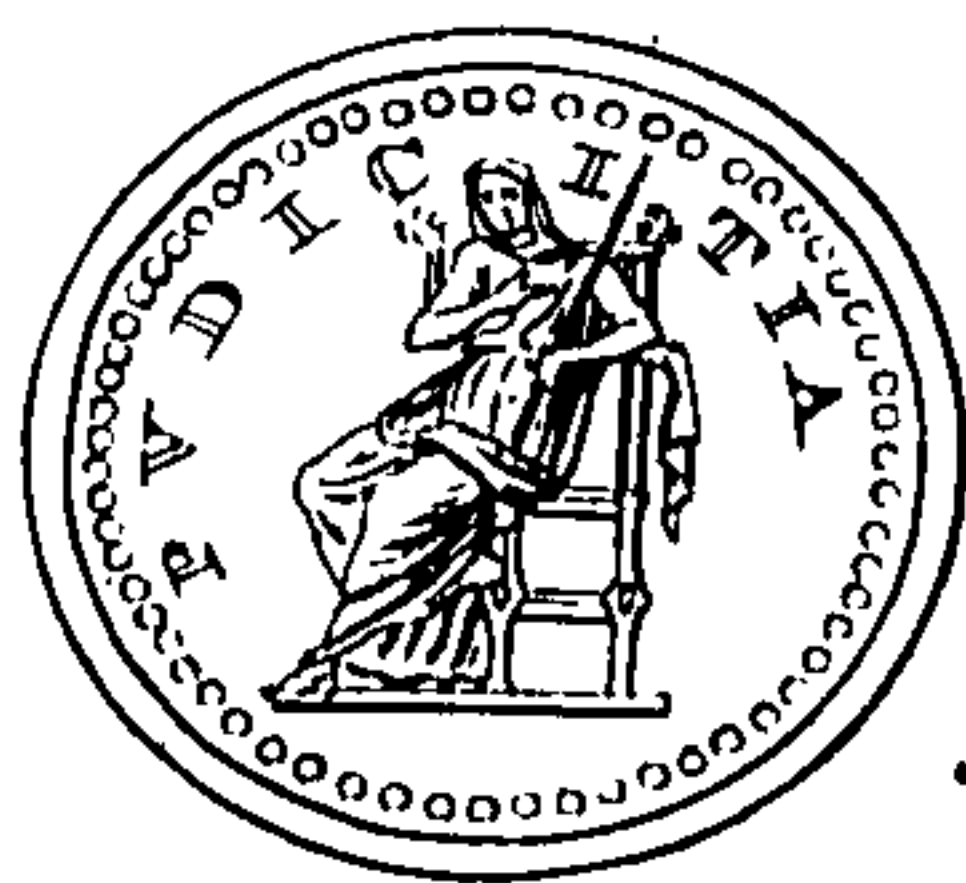
82 The ancient City of *Sinuessa* was formerly one of the most considerable, in the Country of the *Aurunci*. It stood beyond the River *Liris*, now the *Garigliano*, nine or ten Miles from *Minturnæ*. It has now been utterly destroyed for several Ages. Modern Geographers think it was not far from the Castle, which is commonly called, in the Language of the Country, *Rocca di Monte Dragone*. There are indeed some Footsteps of a great City, near that Place.

Difficulty

Difficulty in disclosing my Sentiments, and communicating my Designs, to a Man with whom I have been so long acquainted. Upon this, *Volumnius*, who presided in the Assembly, was, by *Fabius's* Demand, deprived of the *Consulship* designed him; and the Preference given by *Fabius*, to his old Collegue, was indeed a kind of Affront to him. But Ambition, and Delicacy in point of Honour, then gave way to the publick Good. *Volumnius* approved of *Fabius's* Request; and made a fine Encomium on *Decius*, to the *Centuries*; but insisted chiefly on the great Advantages which would flow from the Harmony of two Generals, who were in such strict Friendship. *Alas!* added he, *to what Dangers did the Contests that arose between Appius and me, expose the Republick!* And then, with the Mein and Gravity of a Consul, he gave *Fabius* and *Decius* this serious Advice. *Live together*, said he, *in a perfect good Understanding; and let Jealousy never put you at Variance. You are both Great Men; and don't make Glory to consist in talking prettily. You know how to fight with your Arms, better than with your Tongues. These are Men worthy of the Consulship! As for your great Speakers, the fine Orators who are so learned in the Laws, they are only fit to reside in the City, in the Quality of Prætor, and administer Justice there.*

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLVII.
APPIUS CLAU-
DIUS CÆCUS,
L. VOLUMNI-
US FLAMMA
VIOLENS,
Consuls.

THE whole Day was spent in Harangues, and Conferences; so that the Elections were postponed till the next Day. Then *Fabius* and *Decius*, tho' both absent, were proclaimed *Consuls*; and *Appius*, who was then in *Hetruria*, was constituted *Prætor*. As for *Volumnius*, he gained more Glory in the *Comitia*, than if he had been chosen *Consul*; and he was confirmed General of the Army he had commanded in *Samnium*, and declared *Proconsul* for that Province. His Commission ran for the whole Year; and it was confirmed both by Senate and People. However, as his *Consulship* was not yet expired, and his Successors were only appointed for the next Year, it was in his Time that many Prodigies appeared, which filled the superstitious *Romans* with Dread. In this Crisis of an approaching terrible War, the People took Notice of the least uncommon Events, and thought them Presages: and in order to avert the Scourges with which they imagined themselves to be threatened, the Senate ordered *Stations*, in all the Temples; and they were opened, and frequented. The Wine and Incense for the Sacrifices was paid for, out of the publick Treasury; and these publick Acts of Devotion gave Rise to a Quarrel between the *Roman Ladies*, and occasioned the building of a new Temple. In the Ox-Market, near the Altar of *Hercules*, was a Temple built to the Honour of *Patrician*⁸³ *Chastity*; and none of the Wives of the *Plebeians*, how illustrious soever their Husbands might be, were permitted to go into it, much less perform the Functions of Priestesses there. Nevertheless, *Aula Virginia*, the Wife of the Consul *Volumnius*, claimed a Right of assisting at the Ceremonies which were there performed for the *Patrician Ladies*. She was herself descended from the greatest of the Nobility, tho' she had married a *Plebeian*; and as her Husband was *Consul*, and she was noble by Birth, she had the Confidence, to offer herself, to be admitted to the same Sacrifice, with



Silver.

⁸³ The *Romans*, after the Example of the *Greeks*, made every Attribute they conceived to belong to the supreme Being, a distinct Divinity. They carried the Dreams of Polytheism so far, as to deify Virtues and Vices. Thus every thing, which ought to have been the Object of their Imitation, or Aversion, became, by a strange Preposterousness, the Object of their Homage, and Worship. Thus they madly paid divine Honours to CHASTITY. We find it represented on several Medals, under the Figure of a Goddess, with this Inscription, PUDICI-

TIA. In the first of those above, this pretended Divinity is drawn in the Posture of a modest Woman. She holds up her Hand towards her Face, and points to it with her Finger, to shew, that that is the principal Seat of Modesty and Chastity. In the second, we see two Doves placed, one by the Right, and the other by the Left, Shoulder of the Goddess. These two Animals were, according to *Pliny*, B. 10. c. 34. the Symbols of conjugal Chastity. *Pudicitia illis prima, & neutri nota adulteria, conjugii fidem non violant, communemque servant domum.*

Year of the Wives of the Nobles. But notwithstanding her Husband's high Post, she was made to know, that she had degraded herself by marrying into a *Plebeian* Family. She was refused Entrance into the Temple; and she in vain urged, that being a Woman of Honour, and a *Patrician*, she had a Right, to bear her Part in the Worship paid to *Chastity*. What, said she, is my Honour suspected? Was I meanly born, or have I married two Husbands? (Second Marriages⁸⁴ were then so great a Blemish on the *Roman* Women, that it excluded them the Temple of *Chastity*.) Besides, I don't at all repent of my Choice. The Husband I have married, has been more than once deemed worthy of the highest Office in the Republick. But this made no Impression on the Women, who were proud of not having married beneath themselves; and *Virginia* was excluded from their religious Assembly. Upon which she took a Resolution, for which the Ancients commend her. Her House stood in a Street called *The Long Street*; she divided a Part of it from the rest, in order to make it a Temple to *Plebeian Chastity*; and she consecrated an Altar there herself. She assembled the *Plebeian* Women of Distinction, which were grown very numerous since the *Plebeians* had been admitted into the chief Dignities; and after she had expressed to them her Resentment at the Pride of the *Patrician* Women, she said; *We also will have a Temple, wherein we will hold our Assemblies, to honour the Virtue which is so dear to us. I consecrate this Sanctuary To Plebeian Chastity. Let us shew as great an Emulation to excel the Patrician Women in Chastity and Modesty, as our Husbands do, to equal the Patrician Consuls in military Exploits. Let us so behave ourselves, that the Goddess may be served here with purer Hands than any where else.* Ceremonies were instituted in this Place, much like those established in the first Temple built to *Chastity*; and this Fervour continued for some time: but at length, Women of little Merit, and doubtful Characters, were admitted into it; the Assembly sunk into Disgrace; and no more mention was made of *Plebeian Chastity* in *Rome*.

At the same time, several other Temples were enriched by pecuniary Mulcts. Two *Ogulnii* were now *Curule Ædiles*, and they shewed their Zeal for the publick Good, by searching after the Usurers, who ruined the People, under pretence of doing them Service. Their Goods were confiscated to the Use of the publick Treasury, and with the Money they sold for, were bought, a brazen Gate for the *Capitol*; Silver-Plate enough for three Tables, in the Sacrifices of *Jupiter*; a Statue⁸⁵ of this God, in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, which was erected at the

⁸⁴ Among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, it was thought dishonourable for a Woman to marry twice. They judged it to be a criminal Incontinence, and a kind of tacit Breach of the Promises made in her first Marriage; and the Pagan Theology gave a great Sanction to this Opinion. A Woman was then supposed accountable to the *Manes* of her first Husband, for the Fidelity she had sworn to him: and it is in this Sense, that *Virgil* makes *Dido* the Widow of *Sichæus*, say, in his fourth *Æneid*,

*Ille meos primus, qui me sibi junxit, amores,
Abstulit; ille habeat secum, servetque sepulchro.*

Penelope in *Homer*, is courted by a Crowd of Lovers, and she obstinately resists all their Sollicitations, tho' they endeavour all they can to convince her, that *Ulysses* is dead. She continues inflexible, in order to preserve her Character, as she herself declares, and for fear she should break the sacred Bands which still, as she supposed, united her to the *Manes* of her Husband. This Credulity was carried so far, that the dead Husband was thought to be solicitous about keeping the Love and Affections of his Wife wholly to himself; and in consequence of this ridiculous Persuasion, a second Marriage was thought to give him Grief and Confusion, even in the Regions of the Dead. Hence *Justinian* says, *Paragr. qua modo de Nupt.* *Anima mariti defuncti secundis nuptiis contristatur.* *Valerius Maximus* expresses himself in such a manner, on this Subject, as to shew us what were the Sentiments of the Pagans, tho' brought up in a Religion, which consecrated Debauchery. *Que*

uno contentæ matrimonio fuerunt, corona pudicitie honorabantur. Existimabant enim eum præcipue matronæ sincera fide incorruptum esse animum, qui depositæ virginitatis cubile pudicum egredi nesciret. Multorum matrimoniorum experientiam illegitimæ cujusdam intemperantiæ signum esse credentes. Above all, particular care was taken, that the Women who presided at the Conclusion of Marriages, under the Name of *Pronuba*, should have had but one Husband. A happy Presage was drawn from them, in favour of the Bride; and it was taken for granted, that even Death itself would never break those Obligations, which were entered into, under the *Auspices*, and with the Assistance of a Woman, who had continued faithful to her first Promises. *Pronuba*, says *Festus*, *adhibebantur Nuptiis, quæ semel nupserant, Matrimonii perpetuitatem auspicantes.* *Tertullian*, B. 13. of his *Exhortation to Chastity*, makes use of these Prepossessions of the Pagans, to decry second Marriages. *Monogamia apud Ethnicos in summo honore est, ut & virginibus legitime nubentibus, univira pronuba adhibeatur.*

⁸⁵ *Plutarch* tells us, in his *Life of Poplicola*, that the *Romans* had, in *Poplicola's* time, erected on the Top of the *Capitol*, a Statue of *Jupiter* drawn in a Chariot by four Horses; but it was made only of baked Earth. *Tarquin*, says he, was yet upon the Throne, when he ordered the Temple of *Jupiter* to be built on the *Capitol*; and before it was built, he had formed a Design of adding to the Majesty of it, by placing a Statue of *Jupiter* in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, on the Ridge of it. This Statue was to be made of baked Earth, and he

the Entrance into this Temple; and a ⁸⁶ *Bas-relief* representing *Romulus* and *Remus* sucking the Wolf. The latter was fixed near the ⁸⁷ *Ficus Ruminalis*, that is, the Place whither, according to Tradition, the Twins were carried by the Stream, and thrown on Shore. With the same Money the *Ædiles* likewise paved a Way from *The Gate* ⁸⁸ *Capena* to the Temple ⁸⁹ of *Mars*, with great hard square Stones.

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L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA
VIOLENS,
Consuls.



he committed it to the Care of some *Tuscan* Workmen of *Veii*; but soon after this, he was expelled *Rome* for his Tyranny: and by a sudden Revolution, the Regal Power was banished, and the Government entirely changed. Nevertheless, the Workmen, when they had formed the Chariot, put it into the Oven to bake it: and then by a strange Prodigy, the dried Earth instead of shrinking, swelled, and extended itself so much, that the Work could not be taken out whole, without beating down the Oven; and even so, it was difficult to remove this great Mass, without doing it damage. The Diviners were consulted about this Event, which was thought contrary to the ordinary Course of Nature; and they thought it a Decree of Fate. The Gods, said they, promise boundless Power, and the utmost Prosperity to the People, who shall keep this precious *Depositum* in their Possession. Upon this Answer, the *Veientes* did not care to deliver up their Work to the *Romans*. Their Pretence for their Refusal was, that as *Tarquin* only had set them to work, it was not just to deprive him of what belonged to him, and give it to those who had dethroned him. Some Days after, the *Veientes* celebrated solemn Games, and exercised themselves in Chariot-Races. The Conqueror, who had been crowned as usual, was driving his Horses gently out of the Lists, when all on a sudden, the Horses, seized with a sudden Fright, held the Bitts fast between their Teeth, and ran full speed towards the City of *Rome*. It was out of the Power of him who drove them, to stop those fiery Animals in their Course; they did not regard the Voice of their Master, drew him, whether he would or not, into the midst of the *Capitol*; and there overturned him near a Gate called ever after *The Gate Ratumena*, from the Name of *Ratumenas*, who was the *Veian* who drove them. The Inhabitants of *Veii*, adds *Plutarch*, surprized at this extraordinary Accident, restored the *Romans* the Chariot, with which *Tarquin* intended to have adorned the *Capitol*. Whence it is natural to conclude, that this Chariot of baked Earth, was now changed for another of more valuable Materials, and, as we conjecture, of Brass. *Pliny*, B. 28. c. 2. relates the same Story, which we have here borrowed from *Plutarch*.

⁸⁶ The Monument erected by the *Ædiles* to perpetuate the Memory of the traditionary Fable of the Twins, is supposed to be the same that is now to be seen at *Rome*, in the Palace of *The Conservator*. *Dion. Hal.*'s Account of this Fable is as follows. There was a very thick Wood near the bank where the *Tyber* cast *Romulus* and *Remus*

ashore; and there was a Cave dug in the Rock out of which flowed a plentiful Spring. This Place is said to have been consecrated to *Pan*, who had an Altar there. The Wood is now destroyed: and nothing remains, but the Cave out of which runs a Spring, which washes the Foot of the Hill *Palatinus*, in the Way that leads to the *Circus*. Near it is a little Temple, and a very ancient Monument of Brass, representing the two Brothers under the Wolf, sucking her. The *Romans*, in order to perpetuate the Memory of their Founders, have transmitted this Story to us, fabulous as it is, on Multitudes of Monuments, which are still in being, and are every day found in the Ruins of ancient *Rome*. That above is taken out of the Cabinet of *Mons. de la Chauffe*. It represents the Shepherd *Faustulus*, the *Ficus Ruminalis*, and the City of *Rome*, under the Person of a warlike Divinity.

⁸⁷ The *Ficus Ruminalis*, according to *Pliny*, was long held in great Veneration by the *Romans*. They called it so from the Latin Word *Rumen*, a Teat, which alludes to the fabulous Story of the Wolf, which suckled *Romulus* and *Remus*, whom the Stream had lodged under this wild Fig-Tree. Hence came the Name of *Rumina*, which the *Romans* gave to a Divinity of their own Invention, because they supposed she took care of Children at the Breast: and under this Persuasion, they made Libations of Milk to her, at certain Seasons of the Year. As to the exact Place where this *Ruminal Fig-tree* was planted, it is of little Importance to know it. Most Writers place it in the *Comitium*, some in the *Forum Romanum*, some near the *Circus*. *Plutarch* says it stood in the Place, which was long afterwards called *Germalum*, or *Germanum*, from the Term *Germani*, which was proper for the two Brothers. And in order to reconcile these different Opinions, it may be observed, that all these Places were so near one another, that the Ancients might very well confound them with one another, and not intend to be understood in the strictest topographical Sense.

⁸⁸ See our Remarks on *The Gate Capena* above, p. 116. of this Volume, Note 75.

⁸⁹ This Temple of *Mars* is the same the *Romans* vowed to erect to the Honour of this military God, when they were at war with the *Gauls*. *Titus Quintius* dedicated it, according to *Livy*, in the Year of *Rome* 367. It stood without the Walls, near *The Gate Capena*, at the beginning of *The Appian Way*, as we learn from *Ovid*, *Fasts*, B. 6.

*Lux eadem Marti festa est, quem prospicit extra
Appositum tectæ porta Capena viæ.*

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLVII.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS,
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA
VIOLENS,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLVIII.

Q. FABIUS
MAXIMUS,
P. DECIVS
MUS, Consuls

After their Example, *Ælius Pætus*, and *Fulvius Curvus*, two *Plebeian Ædiles* taxed the Country-People, who fed their Flocks on the publick Lands, to the Detriment of the Republick, which always reserving to herself some of the conquered Lands, had now much encreased her Demesnes; and this Tax was sufficient to defray the Expences of some *Publick Games*, and to purchase some Gold-Cups, to be used in the Sacrifices offered up in the Temple of *Ceres*. Thus we see, the *Romans* insensibly introduced Luxury, in Matters of Religion at least, since their late Conquests; and their primitive Simplicity began to disappear.

§. XXVII. At length, the Time came for *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* to enter upon their *Consulships*; the former the fifth, the latter the fourth time. It was indeed customary for the new *Consuls* to cast Lots for their respective Provinces; but it was now natural enough to suppose, that *Decius* would compliment *Fabius* with the Command in *Hetruria*, where the Strength of the War would lye. The Gratitude he owed to this illustrious Friend, the Age, Birth, and superior Merit of *Fabius*, that happy Peace and Concord which all Orders of Men in the State expected to reign between the two Generals, and in short, the Sweetness of *Decius's* Disposition, and the great Respect he had all along shewn to *Fabius*, all these things made it generally believed, that the Beginning of that Office could not be spent in Disputes. But how difficult is it for a Man to avoid being carried away with the Stream of a Faction, in which he once engages! The *Patricians* made it a Point of Honour, that *Fabius* should not give up the Command of the Army in *Hetruria*, to any Person whatsoever; and the *Plebeians*, on the other hand, would not suffer a Point to be usurped upon them, which might have ill Consequences. They were, doubtless, fearful, lest the *Consul* chosen out of the Nobility should for the future claim a Right of chusing his Province, without drawing Lots; and the pacifick *Decius* was as it were compelled, in spite of himself, to give way to the Tyranny of his Party. He therefore contended, that it ought to be determined by Lot, whether *Fabius* or he should command in *Hetruria*; and the Affair was first brought before the Senate. But it not being to be expected that *Decius*, who was a *Plebeian*, should gain his Point there, it was afterwards brought before the People. The *Comitia* were assembled, and the two Competitors spoke, each for himself, not indeed like Orators, but like Soldiers. *I have planted a Tree*, said *Fabius*, *and shall another gather the Fruit of it? I am the first who by Force of Arms opened a Way cross the Ciminian Forest; and is it not just that I should finish what I have begun? If the Republick had not intended this, why did she press a Man of my Age to appear again at the Helm of Affairs? Did I make myself an Adversary, when I chose myself a Colleague? But after all, I am content to make War in whatever Place I shall be thought worthy to command. I would have obeyed the Decision of the Senate; and will without Difficulty submit to the Determination of the People.* Then *Decius* spoke, rather like a Man actuated and spirited up by his Party, than like one who acted upon Views of private Interest. *The Patricians*, said he, *have used their utmost Endeavours, to exclude us from the greatest Dignities; but nevertheless, the Plebeians have been promoted to them. The present Attempt is to rob us of the chief Prerogative of those Dignities. The Republick has hitherto kept the two Consuls upon a perfect Equality, with regard to one another, and their respective Employments have been no otherwise determined than by Lot. But now the Patricians would, by an Act of Power, give Fabius the most honourable Command. Did the Question relate only to the augmenting his Glory, both the State and myself are too much indebted to him, to dispute with him the Honours he has merited. But in the present case, he cannot gain his Point, unless at the Expence of the Consular Office. Arbitrarily to give him the Preference before me, and appoint him to carry on the only War which is of Importance, is to judge me incapable of succeeding in it. It is said, Fabius first opened a Way into Hetruria; and perhaps it is reserved for me to finish the Conquest of it; and to extinguish that Fire which he left covered, but not entirely put out. In any other Contest about Precedence, I would pay all due Deference to the Age and Dignity of Fabius; but, with regard to braving Danger, and marching to an Engagement, I will yield to no Man. If the People give it against me, I shall at least have the Satisfaction of not having been judged by the Senate, which is an incompetent Court for such a Cause, and always partial in the Affair of a Patrician.* If they determin

determine that our Provinces shall be assigned us by Lot, I intreat the Gods not to let *Hetruria* fall to me, unless they know me capable of maintaining the Glory of the Roman Name there. But whatever happens, this will be a good Example for future Elections, to shew, that either of the Consuls you have chosen, is capable of sustaining the Weight of a dangerous War.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLVIII.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
RULLIANVS;
P. DECIUS
MVS, Consul.

WHEN *Decius* had ended his Discourse, *Fabius* made no Reply, but in these few Words, which are strong in Sense, and shew how much he depended on the Esteem of the Publick. *I desire you, Romans, to read Appius's Letters before you determine*; which said he left the Assembly. There was something very sublime in this Stroke, and all the *Romans* must have perceived it. In the Letters *Appius* had lately written from *Hetruria*, he painted the Danger with which the Publick was threatened, in a lively manner, and gave a particular and frightful Account of the four Armies, which were ready to fall upon *Rome*. The bare Relation of the Danger was therefore sufficient to induce the *Romans* to have Recourse to the surest Remedy; and the People instantly determined, that *Fabius* should be entrusted with the Affairs in *Hetruria*, and the Safety of the Republick not exposed to the Hazard of Lots. This Declaration of the *Comitia* was unanimous, as that of the Senate had been; and as soon as *Fabius* was declared General in *Hetruria*, all the Youth were earnest to march under the Conduct of so great a Commander. They pressed to be enlisted in his Troops; but *Fabius* would not receive all that offered themselves. Perhaps he designed to dispel the publick Fears, by these open Marks of his own Confidence; or perhaps he did not think the Danger so great as it was represented; or else, he might perhaps dissemble the present Exigencies of Affairs, to prevent an Associate's being joined with him. But whatever was his Motive, he declared he would carry with him no larger a Reinforcement into *Hetruria*, than four thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse. *Those only*, said he, *which shall be enlisted to day, and to morrow, shall go with me. I am little concerned about having a numerous Army; all my Concern is, to bring it back to the City, loaded with Riches.* He therefore set out with a Body of Men, who made an handsome Appearance, and who were the less afraid of the Enemy, for their General's declining to multiply his Troops. At the Head of this little Body, *Fabius* marched along the *Tyber*, entered *Umbria*, and came and encamped near the Town of *Arna*, not far from the Enemy; and from thence he continued his March to the *Roman* Camp, which the fearful *Appius* was still strengthening with new Fortifications.

SOME Miles from *Arna*, *Fabius* met a Detachment of *Romans*, who were going, under a strong Guard, to cut Wood, in a neighbouring Forest; and upon the Sight of the *Lictors*, who marched before the *Consul*, these Soldiers concluded, that *Fabius* was coming to the Camp, to take upon him the Command of the Army. Upon this, they could not stifle their Joy; they hoped Affairs would take a better Turn, under an able General; and approaching *Fabius*, they saluted him, returning Thanks both to the Gods, and the Republick, for putting him at the Head of them. *Where are you going, Fellow-Soldiers?* asked *Fabius*; and they answered, *To a Forest to cut Wood, to fortify the Camp. What is it not already pallisaded?* replied the General. *Doubtless it is*, returned the Soldiers, *and we are entrenched up to our Chins. We are surrounded with a double Ditch, and a double Rampart; and yet we are still afraid. Since that is the Case*, added *Fabius*, *return to the Place from whence you came. Spare yourselves the Trouble of cutting new Pallisades; and not only so; but as soon as you return, level the first Entrenchment before the Camp, the throwing up of which savours too much of Cowardice.* The Detachment obeyed the Orders of the new General, and as soon as they returned, levelled the first Rampart, and filled up the first Ditch; which unexpected Step caused an Uneasiness in the Camp, and gave *Appius* such a Fright, as he could not recover, till the Workmen informed him, that they were obeying *Fabius's* Orders, who would soon be at the Army. Accordingly, he arrived the same Day; and the next, *Appius* set out for *Rome*, to take Possession of the *Præ-*

⁹⁰ The Town, or rather little City of *Arna*, *rusia*, or *Perusium*. Some Authors give it the Name of *Abarna*. The Natives now call it *Civitella d'Ar-*
stood in *Umbria*, in the extreme Parts of *Tuscany*, no.
at a little distance from the *Tyber*, over-against *Pe-*

Year of *torship*, which had been assigned him. This was an Employment which better suited to his Capacity, than that of directing the Motions of an Army, against so great a Number of Enemies.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
RULLIANVS,
P. DECIVS
MVS, Consuls.

§. XXVIII. THE Conduct of the new General was entirely different from that of his Predecessor. *Fabius's* Maxim was, that it was dangerous for a General to bury himself in his Entrenchments. *Troops*, said he, *must often take the Air; nothing contributes more to their Health, than to be continually changing their Posts.* He therefore ordered them, to take as long Marches, as could be compassed in the Close of the Winter, the Rigour of which was not yet over; and he thereby gave his Soldiers an Air of Confidence, which they cannot have, when screened by Ramparts. This he thought a noble Way of making War. As he passed thro' the Country, he made his Observations upon it, informed himself of the Situation of the Enemy, and their Strength, and took his Measures for opening the Campaign. But before the Season would permit the Armies to enter upon Action, *Fabius* returned to *Rome*. This, some say he did, of his own Motion; finding, when upon the Spot, that the Enemy was more formidable, than he had thought them, when he was at a distance, he thought it necessary to consult with the Senate upon the Operations of a War, in which it was of the last Consequence to run great hazards. But others say, that he was recalled by the Order of *The Conscript Fathers*, upon *Appius's* having, since his Return, filled *Rome* with Terror, on account of the War in *Hetruria*. He was a great Orator, and easily communicated his imaginary Fears to others. He spoke in the Senate to the same effect, as he had written from the Camp. *It is a Mistake*, said he, *for any Man to imagine, that one General can make head against four Armies of the Enemy. Either they will act separately, or else jointly, in Order to make the greater Efforts. If they separate, how can one single Commander be every where, and multiply himself so, as to be in different Places at the same time? And if they unite, 'tis still worse. I left only two Legions in Hetruria; and Fabius has carried to them no more than four thousand six hundred Recruits. Are these enough to make head against the innumerable Multitude which threatens us? I am therefore of opinion, That Decius should be dispatched away, with all possible Expedition, to act in Concert with his Colleague; and That Volumnius should be sent into Samnium, in his room. Or if Decius persists in keeping to his own Province, then I am of opinion, that Volumnius ought to be ordered to Hetruria, and placed at the Head of as great an Army, as if he was a Consul.* This Discourse of the *Prætor* began to incline the People to favour his Opinion; and then *Decius* spoke in his Turn, and was not unmindful of the Respect and Gratitude, which he owed to *Fabius*. *My Opinion is*, said he, *that my Colleague ought to be left at full Liberty, to determine, concerning the Interest of the Republick, and the Wants of his Army. Let him come to Rome, if he can be spared from the Army, without Prejudice to the Publick, or else let him send one of his Lieutenant-Generals hither. He will inform us of the true Situation of Affairs; what Stress is to be laid on the Rumours spread abroad in Rome; what Troops are wanted; and whether more than one General is necessary to command them.* And this so reasonable an Opinion, and so full of Deference to *Fabius*, prevailed. Letters were written to the General in *Hetruria*, either to return himself, or send a Deputy to appear for him; and *Fabius* is said to have chosen to appear in the Senate in Person: but before he left the Camp, he provided for the Safety of his Troops. He encamped the second Legion, near Old ⁹¹ *Clusium*, formerly called *Camers*, upon the Banks of the ⁹² *Clanis*; and gave the Command of it to *L. Scipio*, who was then ⁹³ *Pro-Prætor* in the Province. *Fabius's* Presence at *Rome*, much

⁹¹ See our Account of the Situation of *Old and New Clusium*, Vol. i. B. 3. p. 113. Note 33. The former retained the Name of *Camers*, while it continued subject to the *Umbri*. But these having been driven beyond the *Tyber*, and the *Apennines*, by the *Pelasgi*, they transferred the Name of their ancient City, to a new one which they founded, and called *Camerinum*.

⁹² The *Clanis* is now known by the Name of *La Chiana*, in the Territory of *Florence*. This Ri-

ver is swelled by several Springs, which form a great Marsh, which the *Latins* called *Clanis*, *Palus Clusina*, *Lacus Clusinus*, i. e. *The Marsh*, or *Lake of Clusium*. One Part of it discharges itself into the *Arno*; the other falls into the *Paglia*, near *Orvieto*.

⁹³ The Office of *Pro-Prætor* was not then confined to the Command of a Body of Troops in the Absence of the General. It differed from that of *Pro-Consul* in this; that the latter had a whole Ar-

much abated the Uneasiness of the *Romans*. He appeared in the Senate, and he harangued the People; and every where spoke in such a manner, as neither to increase the Fright of the Republick, nor to suffer her to sleep in Security. He desired a second General might be joined with him; but insinuated, that he did this, more out of regard to the Apprehensions of the Publick, than any Necessity. And when this second General came to be named, *Fabius* shewed, that the Contest he had had with *Decius*, had not in the least diminished his Esteem for him. *I have not forgotten*, said he to the People assembled, *the very good Understanding, in which Decius and I lived, when we were in the same Employments. In whom therefore can I more confide, than in him? In him alone, I shall have more Force than I want; and when we act jointly, we shall never have too many Enemies to engage with. But if my Collegue has other Views, and is unwilling to carry on the War in Conjunction with me, I consent that Volumnius be sent me in his stead.* Rome could not but be charmed, with the frank and disinterested Behaviour of her Generals. *Fabius*, on his part, was convinced of the Uprightness and Affection of *Decius*; and the latter, with regard to the Disposal of his Person, shewed his Collegue as much Submission, as the Senate and People did, when they left it wholly to him to determine, what should be done in the present State of Affairs. *Decius* declared, he was ready, to go either to *Samnium*, or *Hetruria*, as *Fabius* pleased; and this Declaration was received with universal Applause. The Victory was no longer doubted of; and the two *Consuls* were looked on as two Heroes, who were rather marching to a Triumph, than a Battel.

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BUT before they left *Rome*, the *Consuls* assigned all the general Officers in their Armies their respective Posts. They sent away the *Pro-Consul Volumnius* to *Samnium*, where he would find the second and fourth *Legions* ready to obey him. Then, in order to cover the City on the Side of *Hetruria*, they pitched two Camps, one very near to *Rome*, on the Hill ⁹⁴ *Vaticanus*, which was not a Part of the City; and the other a little farther off, in the Country of the *Falisci*, on the Banks of the *Tyber*. *Cn. Fulvius* commanded in one of these Camps, and *L. Postumius* in the other; both in Quality of *Pro-Prætors*. As for *Appius*, he continued in the City, and there discharged the Office of *Prætor*; which was not confined to civil Affairs, but extended to the Command of Armies, in Cases of Need.

§. XXIX. AFTER these wise Regulations were made, *Fabius* and *Decius* set out together, for *Hetruria*; and were upon the Road when they received the News of the Defeat of the *Legion*, which *Fabius* had left under the Command of *Scipio*, in the Neighbourhood of *Old Clusium*. The *Gauls* called *Senones*, who had long settled in *Italy*, came and attacked it, during the *Consul's* Absence; and they being more numerous than his Troops, *Scipio* thought it necessary to get what Advantage of Ground he could. In order to this, he endeavoured to gain an Eminence, which the Enemy had already possessed themselves of, by marching thither thro' a By-Road; but there the *Romans* were surrounded with *Gauls*, who attacked them in Front and Rear, and cut them in pieces.

SOME Historians pretend, that this Defeat was so general, that there was not one *Roman* left to carry the News; and they add, but with little Probability, that the *Consuls* knew nothing of it, till they drew near to *Clusium*. There, say they, the *Roman* General saw the Cavalry of the *Gauls* returning from the Slaughter, singing, as usual, after the Defeat of their Enemies, and with the Heads of the *Romans* fixed on the Tops of their Lances, or tied to the Breast-leathers of their

my under his Command, and a great Number of *Lictors* to attend him. We shall speak more fully of the Power of *Pro-Consuls*, and *Pro-Prætors*, when we come to those Ages of the Republick, in which their Offices extended to the Government of the *Roman Provinces*.

⁹⁴ The Hill *Vaticanus*, or *The Vatican*, which is been so well known, since the Popes have fixed their Residence upon it, was not then within the compass of the City. This Hill joined to the *Faliscus*, beyond the *Tyber*, over-against the *Campus*

Martius. Its Air was formerly very unhealthy, on account of some Marshes and stagnating Waters, which infected all the Neighbourhood. *Pliny* tells us, there was in his time, an old Oak, near *The Vatican*, which the Superstition of the *Romans* had made venerable. There was an Inscription on it, in *Hetrurian* Characters, shewing the Age of it. *Aulus Gellius* says, the Hill *Vaticanus* was so called, a *Vaticiniis*, that is, from *The Oracles* which were uttered on it; and *Festus* gives much the same Etymology to the Word *Vaticanus*.

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Horses. But be this Relation true or false, which the different Accounts of the Historians render uncertain, this at least is sure, that the Glory of this Action, which could not but be to the Advantage of the Enemies of *Rome*, ought only to be ascribed to the *Gauls*, and not to the *Umbri*, as some Authors assert. *Livy* himself is obliged to acknowledge this; the bare Force of Truth extorted this Confession from him, which otherwise his Hatred to the *Gauls* would not have suffered him to have made.

HOWEVER, the *Consuls* were not discouraged at a Blow, which weak Minds would have thought an ill Presage of the future Success of the Campaign. They passed the *Apennines*, and came and encamped far up in *Umbria*, near *Sentinum*, a City which gave its Name to a River which watered it. The Troops of the Republick consisted of four *Legions*, a good Number of Squadrons of *Roman* Horse, a chosen Body of a thousand Horse sent by the *Campani*, and a Body of Auxiliaries more in Number than the *Roman* Army; besides the two Camps the *Consuls* had pitched in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*.

FABIUS and *Decius* divided the Army into two Parts, and encamped separately; but within reach of one another, in the fine Plain of 95 *Sentinum*, about four Miles from the Enemy, who were much superior in number. One Historian says, that in the Army of the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only, there were an hundred and forty thousand three hundred and thirty Foot, and forty six thousand Horse; and if then the *Hetrurians* and *Umbri* equalled the *Gauls* and *Samnites* in number, this was the most terrible Army that had ever been seen in *Italy*. And as so great a Multitude could not be contained in one single Camp, the *Samnites* encamped with the *Gauls*, and the *Hetrurians* with the *Umbri*. Being therefore separated in their Posts, the Enemy divided the approaching Battel between them, in this manner; they agreed, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only should engage the *Romans*, whilst the *Hetrurians* and *Umbri* attacked their two Camps, in the Heat of the Battel.

THIS was taking their Measures well; but they were disconcerted. Three Deserters came privately from *Clusium*, in the Night, to inform *Fabius* of the Design of the Confederates. The General payed them well for their Information, and advised them to come often to him with the like Intelligence. As for him, he knew how to make his Advantage of it. He immediately dispatched Couriers express for the *Pro-Prætors Fulvius* and *Postumius*, who covered *Rome*, one on the Side of the Hill *Vaticanus*, the other in the Country of the *Falisci*, ordering them to enter *Hetruria* immediately, and ravage it: And the IncurSIONS of the *Romans* had their designed Effect. The *Hetrurians* and the *Umbri*, who never separated, ran together to succour the many unfortunate People whose Lands and Houses were sacked; and then the *Consuls* took Advantage of the Diversion they had made. During the Absence of the *Umbri* and *Hetrurians*, they skirmished with the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, to bring them to a Battel. These Skirmishes were frequent for two Days, without any great Loss on either Side; but in these little Scuffles they always exasperated one another; which paved the Way for a general Action. Till at length, the Enemy were so enraged that they resolved on a general Battel the next Day; and this News both rejoiced the *Romans*, and increased their Ardour. They appeared in the Plain, and both Armies were facing one another, when one of those unforeseen Accidents happened, which are purely fortuitous, but which Superstition abuses, and turns into Presages.

It is said that a Wolf, after having long chased a Hind, in a neighbouring Forest, drove her at last out of the Wood, and pursued her into the Plain where the Battel was going to be fought. The Sight of so many Men assembled, made the Wolf quit the Pursuit of her Prey; and he crossed the Battalions of the *Romans*, who were pleased to see him run among their Ranks, and let him pass without doing him any Harm. The Hind, on the other hand, took towards the Enemy's Army, where she was stabbed with several Darts; and one of the *Roman* Soldiers, who was a Diviner, put his own Construction on this Accident. *The timorous Animal*, said he, *has carried her Fright and Flight with her to our Enemies.* Her

95 The City of *Sentinum* stood in *Umbria*, on the Frontiers of *Picenum*, in a Valley of the *Apennines*, at a little distance from the Springs of the *Æsis*, or *Esino Fiume*. It is now called *Sentina*. *Ferrarius* guesses, that the City of *Saffo Ferrato* was built out of the Ruins of Old *Sentinum*.

Blood which is spilt, presages a great Slaughter. But as for us, how favourable an Augury ought we to draw from the intrepid Wolf's taking Refuge among our Soldiers? This is a generous Animal, consecrated to Mars, and puts us in mind of the Founder of Rome, who was suckled by a Wolf. These Divinities inspire us with their Courage, and hereby give us Reason to hope, that we shall vanquish our Enemies without any great Misfortune or Loss.

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THE Romans were much affected with the Presage, and it filled them with Confidence; and they no longer considered either the Valour or Multitude of the Enemy, with whom they were going to engage. The Gauls were in the right, and the Samnites in the left; so that Fabius, who commanded the right Wing of the Romans, faced the Samnites, and Decius was to engage the Gauls; and how much more formidable these were in Battel, than the rest of the Confederates, will soon appear. Both Parties sustained the first Onset with equal Steadiness; and the Resistance of the Enemy made the Romans sensible, how necessary the Diversion was, which they had made. Had they had all the four Armies to have engaged with at once, Rome might have been given up for lost; she would never have recovered the Blow she would have received.

INDEED, the Advantage first appeared in favour of the Gauls, who faced the Consul Decius. He was yet young, and very ardent for Victory. His Colleague was old; and his Experience, joined with the Phlegm of Age, had taught him to act with Temper, in the Beginning of an Action; in order to preserve his Vigour to the End of it. Besides, he knew that the Samnites he engaged with, never made but one brisk Attack; and that if he could stand this Shock, their Courage would soon abate. And, according to Livy, the Gauls had the same Fault: But what he adds concerning them, is scarce credible. He says, That their Bodies were not made for so hot a Climate, and that they melted at the violent Heat of the Sun. He doubtless confounds the Disposition of the Gauls, when they first came into Italy, with that of the Gauls at this time. The latter had had time enough to become habituated to the Air of the Country, since those who engaged Decius were the Grandsons, at least, of them who first passed the Alpes. Fabius therefore, and Decius, conducted the Troops under their respective Commands, in a very different manner.

In the right Wing, the Romans only stood on their own Defence, without giving any Assault. Decius in the left, exerted all his Vivacity against the Gauls immediately. Brave Youths, said he to his Horse, *what an Honour will it be for you, to begin the Victory in the left Wing!* And he had no sooner said these Words, but he put himself at the Head of a Squadron which was celebrated for its Bravery. The Cavalry of the Gauls twice made Head against that of the Romans, and was twice repulsed. Whether they gave way out of Design and Artifice, I am not able to determine: But it is at least certain, that as soon as there was an empty Space left between the Armies, there ensued a new kind of fighting, which the Gauls had long practised, and was in use in their native Country, tho' we have not met with any Instance of it, in Italy. Some light Chariots with two Wheels, drawn by two Horses, and other more heavy ones drawn by four, which were without doubt armed with Scythes and other murdering Instruments, rushed with Impetuosity on the Conquerors.

THE Noise of the Wheels, and the Novelty of the Sight, affrighted the Horses of the Roman Cavalry, and putting them into Disorder, they were immediately dispersed; and in this sudden Flight, many Men and Horses were lost. Nor was this all; the same Chariots fell on the foremost Battalions of the Romans, and broke into their Legions. And no sooner were they disordered, but the Infantry of the Gauls fell upon them, and pursued them in their Rout, without giving them time to breathe. The Consul in vain endeavoured to call back the Fugitives, with a loud Voice, and make them rally, *Whither are you running?* cried he, *Will Flight preserve you from Danger?* When Soldiers are seized with a sudden Pannick, the Voice of a General is not heard. Decius lost all his Pains and Exhortations; and then remembered, how gloriously his Father had saved his Country, and recovered the Victory to his Side, by voluntarily devoting himself to Death. He called upon his dear Father by Name, and cried out, *To die for the Preservation of Rome, is the Fate of my Family. Why then do*

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do I delay? What stops me? We Decii are born to expiate and avert publick Crimes and Misfortunes. I will soon appease the Manes, who are against us, by devoting to them all the Enemy's Army, with myself. This said, he immediately ordered *M. Livius*, who was one of the *Pontifices*, to be brought to him; for they attended the Armies, their Ministry at the Altars not being incompatible with military Employments. The *Pontifex* was not far off, for *Decius* had ordered him to keep near him in the Battel; and when he came, the *Consul* commanded him to pronounce the Words used in *Devotements*, and repeated them after him. *I devote myself, said he, and all the Enemy's Army, to the infernal Gods, for the Preservation of the Roman People, and the Glory of our Arms.*

THIS was much the same Form of Words with that his Father had used, on the Banks of the ⁹⁶ *Veferis*, in the War with the *Latins*; and the Son used the same ⁹⁷ Ceremonies, tucked up his Robe in the same manner, and offered up the same Prayers. *I carry with me to the Enemy, cried he, Terror and Disorder, Murder and Slaughter, and the Anger both of the Celestial and Infernal Gods. Cursed be the Ensigns and Arms of the Gauls and Samnites! and may the Place on which I spill my Blood prove fatal to them!* At these Words, he rode full Speed into the thickest of the Enemy's Battalions, was immediately wounded in numberless Places, and the Victim left dead on the Plain.

As strange as it may appear, the Loss of the General, which commonly produces the Rout of Armies, was a Means to rally the *Romans*. What Effects cannot Credulity and Prepossession produce! They had the same Effect on the fugitive Soldiers, as the most evident Truths. They looked on their Enemies as so many Criminals, condemned to Death; and they returned to the Charge, as it were to put the Decrees of the Gods in Execution. The *Pontifex Livius* had been declared *Pro-Prætor* by *Decius*, before he delivered himself up to Death; and the *Consul* had resigned his *Lictors* to him, in Proof of the Command he gave him. *Livius* therefore made use of the Influence his Relation to Religion gave him, and of his Experience in War; and cried out, *We have conquered! The Death of Decius assures us of the Victory; the Samnites and Gauls are devoted to the Manes, and their Death is certain. The Soul of the Great Decius calls our Enemies to the infernal Regions after him; and the Furies have already seized them.* This said, the military *Pontifex* immediately renewed the Battel with Fury.

DURING the Attack, two *Roman* Officers, detached from a *Corps de reserve*, to succour *Decius*, arrived; his Colleague yet knew nothing of his devoting himself, only saw some Disorder in the left; and therefore sent a Reinforcement to it. The Names of the Officers, who commanded this Troop, were *L. Cornelius*, and *C. Marcius*; and *Decius's* Adventure was a Motive to them, to leave nothing unattempted, for the Preservation of the Republick. They saw a Battalion of *Gauls* before them, who were closed, and covered with a Rank of their Bucklers, which they had placed before them. The Difficulty was, how to attack them close, put them into Disorder, and break through them. But nothing is too hard for Valour, conducted by Religion. The *Romans*, by their Commanders Orders, picked up all the Darts which were scattered about the Field of Battel, and threw them at the impenetrable Battalion. Some of these Darts were headed with long ⁹⁶ sharp Plates of Iron, others had shorter and more blunt Heads. The former pierced the Bodies of the *Gauls* through their Bucklers; the latter stuck in their Shields, and made them heavy; and, which is very surprising, the Bucklers stuck with Darts were so heavy, that they weighed down those who were not wounded: by which means, the Battalion was left exposed, and was broken. Thus the Fortune of the *Romans* began to change, in their left Wing.

⁹⁶ See our critical Remark on the Name of *Veferis*, which some have given to a Town or City, others to a River, B. 16 p. 163. of this Volume, Note 50.

⁹⁷ We have treated at large of the Ceremonies of *Devotements*, B. 16.

⁹⁸ *Livy* calls these Darts *Veruta*. His Words

are, *Quibus plerisque in Scuta, Verutis in Corpora ipsa fixis, sternitur Cuneus.* According to *Polybius*, this sort of offensive Weapon was three Cubits long. It was, according to *Festus*, in shape like a Spit. *Veruta Pila dicuntur, quod veluti Verna habeant præfixa.*

IN the right, *Fabius* had husbanded his Strength the greatest Part of the Day, Year of
and had only faintly attacked the *Samnites*, or rather, only kept himself upon the *R O M E*
defensive. But when he perceived the Enemy did not shew the same Vigour in *CCCCLVIII*
their Shouts to encourage one another, and no longer threw their Darts in any *Q. FABIVS*
great Number, or with great Force, he judged that they were fatigued, and their *MAXIMUS*
Fire abated; and then he in his turn became the Aggressor. He ordered the *RULLIANUS,*
Commanders of the *Roman* Horse to widen by degrees, take the Enemy in Flank, *Consul.*
and on the first Signal to fall with all possible Vigour and Impetuosity on the
Samnite Infantry. He commanded his *Legionary* Forces to advance slowly, to try
the Resolution of the Enemy. The *Samnites* were too much tired, to engage
willingly in fresh Attacks; and this happy Opportunity *Fabius* seized, believing it
the critical Moment to secure the Victory. He put all his Troops in Motion,
which he had hitherto kept in a kind of Inaction; and then gave the Signal for
his Horse to fall on the Flanks of the Wing which he attacked.

THE Violence of this unexpected Shock was so great, that the *Samnites*
could not withstand it. Several of their Battalions which were put into Disor-
der, deserted the Army, retired among the *Gauls*, and endeavoured to pass thro'
them, in order to recover their Camp. But the *Gauls* were not staggered at the
Rout of their Allies; they closed, and covering their Heads with their Bucklers,
formed a 97 *Tortoise*. This was an old Custom among them, which their Fore-
fathers had practised, before they came into *Italy*. After this, *Fabius*, looking on
the *Samnites* as defeated, turned his Troops against the right Wing, which yet
made some Resistance; and then he first received an Account of the *Devotement*
and Dearth of *Decius*. In order to give these impenetrable Troops the finishing
Stroke, he detached the *Campanian* Horse from the rest of the Army, and ordered
them to march round, and fall on the *Gauls* in the Rear. These five hundred
Horse were followed by the *Principes* of the third *Legion*, all on foot. The for-
mer had Orders to attack the *Gauls* in the Rear with Vigour; the latter, to pe-
netrate into their Battalions, when once terrified and broken by the Horse. And,
to draw down the Protection of the Gods on his Scheme, *Fabius* made a Vow to
build a Temple to *Jupiter Victor*, or *The Conqueror*, and to consecrate the Spoils
of the Enemy to him. Thus, according to *Livy* himself, all the Helps of Re-
ligion were necessary to get the better of these very *Gauls*, whom the same His-
torian represents as more faint-hearted than Women, in the End of the Battel.
The Orders of the General were executed, and the *Gauls* at length gave way to
the two Armies, one of which was already victorious in the right Wing. But
they seem to have retired from the Battel in good Order, and more with the Air
of a Retreat, than a Flight; at least, the Historian who is most prejudiced against
them, has not ventured to tell us they were routed.

IN the mean time, *Fabius*, satisfied with being Master of the Field of Bat-
tel, did not pursue the Bulk of the Army of the *Gauls*, but turned the best
Part of his Troops towards the *Samnite* Camp. Thither the Fugitives fled in Dis-
order, to secure themselves; but the Gates of their Camp were not wide enough
to receive that confused Multitude of terrified Men, who endeavoured all at once
to get under Cover of their Entrenchments. The *Romans* therefore attacked
those who were not yet entered it, and a new Battel began at the foot of the
Rampart. In this Action, which was hot, tho' tumultuous, fell *Gellius Egnatius*,
the famous Head of the *Samnites*; who by his Intrigues had prevailed on all *Hetru-*
ria, *Umbria*, and the *Gauls*, to take Arms against the *Roman* Republick. The rest
of his Troops entered the Camp; but were not long safe there. *Fabius* forced
the Entrenchments, whilst the *Roman* Cavalry made those whom they had at-
tacked in the Rear, Prisoners of War. Such was the Success of the most import-
ant Battel the *Romans* had ever gained. *Decius's* Piety repaired the Misfortunes
his Vivacity had occasioned; but the Prudence and Valour of *Fabius*, which were
always equal, contributed most to a Victory which he deserved to survive, to en-
joy all the Glory of it.

TWENTY five thousand of the Enemy were killed on the Spot, and eight thou-
sand taken Prisoners. Nor was the Loss of the *Romans* inconsiderable. In the

99 See above, B. 13. p. 18. of this Volume.

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left Wing, where *Decius* commanded, the Number of the dead amounted to seven thousand; but in the right, *Fabius* lost no more than one thousand two hundred. Nevertheless, all things considered, *Rome* still preserved, in the Battel of *Sentinum*, the same Advantage she had always had over the neighbouring Nations; and the *Gauls* did not lose that Reputation for Bravery, which made them more formidable to the *Romans*, than any other People in *Italy*.

THE *Consul's* first Care, after his Victory, was to discharge the Promise he had made the Gods; and to pay all due Honour to the Body of his Colleague. He first ordered all the Spoils to be gathered together and burnt, in honour to *Jupiter The Victorious*; and then searched for *Decius's* Body, which his *Devotement* had in a manner rendered sacred. There was not then Day-light enough to distinguish it, among an Heap of *Gauls*, which lay dead upon the Place, and covered it; but it was found out the next Day, and brought to the Camp, with the Lamentations of the whole Army. *Fabius* himself discovered great Concern at the Remembrance of the usual Companion of his Victories. He ordered his Troops to cease from all Labour, and spoke the Funeral-Harangue of the Deceased, the Merit of whose great Actions he magnified, as became a Soldier.

As for the *Samnites*, their Defeat may be said to have been almost universal, in the Battel of *Sentinum*. Such of them as escaped out of it, endeavoured to return home, through the Country of the ¹⁰⁰ *Peligni*; but the latter surrounded them: and of five thousand of these Fugitives, killed one thousand.

§.XXX. WITH regard to the other Armies, which we have observed the *Romans* had in the Field; they also had the Advantage in all Places. The *Pro-Prætor Fulvius*, and probably *L. Postumius*, who had joined him, had left their Posts on the Hill *Vaticanus*, and at *Clusium*, by *Fabius's* Command, in order to ravage the Lands of *Hetruria*. Their Motion had drawn off a Part of the Enemy's Army encamped before *Sentinum*; and this Diversion had been the means of gaining the Battel. But this was not enough to satisfy the two Generals. They attacked the united *Perusini* and *Clusini*, in *Hetruria*; killed above three thousand of them; and took from them twenty Colours. At the same time, the *Pro-Consul Volumnius* gained a considerable Victory in *Samnium*, at the Foot of Mount ¹⁰¹ *Tifernum*, to which he had driven the Enemy. He had fought them there, notwithstanding the Disadvantage of the Ground, and put their Army to Flight. After all these Successes, *Fabius* returned to *Rome* to triumph, and his Army followed him; but that Army which *Decius* had commanded, continued in *Hetruria*. The triumphant Entry of the former was made on *The Eve of The Nones of September*; and never General had had a better Title to this Honour. *Fabius* had conquered four of the most formidable Nations of *Italy*; and *Rome* being now for ever delivered from the most just Apprehensions she had been under, she bestowed her Liberalities on all the Soldiers of the victorious Army. To each private Centinel was given eighty two *Asses* of ¹⁰² Brass, out of the Spoils of the Enemy, and a complete ¹⁰³ military Habit. During the Procession of the triumphant General, Praises and ¹⁰⁴ Commendations were liberally bestowed upon him, but not without giving *Decius* his Share in them. The *Devotement* of the Son recalled the Remembrance of that of the Father, and equal Encomiums were bestowed on the domestick Virtues, and glorious Exploits, of both.

BUT all these Advantages gained over the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites*, had not yet brought them into Subjection. As soon as *Fabius* had left *Hetruria*, they

¹⁰⁰ The *Peligni* formerly inhabited that Part of *Italy*, which is now a Part of *The Hither Abruzzo*, round *Sermona*, or *Sulmona*, between the *Pescara* and the *Sangro*. *Festus* thinks they were originally of *Illyricum*; but others, with more probability, derive their Origin from the *Samnites*. There were reckoned three Cities in this District; *Sulmona* the Birth-place of *Ovid*, *Corfinium*, and *Superequum*. See above, B. 16 p. 145. of this Volume, Note 17.

¹⁰¹ Mount *Tifernum*, which *Livy* alone mentions, was probably an Hill, near the River and City of the same Name.

¹⁰² If we reckon these *Asses* of Brass at the rate of a *Sol per As*, the eighty two *Asses* amount to

four *Liures* two *Sols*. [About 5 s. 3 d. ¹/₂ *Arbutnot.*]

¹⁰³ This complete military Habit, consisted of a *Sagum*, and a *Tunick*. We have observed, B. 16. p. 143. of this Volume, that the military *Sagum* was of the same Shape with the *Paludamentum*. As for the *Tunick*, that which the Soldiers wore, reached down a little below the Knees; its Sleeves were so very short, as not to reach down to the Elbows.

¹⁰⁴ According to *Orosius*, the Plague which then ravaged the City of *Rome*, much damped the joyful Acclamations, with which Triumphs were usually attended.

took Courage again, and at the Instigation of the *Perusini*, gathered together new Forces. After his Triumph therefore, *Fabius*, the only remaining Consul, led back his Army to *Hetruria*, and gained himself new Honour, by a new Victory. Four thousand five hundred *Perusini* were killed upon the Spot, and one thousand seven hundred and forty made Prisoners of War; the Price of whose Ransom was three hundred and ten Pounds of Brass *per Head*. This was the last Exploit of an Hero, who did not leave off conquering, till Age disabled him from serving his Country, otherwise than by shewing it an eminent Example of all domestick Virtues. *Fabius* had a Son, who had been surnamed *Gurges*, that is, *The Gulph*, on account of his Depravity of Life, and excessive Intemperance. This Man, after he had squandered away vast Sums in Debauchery, began to reform; but the Son never equalled the Father, in Genius, Probity, or Ability for War. However, he had at least left his vicious Courses; and when a better Behaviour had rendered him worthy of aspiring at publick Offices, he became rigidly severe, the better to wipe off the Shame of his past Excesses. When he was promoted to the *Curule Ædileship*, in his Father's last *Consulship*, he severely punished the Licentiousness which had been introduced among the *Roman Ladies*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXVIII.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
RULLIANVS,
Consul.

Macrob. Sat.
B. 2. c. 9. and
Juven. Sat. 9.

THE Severity of the first Ages of the Republick, wherein we saw *Lucretia's* and *Virginia's* prefer Death to the least Blemish on their Characters, was now much relaxed. Luxury and Plenty were introduced into *Rome*, since the Conquest of so many Countries, which abounded with Delights. Softness, and its Attendant Incontinence, infected many *Roman Women*, and their Unfaithfulness to their Husbands became publick. This therefore was an Abuse, which the young *Ædile* made it Matter of Merit to reform. He brought a Complaint of it before the People, and Adultery was punished in *Rome* for the first time, with a pecuniary Fine. Most of the guilty Women were Persons of Distinction; which was perhaps the Reason why their Punishment was so moderate. Or it might have been thought, that as the Disease was not an inveterate one, a slight Remedy would cure it. But be that as it will, it is at least certain, that the Shame of the Criminals was perpetuated, by consecrating the Money exacted of them to the building an Edifice, which was a lasting Monument of their Infamy. The *Ædiles* built a Temple to *Venus* with it, near *The Great Circus*; which Temple we must take care not to confound with another more ancient one, dedicated to the same Goddess, almost in the same Place.

§. XXXI. WHILST the two *Fabii* were thus signalizing themselves, the one in the War, the other in the City, the *Samnites*, notwithstanding their Losses, continually harrassed the *Romans* with their Hostilities. After dividing themselves into two Bodies, they had very lately come and ravaged the Lands of the Allies of *Rome*. One Body of them was assembled on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*, near *Esernia*, a City formerly belonging to them, but since taken from them by the *Romans*; the other had fallen down upon the Confines of *Campania*, and pillaged the Neighbourhood of ¹⁰⁵ *Formiæ*, on one Side, and the Lands of *Vesuvia* ¹⁰⁶ on the other. The *Romans* thought two Armies necessary to disperse or destroy these Robbers; and the *Pro-Consul Volumnius*, whose Victories had made him formidable, being already upon the Spot with one; the *Prætor Appius* put himself at the Head of another. The latter Army was the same which *Decius* had commanded, and rendered victorious by his *Devotement*. We have already observed, that the *Prætors*, whose proper Office was that of Judges, became Generals of Armies, as Occasion required. *Volumnius* therefore, and *Appius*, both chased the *Samnites*; and by pursuing them thro' several Places, at last forced them all to assemble together. The Plain where they joined was in *Campania*, between the *Vulturnus* and the *Savo*, and was, as it were, the Bottom of a Basin, surrounded with Mountains and Hills. It was called *Campi Stellates*. There *Appius's* Troops, and those of *Volumnius* joined also, and both Parties were intent upon giving Battel. Never did any two Nations, which had long been Enemies, fight with more Animosity. The *Romans* proposed to themselves no less than the utter Destruction of a Nation which had so often rebelled, and had always been troublesome to their Republick. The *Samnites* looked on this Battel as a decisive Stroke, on which

¹⁰⁵ See above, B. 16. p. 176. of this Volume.

¹⁰⁶ See above, B. 16. p. 169. of this Vol. Note 67.

their

Year of their last Hopes depended. But the Valour of the *Roman* Soldiers prevailed over the Fierceness and Rage of the *Samnites*. The latter lost sixteen thousand three hundred Men in the Battel, and the *Romans* took two thousand seven hundred Prisoners: Whilst *Appius* and *Volumnius* lost no more Men, than they had taken Prisoners from the Enemy. A happy Year for the Republick, had her Tranquillity and Felicity at home been equal to her Prosperity abroad!

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS
RULLIANVS,
Consul.

THE *Romans* had never before made War in so many Places at once, or with more Advantage; but Heaven severely chastised a City, which was grown too proud and haughty, on account of so many Victories. If we judge right, the Incontinence of the Women, which then began to appear, was its greatest Calamity. And this was followed by a Plague, among a People who were degenerating from their former Virtue. How terrible a Contrast did this make, says an ancient Author, with the great Joy of the City, during *Fabius's* Triumph! Funeral Processions crossed that of the triumphant Victor; and the Applauses of the People were interrupted by the Lamentations of those who mourned for their dead, or the Anxiety and Groans of those who dreaded the Fate of their sick. And in proportion as Vice increased in *Rome*, so did Superstition daily get more footing there. Never were so many Prodigies talked of, as in this Year, which abounded with so great a Variety of Events. It was said, that in three Days, three different Sorts of Liquors had been seen to run successively, from the Altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. The first Day Blood flowed from it; the second, Honey; and the third Milk. It was reported, That in some 107 Parts of the Country it had several times rained Earth; and That many of the Soldiers in *Appius's* Camp had been killed by Lightning. The *Augurs* and *Sybilline* Books were consulted about these Prognosticks; and this at least may be depended on, That the publick Rejoicings were at present very much damped by the Fear of what might afterwards happen.

Orat. B. 2. c. 1.

*Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 1.*

*Liv. B. 10.
c. 31.*

107 These Sorts of Prodigies were doubtless invented by the Priests and Magistrates, whose Interest it was to impose on the Vulgar. They drew great Advantages from it, as well with regard to the Safety of their Country, as by gaining thereby the more Credit to their Religion. This was a Bridle to keep a credulous and superstitious Populace in their Duty. When intimidated by these menacing

Signs, they became more tractable and submissive. Great care was therefore taken to publish Accounts of these wonderful Events, in Times of War, and publick Calamities. They then made a more lively Impression on Mens Minds. The People, naturally inclined to believe every thing, loved to consider them, as the fatal Prognosticks, which shewed the Anger of the Gods.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XX.

§. I. **R**OME had now made War with the *Samnites* for forty Years, almost without Interruption, and always with Success. The last Campaign seemed enough of itself, to have extinguished their martial Ardour, or at least to have obliged them to dissemble their Pride, and appease their Enemies by Intreaties, or by Negotiations. The *Romans* were not inexorable. Most of the neighbouring Nations had but too much abused their Lenity. And Repentance must, one would have thought, have now been the last Refuge of the *Samnites*, in the present State of their Affairs. They had just lost four Battels in one Year. The bravest, and most able of their Generals, had been killed. All the Flower of their Youth had just been cut off. The *Hetrurians*, *Umbri*, and *Gauls*, whom they had drawn into a Confederacy, and stirred up against the *Romans*, were scarce in any Condition to interest themselves in their behalf. And *Rome*, after all these Trials, should have appeared invincible to them. But nevertheless, their Fury made them obstinate, and tho' always hitherto conquered, they still hoped to be able, one Day, to conquer.

WHEN *Fabius's* Year was expired, he presided at the Election of *Consuls*; and the *Centuries* promoted ¹ *L. Postumius Megellus* to that Dignity, a second time; and gave him for a Colleague *M. Attilius Regulus*, who was the first *Consul* of the *Attilian* Family. And it was determined, that the two *Consuls* should go together, and jointly make War in *Samnium*. It was reported, that the *Samnites* were raising three Armies, one to return to *Hetruria*; another to come again into *Campania*, and lay it waste; and a third, to defend their Frontiers: and it was therefore necessary to carry all the Forces of the *Romans* to the Place where such great Preparations were making. But *Postumius* could not take the Field with his Colleague; a sudden Fit of Sickness detained him in the City. Nevertheless, the Senate hastened *Attilius's* Departure; because it was of Importance to attack the Enemy, before they got out of *Samnium*, and spread themselves abroad, in the Provinces of the Friends or Allies to *Rome*. The *Samnites* and *Romans* therefore met on the Confines of *Campania*, as if that had been their appointed *Rendezvous*. *Attilius's* Army had not yet entered *Samnium*, or committed any Hostilities; neither had that of the Enemy yet penetrated into the Country subject to the *Romans*. And here, which may justly seem incredible, the *Samnites*, who had been so often vanquished, undertook to execute, what the *Romans* would scarce have ventured to have attempted.

As soon as the *Consul* was encamped, they formed a Design, of forcing his Lines. It was a desperate Stroke, but which had like to have succeeded, and destroyed a *Roman* Army. At Break of Day, the *Samnites* marched out of their Camp undiscovered, by means of a Fog, which lasted the best Part of the Day. It was so thick and black, that the *Romans* were so far from being able to discover what passed without their Ramparts, that they could scarce distinguish one another.

¹ This is that *Lucius Postumius*, who had already been raised to the *Consulship*, in the Year of *Rome* 448. Some Editions of *Livy* and *Cassiodorus*,

give him the *Praenomen* of *Marcus*. A Mistake which ought to be corrected upon the Authority of the *Triumphal Tables*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLIX.

L. POSTUMIUS
MEGELLUS,
M. ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 32.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLIX.
L. POSTUMIUS
MEGELLUS,
M. ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

Assisted therefore with so favourable an Opportunity, and as it were wrapped up in a Cloud, the *Samnites* drew near to the ² *Decuman* Gate of the *Roman* Camp. This Name was always given to the largest Gate of the Camp, and it generally faced the Enemy on one Side, and the *Prætorium*, or General's Quarters on the other. But now it happened, that the *Romans*, having encamped in an unusual manner, had placed it behind the *Quæstor's* Quarters, and very near the *Prætorium*: and it was by this *Decuman* Gate, that the *Samnites* attempted to make themselves Masters of the *Roman* Entrenchments. They found the Advanced-Guard there much in Disorder; and being suddenly surprized with the unexpected Arrival of the Enemy, it made but little Resistance. The *Samnites* therefore made themselves Masters of the Gate, and penetrated to the *Quæstor's* Tent. There was the military Chest, or Treasure, for the Payment, and Subsistence of the Troops; and whilst the Enemy was taking Possession of that, the Alarm spread to the General's Quarters. He, awakened by the Noise, ordered a Body of the Auxiliaries to defend the *Prætorium*; and putting himself at the Head of some *Manipuli* of his *Legions*, hastened through the great Street of the Camp, to defend the Post, of which the Enemy had taken Possession. The Darkness was so great, that the *Romans* could not distinguish their own Men, from those of the Enemy; but nevertheless, they marched to the Place where they heard the Shouts; and the Fog not suffering them to discover the Number of the *Samnites*, they retired, and let them advance quite to the Center of the Camp. Then the *Consul* cried out; *Are we then driven out of our Entrenchments? Must we besiege our own Camp, and have the Trouble of retaking it from the Enemy?* At which Words, the *Romans* encouraged one another with their Shouts; and after being some time on the defensive, they afterwards attacked the *Samnites*, pressed hard upon them, overthrew them, and repulsed them fighting to the Place where they had begun the Battel. And from thence, it was no difficult matter, to force them back through the *Decuman* Gate, and drive them quite out of the Entrenchments. The *Romans* were very eager, they would have pursued the Enemy very far, if the Thickness of the Fog had not made the *Consul* fearful of an Ambuscade: But under these Circumstances, it was enough for them, to have prevented their Camp's being surprized. The *Samnites* lost three hundred Men, in this tumultuous Action, and the *Romans* about two hundred and thirty.

BUT if this Enterprize of the *Samnites* was not successful, it at least shewed Boldness, both in the Design, and the Execution of it; and this increased their Pride. They now thought themselves in a Condition to attempt any thing; and hoped, that another time *Fortune* would favour them in their bold Attempts. They at first pent up the *Romans* so closely, as to hinder them from entering *Samnium*, and living upon free Quarter there: So that the *Consul*, who had Access only to the Countries behind him, was forced to bring his Provisions from *Sora*, and its Neighbourhood.

S. II. This disadvantageous Situation of *Attilius's* Army, alarmed the Senate and People of *Rome*. The Danger to which the *Consul* was exposed, was magnified in the City; and Fear made the *Romans* double their Precautions. Then *Postumius*, who was not yet perfectly recovered, thought himself obliged to set out for *Samnium*, and he was to carry a *Consular* Army with him, which then never consisted of less than two *Roman Legions*, exclusive of the Auxiliaries, which were equal in Number to the *Legionary* Troops. But in order to have time to re-establish his Health, he sent away his Troops before him, commanding them to wait for him at *Sora*, which was the general *Rendezvous*; and in the mean time, he performed a religious Ceremony. *Postumius* had, in his *Edileship*, built a Temple to ³ *Victory* with the Fines he had laid on several Offenders; and he took this Opportunity, of his Recovery, to dedicate it. It was usual for none but *Consuls*, or *Dictators*, to consecrate such Buildings.

THIS,

² See the Disposition of the *Roman* Camps, B. 21.

³ The *Greeks* and *Romans* had personified *Victory*, in order to place her among their Divinities. The *Sabines*, says *Varro*, worshipped her under the

Name of *Vacuna*. Many Monuments of Marble, Stone, and Brass, and many Medals, have transmitted the Image of this Goddess to us. She is generally represented with Wings, holding a Crown

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THIS, in the Opinion of the *Romans*, was a very auspicious Beginning ; after which, *Postumius* marched to *Sora*, and from thence went to join his Collegue. Upon his Arrival, the Enemy, who were in no Condition to resist two united *Consular* Armies, decamped in haste, and left their Country a Prey to the *Romans*. The two Generals therefore separated ; and taking each his Part of *Samnium*, went to ravage the whole Country. *Postumius* applied himself more to the taking of Cities, than pillaging the Country ; and fate down first before *Milionia*. This was a strong Place belonging to the *Samnites*, which was not immediately taken, but besieged in Form. After some time, the *Romans*, by their continual Labours, and the Help of their Engines, made themselves Masters of it. The Besieged sustained the Attack for four Hours ; but were at last forced to give way, and the City was taken by Assault, after many Battels, fought on all Parts of the Walls, at the same time. The Enemy lost three thousand two hundred Men on the Spot ; the Prisoners of War were four thousand two hundred ; and the City was given up to be plundered by the Soldiers.

FROM thence the *Consul* turned his Arms against 4 *Triventum*, on the Banks of the 5 *Trinius*, a River, which rises in *Samnium*, and after it has watered the Country of the *Frentani*, discharges itself into the *Adriatick* Sea. Upon the Approach of the *Roman* Army, the Inhabitants were seized with Fear, despaired of being able to withstand the victorious *Legions*, and silently marched out of their City in the Night, leaving only the Sick and the Old in it.

IN the mean time, the *Consul* drew near the City, in Order of Battel. He expected as long and difficult a Siege as that of *Milionia* ; and was extremely surprized to see the Towers and Ramparts unguarded, and to hear no Noise in the Place. The Ardour of the *Roman* Soldiers prompted them immediately to mount the Walls, which seemed deserted ; but the General feared an Ambuscade, and restrained the Vivacity of his Troops. He chose two Squadrons out of the *Latin* Horde, and ordered them to march round the Place, observe every thing, and make their Report to him. These taking notice, that two of the City-Gates were open, and seeing in the great Road, the fresh Footsteps of People, who had escaped out of the City in the Night, and fled away ; they therefore advanced quite up to the Gates, which they found unguarded. From thence they saw the Streets of the City at a great distance, perceived that there were none of the Inhabitants in them ; and therefore inferred, that the Place was totally deserted. And when they were returned to the *Consul*, they gave him this Account of their Discoveries.



In her Right Hand, and a Palm-Branch in her Left, as we have drawn her above from an antique Agate, in *Beger's* Cabinet. She stands upon a Globe, to signify that she gives Laws to the Universe. But we sometimes find her without Wings. The *Athenians* painted her so, says *Pausanias*, for fear she should fly away from them. And agreeably to this, The *Greek Anthologium* mentions two Verses, inscribed on the Pedestal of a Statue dedicated to a *Victory*, whose Wings had been burnt with Lightning. The Sense of them is this. *The Glory of Rome shall never decay. Victory, having lost her Wings, is now forced to continue there for ever.* *Lampridius* speaks of an Image of *Victory*, which was erected, in the Place where the Senate used to assemble. And according to *D. Hal. B. 1.* the *Aradians* who followed *Evander*, erected a Temple

to *Victory*, on the Hill *Palatinus*. They had likewise instituted Sacrifices to her Honour, which were renewed every Year : And the *Romans* continued this Custom. Nevertheless, this Festival is not mentioned, in the old *Roman* Calendar.

4 *Triventum*, an ancient City of *Samnium*, still preserves its first Name, with a very little Variation, and is now called by the Natives of the Country, *Trivento*. But most Manuscripts give it the Name of *Feretrum*. Whereas we know of no City in *Samnium* which was so called. In *Livy* we read *Ferentinum* ; but that City belonged to the *Hernici*.

5 The River *Trinius*, now the *Trigno*, watered the Country of the *Frentani*, which is now a Part of *The Hither Abruzzo*, and *The Capatinata*. It separated this little Country from that of the *Samnites*.

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The Triventini have left their City open to us. We conclude from the Footsteps and Bundles we found in the great Road, that we have no Enemies to fear in Triventum. This News rejoiced *Postumius*; but he was not in haste to take Possession of this very easy Conquest. One of the chief Qualities for which the *Roman* Generals were famous, was Precaution.

POSTUMIUS advanced with his Infantry towards the Gates which had been found open; but before he entered them, he detached five Horsemen, with Orders to go into the very Heart of the City; and if they found there was no Danger, three of them were to continue there, and the other two, to bring an Account of the State of the City. They found *Triventum* a perfect Desert, and upon their Report, the *Consul* entered it, with his light-armed Troops; and commanded his other Forces to fortify a Camp in that Neighbourhood. The Soldiers broke open the Houses, in which they found a few old, and some sick, Persons; who being examined, concerning the Reason of the precipitate Departure of their Fellow-Citizens, declared, That all the People in that Neighbourhood had agreed together, to abandon their Towns to the *Romans*; and That they would find all the neighbouring Places as desolate as *Triventum*. The *Consul* believed these honest Men on their Words; and accordingly marched from *Triventum*, and made himself Master of the Country, without trouble, and without fighting.

§. III. BUT *Attilius* met with more Obstacles, and more Danger, in the Place where he went to make War. He had received Intelligence, that the *Samnites* had began the Siege of *Luceria*, a City of the *Apulians*, which was in Alliance with the Republick; and he marched to relieve the faithful *Lucerini*, but found the Enemy in his Way. It is probable, that the *Samnites*, who were less afraid of him, than of his Collegue, had turned all their Forces against him; and left their Cities open to *Postumius*, in order to go and fight *Attilius*. *Samnium* being exceedingly exhausted of Men, I know not whether the *Samnite* Army was as numerous as the *Roman*; but their Rage and Despair made them equal to the *Romans* in Strength, if not in Number. The Field of Battel was narrow and confined; and neither could the *Samnites* return into their own Country, nor the *Romans* gain *Luceria*, without passing through their Enemies. They therefore engaged, and during the Action, the Success seemed equal. But after it was over, the *Romans* perceived, that they had suffered most in it; and as those who are used to conquer, are generally most affected with the Loss of a Battel, they were mightily dejected at their Misfortune.

THEY found that the Number of their Wounded was much greater than that of the Enemy; and this much increased their Fear, which was now greater than it had been, during the Action; otherwise, their Loss would have been more considerable. The *Consular* Army passed the Night with great Uneasiness in their Camp; continually expecting the Enemy to force their Lines, or at least taking it for granted, that they must renew the Battel, as soon as Day appeared; whereas, the *Samnites* were as much terrified as the *Romans*. The slight Advantage they had gained, had not increased their Courage; and they were so far from desiring a new Battel, that they were wholly bent upon decamping the next Day, and returning home. But how could this be done, without making themselves a Way through the midst of their Enemies? Out of Necessity therefore, they determined to go directly to the *Roman* Camp, march along by the Side of it, and make the Plain. This Step mightily terrified the *Romans*, who were already in a Consternation; and they imagined the Enemy was coming to attack them. Under this Persuasion, the *Consul* first sent away his Orders in all haste, to his Lieutenant-Generals, the *Tribunes* of his Army, and the Commanders of the auxiliary Forces, and then commanded his *Legions*, to march out of the Camp, and follow him. But now *Attilius* perceived, how much the Action the Day before had discouraged his Troops. His Officers told him, That they were ready to obey him; but That the Soldiers were faint, and extremely fatigued; That some of them had spent the Night in dressing the Wounded, others in comforting the dying; That if the Enemy had come before Day, they had found the Camp deserted by the *Romans*; That Shame alone had kept them from running away in the Day-time; and That they would be vanquished as soon as attacked. This gave *Attilius* great Anxiety; and thinking to gain himself the Confidence of his Troops by Freedom and Familiarity, he ran

ran into all the Tents, and every where roused his indolent *Romans*. *Brother-Soldiers*, said he, *what Stupefaction detains you here? The Enemy is coming to besiege you in the Camp, if you don't appear in the Plain. Do you chuse rather to come to a Battel, in the midst of your Entrenchments, than at the Foot of your Ramparts? In a pitched Battel, you may have an equal Chance for Victory; but you will infallibly be slain, in the Camp, if you wait for the Enemy there, after you have encouraged them, by declining a Battel.* But the Consul at first made no Impression on his intimidated Men. He in vain pressed them on, and inveighed against them; he heard nothing but Groans throughout the Camp; and the Soldiers replied, *How shall we be able to defend ourselves, when so much exhausted already?* Their Fear had made such strong Impressions on their Imaginations, that they fancied the *Samnite* Army was now much greater, than the Day before.

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IN the mean time the Enemy continually advanced towards the Camp, and when the *Romans* could take a distinct View of them from the Top of the Ramparts, they perceived that the *Samnites* were loaded with Stakes and Fascines. At this the Consul in great Emotion cried out, *How shameful is this for Romans! What! Shall we tamely wait to be slain here like devoted Victims? Shall we prefer the Shame of perishing with Hunger in a besieged Camp, to the Glory of dying an honourable Death, with our Swords in our Hands? O ye Gods! dispose of my Army as you please! but as for Attilius, he will march out and meet the Enemy alone, if not a Man follows him. If he is cut in pieces by the Samnites, he will at least escape the Mortification of seeing his Camp at the Mercy of a People so often conquered.* It has been already observed, that the *Roman* Soldiers enjoyed the Liberties of a popular Government, even in the Army, the great Enterprizes of the Generals being determined by their Suffrages; and in the present case, all the Officers were of the Consul's Opinion, but it was Shame alone that brought over the Troops to it. The Soldiers took to their Arms very unwillingly, and marched out of the Camp with great Reluctance. Their Dislike appeared even in their March. The Battalions were not closed; and the Lines were broken in several Places. It strangely happened, that both Parties were afraid of one another, and the *Samnites* made no better an Appearance than the *Romans*. As soon as the first Troops of the latter came into the Plain, a general Murmur ran thro' the *Samnite* Army; *What we dreaded is come to pass; the Romans are coming out to dispute with us our Return home. What Way then is there to escape, but to force our Way through them?* Thus being reduced to a Necessity of fighting, the *Samnites* acted like brave Men. Every one laid down his Baggage, which was all thrown together in an heap, and placed in the Center of the Army; and then they drew up in Battalia, and were ready to receive the first Onset. The two Armies were now advanced very near one another, and it was time to begin the Attack; but they both continued without Motion. Each waited for the other to give the first Shout for the Battel; but they had so little Inclination to fight, that they all continued silent; and in short, both Armies would have retired without Action, had they not feared that the first which drew off would be assaulted in the Rear by that which kept its Ground. At length however they mutually charged each other, but in a very faint manner; the Shouts of both Parties were weak and broken; and they did not draw nigh enough to come to a close Engagement. So much Dilatoriness therefore tired out the Consul's Patience, and he sought all Means to encourage his Troops, whose Valour seemed to be extinguished.

HE commanded some Squadrons of Horse to advance out of their Ranks, to the Head of the Army; in order thereby to awaken his *Legionaries*, who seemed stupified, out of their Lethargy. But this new Attack did the *Samnites* little Mischief; several of the Horsemen were dismounted, and the rest put into Disorder. However, their Rout had this Effect at least, that it gave a little Spirit to the Combatants, who fought more briskly. Some *Samnites* left their Posts to fall upon these dismounted Horsemen, and some *Romans* ran to their Assistance. But the aggressors being more numerous than their Opponents, the *Romans* gave way, and, to complete their Misfortunes, were trodden under foot by the Horses of those very Men whom they came to assist.

THIS first Check which the *Romans* received, encouraged the *Samnite* Army; which fell upon that of the Enemy, repulsed it, and forced it to retire towards its

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REGULUS,
Consuls.

Entrenchments. But this Disaster seems to have given the *Consul* no other Concern, than that of shewing the more Constancy, and the greater Presence of Mind. He instantly commanded a Body of Horse to advance to the Gate of his Camp, with Orders not to suffer any Person to enter it; and then running into the midst of the flying Infantry, he said, *Friends, whither are you running! You will meet with more certain Death at the Gate of the Camp, than by making Head against the Enemy. As long as I live, you shall none of you return to your Tents, unless you are victorious. Take your Choice, either to engage the Samnites, or to be cut in pieces by the Roman Cavalry.* This said, the Horse instantly surrounded the Infantry, presented their Darts towards them, and forced them to return to the Fight. It very fortunately happened, That the *Samnites* did not pursue the Fugitives briskly; and That there was room enough left between the Enemy and them to face about. Then the *Romans* mutually encouraged one another, to begin a new Attack. The *Centurions* snatched the Colours out of the Hands of those who bore them, rallied the Soldiers, and led them on towards the Enemy. See, said they, *the few Samnites which come towards us are in Disorder; let us fall upon them.*

AND whilst they were preparing to charge the Enemy, the *Consul* lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and with a loud Voice made a Vow to build a Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, if he would put a Stop to the Flight of his Soldiers, and give them Success in the Battel. *Romulus* had formerly made⁶ a like Vow, on the like Occasion; the Prejudices of Religion had induced his terrified Troops to rally; and Superstition had now again the same Effect. All unanimously concurred in resolving to renew the Fight with all the Valour of *Romans*. Officers, Soldiers, Cavalry, all followed the Example of the General. They returned back upon the Body of *Samnites*, which pursued them, attacked it, repulsed it, recovered the Ground they had lost, placed themselves in their former Posts, in order to renew the Battel with quite another Heat; and then the Fortune of the Day changed. The *Samnites* were reduced to a Necessity of taking Care of their Baggage, which they had placed in the middle of the Ground, on which they had first posted themselves; and they at first deliberated, whether they should abandon it, to ease themselves in their Flight. But they chose rather to surround and defend it; which brought on a fresh and sharp Action, in which the *Romans* had all the Advantage. Their Infantry pressed the *Samnites* in Front, and their Cavalry in the Rear, and utterly overthrew them. The Enemy is said to have had four thousand eight hundred Men killed upon the Spot; and to have had seven thousand three hundred made Prisoners of War; whom the *Consul* made all pass under the Yoke, after he had stripped them.

UPON the whole indeed, the Loss of the *Romans* was as great as that of the *Samnites*. They numbered those which had been killed in the two Battels, and found them to be seven thousand three hundred; and certainly the *Consul Attilius* would have gained but little Honour this Campaign, if he had not repaired his Losses by a new Advantage. Whilst he was making War in *Apulia*, a Body of *Samnites* had entered into the Country of the *Volsci*, and endeavoured to surprize *Interamna*, a *Roman Colony*, on the Banks of the *Liris*; and after having been disappointed in that Design, they were returning home, laden with the Spoils which they had taken in the Country. This Company carried with them a great many Men, and much Cattel, which they had taken from the *Romans*; and unfortunately fell in with the victorious Army of *Attilius*, who was returning from *Luceria*, after he had made the Enemy raise the Siege of it. The *Samnites* marched in Disorder,

⁶ *Liwy* here tells us, that *Romulus* never performed his Vow. Only the Place which had been set apart for the building of the Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, was afterwards consecrated by the *Augurs*.

⁷ There were several Cities in *Italy*, which bore the Name of *Interamna*. The first was in *Umbria*, near the *Nera*, formerly the *Nar*; the Neighbourhood of which River gave its Inhabitants the Name of *Nartes*. *Pliny* calls them so *B. 3. c. 14*. This City is now called *Terani*, or *Terni*, by the Natives of the Country. The second was a City of

Picenum, now called *Teramo*, or *Terano*. A third stood in the Country of the *Bruttii*, which is at present a Part of *The Lower Calabria*. Some Footsteps of it are yet to be seen, near the Conflux of the *Cochile* and the *Esaro*, not far from the Ruins of the City of *St. Anthony*. And the fourth, which is here spoken of, had the Surname of *Lirinæ*. Some Traces of it are yet remaining in the Neighbourhood of *Ponte Corvo*, on the Banks of the *Liris*, or the *Garigliano*. We have spoken of it before.

and in one Line, being more attentive on their Prey than their Safety. The *Consular* Army attacked the Pillagers suddenly, defeated them easily, killed a great Number of them, and seized their Booty. From thence the *Consul* continued his March to *Interamna*, called together the Owners of the Goods, which the *Samnites* had taken there, restored every Man what he claimed, left his Army in Winter-Quarters in this Country, and returned to *Rome* to preside at the Elections.

§. IV. As for the other *Consul Postumius*, after having taken the Cities of *Milunia*, and *Triventum*, he had left *Samnium* of his own Head, and without Orders from the Senate. He was uneasy to find nothing to do there, but to pick up some wretched Remains of Booty, which were left in a ruined Country. It is well known, how desirous the *Consuls* were of finishing their Year with some signal Victory, in order to obtain a Triumph at the End of the Campaign. This Desire of Glory induced *Postumius* to leave *Samnium*, the Province assigned him jointly with his Colleague, and to march into *Hetruria*, where there was more Booty and more Honour to be gained. He first laid all the Lands round *Volfinii* waste; and these Hostilities made the Militia of the Country take Arms. They assembled near *Volfinii*, and gave Battel, almost under its Walls. The *Hetrurians* lost two thousand two hundred Men in the Engagement; and the Slaughter had been much greater, if the greatest Number of the defeated Troops had not found Refuge in *Volfinii*, which was so near them. From thence *Postumius* marched into the District of *Russellæ*, and, not content with ravaging that, he took the City by Assault, killed two thousand Men, or near that Number, in the Battel he fought on the Walls of it, and took above two thousand Prisoners of War. Advantages, which would have forced the *Romans* to have honoured *Postumius* with a Triumph, if they had not been followed by a Peace, which brought him more Glory than the War. Three of the most considerable *Lucumonies* in *Hetruria*, namely, those of *Volfinii*, *Perusia*, and *Aretium*, desired to treat; and *Postumius* gave them leave to send an Embassy to *Rome*, to confer with the *Roman* People, upon Condition that these three Cantons furnished his Army with Provisions, and gave each Soldier a military Habit, by way of Preliminary. The Condition was accepted, and the three *Lucumonies* obtained of the *Roman* People a Truce for forty Years; they immediately paying each five hundred thousand Pounds of Brass, into the Treasury of the Republick.

As for *Postumius*, presuming upon his Exploits in so successful a Campaign, he ventured to demand a Triumph. Not that he expected to obtain it of the Senate, to whom he offered his Request; he addressed himself to the *Conscript Fathers*, only in Compliance with Custom; and was very sure it would not be granted, in a Court where he had many Adversaries. Accordingly, some pretended he had set out too late from *Rome*, to begin the Campaign in time; others reproached him with having deserted his Province without Orders, and tarnished the Glory of his Arms, by a Want of Obedience; and *Postumius*, who was a Witness to the Refusal the Senate gave him, made this Reply; *I know what Duty I owe to the Dignity of the Conscript Fathers; but then I likewise know, that I am a Consul, and a Conqueror. Notwithstanding your Denial, I will obtain the Triumph to which I have a Right, by my Exploits, my publick Services, and the Peace I forced the Enemy to demand. I will obtain it of those who gave me my Commission.* In short, *Postumius* offered his Petition to the *Roman* People. This was indeed an Innovation in the Republick. The Custom was, for the Senate to order the Triumph, and the People to confirm it; provided also, that none of the *Tribunes of the People* made any Opposition to it. But none of these Rules were now observed. Three only of the *Tribunes of the People* were for *Postumius's* Triumph, seven protested against it; and yet the Perseverance of the *Consul* surmounted all these Difficulties. He⁸ presented himself before the *Comitia*, gave the *Romans* to understand, that more *Consuls* than one had triumphed by Order of the People, and contrary to the Inclination of the Senators; and

⁸ *Postumius* would not have appeared in the *Comitia*, but that he was sent for by the People, to explain the Reasons of his Demand, and give an Account of his Expeditions. *Vocatusque eo Consul*, says *Livy*, B. 10. Whereas we have already ob-

served more than once, that the Generals who demanded a Triumph, were obliged to keep without the Walls of *Rome*, till their Demand had been accepted, or rejected.

then

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLIX.
L. POSTUMIUS
MEGELLUS,
M. ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

Year of then added, *I should not have had Recourse to the Senate in the first Instance,*
 R O M E *I had not been apprehensive of the Ill-will of your Tribunes, who are for the mo*
 CCCCLIX. *part contemptible Men, and enslaved to the Patricians. But your Affection, Re*
 L. POSTUMIUS *mans, and your Suffrages, shall supply the Place of the Decrees of the Senate, an*
 MEGELLUS, *the Favour of the Tribunes.* Thus spake *Postumius*, and the People, always fon
 M. ATTILIUS *of increasing their Power, decreed him a Triumph, for having conquered 9 th*
 REGULUS, *Samnites, and the Hetrurians.* If the Senate did not assist at his Procession, which
 Consuls. *was made on The Sixth of the Calends of April, at least the People did, and con*
Tabula Tri- sidered it as their own Work.

AN Honour, which according to *Livy*, was refused the brave *Attilius*. This Histo
 rian declares that two Objections were made to it; one, That he had lost seven thou
 sand three hundred Men in a Battel; and the other, That he had only made the
 Prisoners of War he had taken *pass under the Yoke*, and had not made a Treaty with
 them. But whatever Difficulties were started before a Triumph was granted to *At*
tilius, it is certain he did ¹⁰ triumph the Day before his Collegue. This Honour
Tabula Tri- was conferred upon him, as the Conqueror of the *Samnites* and *Volsones*. It is
umphales. surprizing, that none of the ancient Geographers should mention the Name of the
 latter; whose Country, I judge from the Circumstances of their Story, to have
 laid between *Apulia* and *Samnium*. *Livy* is also guilty of another Mistake in this
 Place; but it is a pardonable one. He transfers one of the most important *Lustra*
Fast. Capit. in all the *Roman* Story, to the next Year.

IN the *Censorship* of *Cornelius Arvina*, and *Marcus Rutilus*, the thirtieth *Lu*
strum of the People was made; in which were found two hundred and seventy
 thousand *Roman* ¹¹ *Citizens*, fit to bear Arms. After the *Lustrum*, a new List
 was made of the Senators, by the *Censors*; who placed the greatest Man, and the
 most venerable Sage then in *Rome*, at the Head of it, as *Prince of the Senate*.
 This was *Q. Fabius Rullianus*; an Hero who yet served his Country with his
 Counsels, and whom *Rome* would not suffer to pass his old Age without the Em
 ployments and Honours proper for it. It was remarked as something particular,
 that *Fabius Ambustus* his Father, and his Son *Fabius Gurgus*, were both *Princes*
of the Senate, as well as himself; and probably in the Decline of their Age.

§. V. THE Republick never abounded more with illustrious Generals, than in the
 time of her Wars with the *Samnites*. She then seemed to have a Race of them; and
 it was common to see the Son of an able General equal his Father in Courage
 and Wisdom. The famous *Papirius Cursor*, who gave the *Samnite* Nation such
 terrible Shocks, had left another *L. Papirius Cursor* his Heir, who inherited his
 Virtues, as well as bore his Surname. The Father had been five times *Consul*; the
 Son was now raised to that Dignity the first time, made him his Pattern, and even
 from his first Campaign, equalled, if not surpassed him. It is not to be imagined,
 but that this new Warrior, who appears upon the Stage all on a sudden, must
 have given some Proofs of his Valour and military Genius, in inferior Posts;
 yet such is the Negligence of the *Roman* Historians, that they scarce mention, or
 give us any previous Account of the chief Personages concerned in their His
 tory, till they come to act their first Part. The preceding Actions, which ren

9 *Livy*, in his Relation of the *Consulship* of *Lu*
cius Postumius and *M. Attilius*, honestly confesses,
 that the ancient Annals give different Accounts of
 both their Campaigns. According to the ancient
 Annalist *Claudius Quadrigarius*, *Postumius* first con
 quered the *Samnites*, and brought some of their Ci
 ties into Subjection to *Rome*. But at the same time,
 he says, that the *Roman* Army was entirely defeat
 ed in the Plains of *Apulia*: and adds, that the *Con*
sul was wounded in the Battel, and was forced to
 fly for Refuge with the weak Remains of his *Le*
gions, to the Walls of *Luceria*. The same Author
 also robs *Postumius* of the Glory of the *Hetrurian*
 Expedition, and gives it to *Attilius*. *Fabius* the His
 torian, quoted by *Livy*, pretended, that the two *Con*
suls for this Year, shared between them the Command
 of the Troops of the Republick, both in *Samnium*,
 and near *Luceria*. According to him, one of the two
 Generals was ordered to lead a Part of the Army

into *Hetruria*; but he has not told us, which of the
 two was charged with this new Expedition. He
 also mentions a Battel fought in sight of *Luceria*;
 says the Number of Slain on both Sides was consi
 derable; and affirms, that in this Action the General
 made a Vow to build a Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, as
Romulus before had done. And *Livy* observes on this
 Occasion, that the Senate made it Matter of Religion
 to discharge this double Vow, made by * *Romulus*
 formerly, and again lately by the *Consul Postumius*.

10 *Claudius* the Annalist, agrees with the *Fasti*
Capitolini, as to the Triumph granted to the *Consul*
Attilius, with this difference, that according to him,
 the General triumphed, as Conqueror of the *Hetrur*
rians.

11 In the oldest Editions of *Livy*, those who
 were found capable of bearing Arms, in this *Luf*
trum, are reckoned to be but 262322; and *Mari*
nus does not make them exceed 240000.

dered them worthy of the *Consulship*, are often passed over in Silence. The Colleague who was raised with *Papirius* to this eminent Dignity of the *Consulship* was ¹² *Spurius Carvilius*, who had never been promoted to it before; and the same Assembly which chose them *Consuls*, nominated ¹³ *Attilius*, who had so lately triumphed, to the *Prætorship*. As for *Postumius*, he had drawn upon himself the Hatred of the Senate, and of the *Tribunes of the People*. The Commons had indeed procured him a Triumph; but the Affection of the People is very inconstant, and changes whenever those who govern them think fit.

It is very strange, that *Samnium* should again be the Seat of War; nevertheless, the two *Consuls* had no separate Provinces assigned them, but were both ordered to march thither. *Carvilius* was placed at the Head of the old Army, which *Attilius* had commanded the last Year. But *Postumius's* Troops seem to have been recalled. At least *Papirius* was ordered to make new Levies, and raise an entirely new Army. As for *Postumius*, he was made to repent of having gained a Triumph, against the Will of the *Tribunes of the People*. *M. Scantius*, one of that College, accused him before the *Tribes* ¹⁴, doubtless for having quitted his Province, without the Consent of the Republick. However, the artful *Postumius* found Means to avoid the Condemnation he dreaded; by prevailing on *Carvilius* the *Consul*, to make him one of his Lieutenant-Generals. It was then settled, that a *Consul*, after his Year was out, might without Scruple serve under his Successor: and by this means *Postumius* avoided his Prosecution, which was superseded.

§. VI. WHEN every thing was ready for the War, the *Consuls* had Thoughts of setting out for their Province, where their Presence was necessary to suppress the fresh Insolence of the *Samnites*. The Heads of these People had found out an Expedient to equal their Forces, had it been possible, to that of the *Romans*, both in Number and Valour; and there was a Mixture of Superstition, Inhumanity, and Pride, in this new Scheme. In the first place, they took an extraordinary Method to raise Troops throughout all their Dominions. They published a Law commanding all who were of Age to bear Arms to appear, upon the first Summons from the General of their Nation, under Pain of Death. The Heads of all those who disobeyed this Law, were devoted to *Jupiter*; that is, it was lawful for any one to kill them, wherever they were found. The general *Rendez-vous* was appointed in the Neighbourhood ¹⁵ of *Aquilonia*, a City of *Hirpinia*, belonging to the *Samnites*. Fear brought all the Youth in the Country thither, to the Number of about forty thousand; which was sufficient to make a great Army. What re-

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLX.
L. PAPIRIUS
CURSOR, SP.
CARVILIUS
MAXIMUS,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 38.

¹² *Cassiodorus* is mistaken in the Name of the *Consul Spurius Carvilius*, whom he calls *Cornelius*.

¹³ Most *Civilians* make the *Prætor Attilius* Author of the Law, which was from him called *Lex Attilia*. It related to Guardianships. The XII. *Table* had indeed made Provision for them. See what we have said on this Subject, B. 10. Vol. 1. p. 449. According to the fifth Law of the fifth *Table*, it belonged to the Father of the Family, to declare by Will, whom he pleased Guardian of his Children, during their Minority. This was generally some Friend in whom he confided, and who must have been a *Roman Citizen*. In the ancient *Civil Law*, he has the Title of *Tutor Testamentarius*. If the Father died intestate, the *Roman Laws* conferred the Guardianship on the nearest Relation by the Father's Side, who was called *Legitimus Tutor*. And in default of both these, the new Law, according to *Carinus the Civilian*, gave the *Prætor* a Power to nominate the Guardian. But *Ulpian* says, that the Choice of the Guardian was referred to the *Prætor*, jointly with the Majority of the *Tribunes of the People*. But however that be, this Precaution was necessary. It often happened, that this odious Office, interfered with Mens indispensable Engagements; and in that case, the safest Way was, to have Recourse to the Wisdom of the *Magistrates*. A Person of known Probity was proposed to them, to take care of the Estate of the Minor; and generally, the Persons proposed were accepted, unless the Judges thought it for the Advan-

tage of the Children to do otherwise. Nor did the *Attilian Law* reach only to Children under the Age of *Puberty*, but likewise to Women, who were, all their Lives, under the Government of a Guardian, as we shall have occasion to observe elsewhere. But the *Roman Law* concerning Guardianships, was afterwards altered several times; and often corrected by the *Magistrates* and *Emperors*, who ordered their Corrections to be inserted in the ancient *Code*. We shall speak of them, in their proper Time and Place. Some have conjectured, that The *Attilian Law* was made at the Request of one *Lucius Attilius*, a *Tribune of the People*, in the Year of *Rome* 442, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*. But the Name of *Attilius*, which is the Foundation of the Conjecture, no more proves the Law to have been made in that Year, than in the Year 460, when one *Marcus Attilius Regulus* was *Prætor*.

¹⁴ *Livy* has not indeed told us, what *Postumius's* Accusation was; but it is probable, that *Scantius* charged it upon him as a Crime, that he had procured a Triumph to be decreed him, notwithstanding the Oppositions of the Senate, and *Tribunes of the People*.

¹⁵ The Situation of *Carbonara*, a Town of *The Further Principality*, agrees well enough with that which the *Historians* and *Itineraries* give the ancient City of *Aquilonia*, which formerly belonged to the *Hirpini*. Nevertheless, *Holstenius* thinks that *Aquilonia* stood in the Neighbourhood of a City, now called *La Cedogna*, near the River *Ansidus*, or the *Osanto*.

Year of
ROM E
CCCCLX.
L. PAPIRIUS
CURSOR, SP.
CARVILIUS
MAXIMUS,
Consuls.
Liv. B. 10.
c. 38.

remained was, to inspire them with as much Courage by Artifice, as the Virtue of the *Romans* gave them; and the Expedient made use of for that Purpose, was this. They inclosed a Place two hundred Foot square, with Planks and Hurdles, in the midst of a Plain; and shut it up so close that none without could discover what was done in it. In order to screen it from the Heat of the Sun, it was covered with Sails hung up upon Masts; and in this Place was built an Altar, on which were to be offered several Sorts of Victims. An old *Samnite*, named *Ovius Pacius*, more venerable for his Age and long Beard, than his Priesthood, presided in the Ceremony of the Day. He began with reading in an old Book, written on Cloth, the Ceremonies of the Sacrifice he was going to perform. He pretended, that the religious Act he was about to do, was as old as the *Samnite* Nation, and had been revived by their Fathers, when they formed the Design of taking away *Capua* from the *Campani*. After he had stained the Altar with the Blood of some slain Victims, he brought the General first into the Inclosure, then the chief Officers of the Army, after one another; and after them, the chief Flower of the young Nobility. The solemn Apparatus of the Sacrifice, the Altar, the Blood spilt, and the Victims weltering in their Gore on the Ground, filled them with a religious Dread. Round the Sanctuary, the *Centurions* were placed in order, with threatening Looks, and their Swords drawn. As fast as any were brought into the Enclosure, they were led to the Altar, and the first Oath taken there was, Not to reveal to any Person the dreadful Mysteries of which they were going to be Witnesses: And all these Preparations were only designed to pave the Way for a second Oath, which the General extorted by Force, of all those who were admitted into this Place. It was drawn up in strong Terms, and could not be pronounced without Horror. It was this. *May all the Curses of the Gods fall upon me, and my Posterity; May I become the Curse of Heaven and Earth, if I don't follow my Generals, in the Battels, wherever they shall lead me; if I ever turn my Back, to fly; or do not kill those whom I shall see flying?* Some of those who were first brought into this Enclosure, made a Difficulty of loading themselves and their Posterity with so many Imprecations; and they immediately suffered for their Timorousness. Their Blood was mingled with that of the Victims; and their Carcasses were thrown to the Heap of dead Sheep and Bulls, which had been sacrificed. So that this new Sight increased the Terror of those who were afterwards called in to take the Oath.

Liv. *ibid.*

It is said that the General himself named only the first ten who were admitted, and gave them Orders to take their Turns of choosing every one his Companion or Friend, to enter into the same Engagements, till the Number of this devoted Company amounted to sixteen thousand Men; which was thought a sufficient Number, both to give Example to the rest of the Army, and raise their Emulation. This *Legion* was called *The Linen Legion*; not because they were clothed in Linen, or light-armed; but because they had taken their Oaths under a Canopy, or Covering of Linen. Before these Victims were exposed to the Blows of the Enemy, they were finely equipped. Magnificent Bucklers were given them; and, that they might be the better distinguished in an Engagement, their Helmets were adorned with stately Crests. The rest of the *Samnite* Army, which amounted to above twenty thousand Men, were neither so richly clothed nor armed, as this chosen Body.

Legio Lincenta.
Liv. B. 10.
c. 38.

§. VII. THE Consul *Carvilius* first left *Rome*; the Army he was to command being ready for him, and waiting his Arrival near *Interamna*, where *Attilius* had left it. From thence he took his Way towards *Samnium*, before the *Samnites* had finished their Preparations, and at the very time that they were busy, in endeavouring to inspire themselves with Courage, by the Help of Religion.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 39.

THE first Exploit of the *Romans*, was the taking of ¹⁶ *Amiternum*, a City of *Sabinia*, near the *Vestini*, which nevertheless belonged to the *Samnites*. The Enemy lost two thousand eight hundred Men in the Assault, and *Carvilius* took four thousand two hundred and seventy Prisoners of War, in the Place.

¹⁶ *Brietius* mentions two Cities which bore the Name of *Amiternum*; one, in the Country of the *Vestini*, which is now a Part of *The Further Abruzzo*, between the Rivers *Piomba* and *Pescara*; which was the Birth-place of the famous Historian *Sallust*; and the Ruins of which are now known by the Name of *Amiterno Rovinata*. Another, near the Head of the River *Aterno*, now the *Pescara*, near the City which the Natives call *San-Vittorino*, six Miles from *Aquila*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

IN the mean time, *Papirius* was hastening his Levies in *Rome*; and when his new *Legions* were completed, he took the Field with all speed. His first Enterprize was upon ¹⁷ *Furconia*, another City of *Sabinia*, or of the *Vestini*, in the Possession of the *Samnites*. He killed more Men in taking it, than *Carvilius* had done in the Siege of *Amiternum*; but he took fewer Prisoners. From thence the two *Consuls* marched together, to lay waste the District of ¹⁸ *Atina*, and that Part of the Country of the *Volsi*, which was subject to the *Samnites*. After this, *Carvilius* turned off towards ¹⁹ *Cominium*, to lay Siege to it; and *Papirius* towards *Aquilonia*, a Place made famous by the execrable Oaths of *The Linen Legion*. There never was a more perfect Understanding between any Collegues, than now between the *Consuls*. Their Armies were not above twenty Miles distant from each other, and they mutually assisted each other with their Advice, as they were ready to do with their Forces. Whilst *Carvilius* was preparing to lay Siege to *Cominium*, *Papirius* came in sight of the formidable Army of the *Samnites*; and the War he was now going to make here, so much resembled that which his Father had formerly carried on against the same Nation, that one might easily be thought the Copy of the other. But however that be, (for it is probable, that in general, *Livy* has related many Fables, in his Account of the Wars in *Samnium*;) *Papirius* tried the Enemy a great while, before he came to a general Action. Only some slight Skirmishes passed; and they often threatened one another, without fighting. Sometimes a Battel seemed ready to begin; but neither Army pursuing it, it was postponed to the next Day. As for *Carvilius*, he was more anxious about what passed near *Aquilonia*, than about his Siege of *Cominium*: and in the mean while, he received a Letter from his Collegue. *Papirius* sent him word, that he was at last resolved to give Battel the next Day, if the *Auguries* should be in any degree favourable: and he exhorted him to pursue the Attack of *Cominium* with Vigour, lest the Enemy should send Detachments from thence, to increase the Number of the *Samnite* Troops near *Aquilonia*. *Papirius's* Courier had all the Day to carry his Letter, and in the Night he brought back an Answer; importing that *Carvilius* approved of the Design. Upon which, *Papirius* immediately assembled his Troops, before his Tent, and addressed himself to them in this manner.

IF Courage was to be acquired by juggling Tricks, or Crests could do Execution, we should have reason to be under the greatest Apprehensions of the Enemy. But it is our Happiness, that our Darts will pierce painted and gilded Bucklers, as well as plain ones. These shining white Habits will soon change their Colour, and be dired with the Blood of those that wear them. It was thus, that my Father formerly vanquished some Battalions of these very *Samnites*, who were covered all over with Gold and Silver; and our Soldiers had the richer Booty for it. It is perhaps the Fate of the *Papirian* Name and Family, to withstand the greatest Efforts of the *Samnites*, and to bring such Monuments of our Victories over them to *Rome*, as are fit to adorn Temples, and publick Places. Is it to be imagined, that Heaven will favour a perfidious People, who have so often bound themselves to us by Treaties, and so often broken them? If I may presume to dive into the Counsels of the Gods, those Gods who revenge the Prostitution of Religion to infamous Practices, must surely be exceedingly enraged against our Enemies? With what Abhorrence must they have seen human Blood mingled with that of their Sacrifices?

¹⁷ *Livy* calls the City *Papirius* made himself Master of, *Duronia*. But we don't know any City of that Name in ancient *Italy*. It is supposed, that the City here spoken of, was called *Furconia*. At least, this City was near *Amiternum*, which the Roman Army had taken by Assault, a few Days before. The Ruins of *Furconia* are to be seen to this Day, and are called *Forconio*; they are over-against the Right Bank of the River *Aternus*, opposite to *Aquilonia*, which is but three thousand geometrical Paces from them. *Holstenius* places the Footsteps of this City near a Church of *St. Felix the Martyr*, which is built in a Place now called *S. Feli*.

¹⁸ The Territory of *Atina*, which the Romans seized, took its Name from that City which stood in the Country of the *Volsi*, where the *Samnites*

had made some Conquests. We have spoken of it already.

¹⁹ It is evident from *Livy* himself, that *Cominium* and *Aquilonia* were twenty thousand geometrical Paces from each other. Whence it follows, that the former stood on the Extremity of *Samnium* Eastward, or in the Country of the *Hirpini*. So that it could not possibly stand in the Place now called *Comino*, between *Atina*, *Sora*, and the Lake *Fucinus*. And according to *Scipio Mazella*, if that was the Situation of *Cominium*, we must look for the Remains of it, towards the Confines of *Samnium* to the West. According to which Account, *Aquilonia* and *Cominium* must have had the whole Territory of *Campania* between them.

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CARVILIUS
MAXIMUS,
Consuls.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 39.

Liv. ibid.

Liv. ibid.

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CARVILIUS
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How must they look upon these Samnites, who are doubly-guilty; first, for having broken their most solemn Oaths to us; and then for binding themselves to continue to violate them, by other Oaths, and those the most execrable? Even the Minds of our Enemies can never be at Peace, after so many Crimes. Men will not act with the more Vigour or Steadiness for Oaths, which have been extorted by Fear and Violence: they always fight faintly, when they are afraid of the Gods, their Countrymen, and their Enemies, at the same time.

PAPIRIUS had no sooner finished his Discourse, but he saw Joy painted on the Faces of all the Romans; which they further expressed by the Shouts they made, to shew their Desires of a Battel. This was the manner in which the Troops gave their Suffrages in Camps. They were only uneasy to see the Battel put off to the next Day; and their Impatience to come to an Engagement, made them think the Night long. From the General to the meanest Soldier, all were equally eager to engage, and every one communicated his Gladness to his Companion. All the Officers were inspired with the same Desires, as much as the Soldiers; even he, whose Business it was to observe the Presages, chose rather to tell his General a Lie, than check this universal Ardour. It was then customary to judge of the Success of Battels beforehand, by the Greediness with which the consecrated Chickens ate the Food which was provided for them. The *Augurs* always kept some of these Birds in Cages, and Battel was never given, till they had been consulted. Their Haste, or Slowness, in picking up their Food, was a good or bad Prognostick, of what would happen: And the Person now appointed to observe this *Augury*, perceived, that the Chickens fed but slowly. Nevertheless, as it often happens, that the Ministers of Religion are not the most scrupulous, or the most credulous; the *Augur* chose rather to falsify, than let slip so favourable an Opportunity. He depended more on the Ardour of the Soldiers, than the Greediness of the Birds, and made this false Report to the Consul. *I saw the Birds come slowly out of their Cage, devour their Food greedily, ²⁰ leap about, and scratch the Ground with their Feet.* Papirius heard the *Augury* with Joy, told his Troops, that the Gods had declared themselves in their Favour, and hoisted the Signal for the Battel. But this Observation having been made before Witnesses, they, in the mean time, declared, That the Presage was at least doubtful; and the Report spreading from one to another, especially among the *Roman Knights*, they thought it a Matter of such Importance, as to deserve to be communicated to the General. The Consul had a Nephew in his Army, named *Sp. Papirius*, who was brought up in the Fear of the Gods, and educated as the young *Roman Nobility* then usually were; and *The Roman Knights* made use of him to undeceive the General. Whilst the young *Papirius* was informing himself exactly of the Truth of the Fact, lest he should make as indiscreet a Report to his Uncle, as the *Augur's* had been unfaithful; the Consul was getting every thing ready for fighting the next Day. The ²¹ Eagles were already taken out of the little Temple where they were kept, and where they were honoured as a sort of Divinities. The General had already assigned his Lieutenant-Generals their Posts. He had appointed *L. Volumnus* to command in the Right Wing, and *L. Scipio* in the Left. *C. Caudinus* and *C. Trebonius* had received Orders to command the Cavalry. *Sp. Nautilus* was already gone to take Possession of a Hill in the Plain; and was almost got thither, after having marched round about, at the Head of the Servant-Boys and Blackguard of the Camp, mounted upon the Mules, and other Beasts of Burden. He had taken with him some *Manipuli* of the Infantry of the Allies, and was upon the first Advice to fall upon the Enemy, and raise as great a Cloud of Dust as possible. And lastly, *Papirius* had already dispatched a Courier to his Collegue, to give him notice, that the *Samnites* had just detached twenty of their Regiments, of four hundred Men each, to go to the Relief of *Cominium*. All these Dispositions were made, and nothing was more to be done, but to march out and engage; when young *Papirius* came and told his Uncle, That he had been deceived by him who observed the *Auguries*; and That the Presage of the Chickens was at

²⁰ This Motion of the Chickens, when they ate greedily, was called *Tripudium Solistimum*. ²¹ See what we have said of the Roman Eagles, and the idolatrous Worship the Legions paid their Ensigns, Vol. 1. B. 7. p. 278.

least doubtful. The *Consul* was not one of those daring Men, who glory in Impiety; or of those weak ones, whose too great Credulity makes them timorous. He had taken his Measures, and he said to his Nephew, *Be of good Courage, and behave yourself in the Action like a brave Man. If the Augur has made me a false Report, the Gods will inflict on him alone the Vengeance he has drawn upon himself by his Irreligion. As for me, I conclude it to be a favourable Augury, since it was so declared.* Thus spake *Papirius*, and then ordered these unfaithful Keepers of the sacred Chickens to be placed at the Head of the first Line. He thought either to appease the Gods by this Sacrifice, or raise the Courage of his Soldiers, who might perhaps have been alarmed by the Reports spread in the Camp.

AFTER these wise Precautions, the *Consul* led out his *Romans* to the Battel. At the Head of the Enemy's Army appeared that formidable Body of *Samnites* who were so finely dressed. This *Linen Legion* was supported by the rest of the *Samnite* Battalions, placed in the last Line. The first Line of the Enemy was indeed an agreeable Sight to the *Romans*. So fine a Body of Infantry, in Helmets so richly adorned, and drawn up in Battalia, made a most charming Appearance.

THE two Armies soon drew near each other; but before they engaged, or had made their first Shout, a Dart was thrown, by an unknown Hand, which killed the *Augur*, who had been guilty of Lying, and Impiety. It is more probable, that he died by the General's Order, than that he was slain accidentally; but nevertheless, when the thing was told *Papirius*, he seemed to look upon it as a Stroke from Heaven, which gave him an Assurance of the Victory. He cried out, *The Vengeance of the Gods is wholly exhausted on him alone who deserved it. We have nothing more to fear from their Anger.* To which some add, that whilst the General was saying this, a Raven appeared over his Head, and ²² croaked with a shrill, and not a hoarse Voice; and upon this happy Presage, which repaired the Defects of the former, the General is said to have pronounced these Words, which were dispersed throughout the Army. *If ever Heaven declared for us, it doubtless does so now, with regard to the Battel we are going to fight.* Thus the prudent *Papirius* concealed the little Faith he had in ridiculous *Auguries*, under the Cover of Religion; and increased the Ardour of his Troops, in Circumstances which in all Appearance should have damped it.

§. VIII. AFTER this, the Onset was no longer deferred. *Papirius* ordered a Charge to be sounded; and the *Romans* gave a Shout, as usual when they began a Battel. The Engagement was sharp and bloody; but the two Parties acted upon different Principles. The *Romans* were animated by the Love of Glory, the Hopes of fine Booty, and the Thirst of Slaughter. The *Samnites* fought out of Necessity; and as the Fear of violating their Oaths, was the only Principle on which their Valour was founded, they in a manner kept themselves wholly on the defensive. They would probably have been staggered at the first Onset, and the first Shout, had they not lain under the most terrible Engagements not to give way. They knew they would infallibly be put to death if they fled, and they believed, the Punishment of perjury would be extended to their Posterity.

The *Samnites* made a Resistance for some time without retiring, but like Men whose Fear only keeps them from flying. The first Ranks of their *Linen Legion* were already over-run; and the Slaughter was carried to the Center of their first Battalions, where their Ensigns were, when they saw a great Cloud of Dust driving before the Wind. It seemed to be raised by the marching of a great Army; but proceeded only from that little Body of Infantry and Cavalry whom *Nautius* commanded. The Boys of the Camp, who were mounted upon Mules, artfully increased it very much, by dragging Boughs of Trees after them, which swept the ground, and help'd to darken the Air. *Papirius*, tho' the Author of the Stratagem, pretended to be surprized at it himself; and both *Romans* and *Samnites* were equally deceived by it. Nothing could be seen through the Cloud, but the Tops of some Standards and Lances, and some Cavalry surrounded with the same Dust, who being led at the two Wings, seemed to flank a Body of Infantry.

THE *Consul* likewise confirmed the Cheat, by crying out, with an Air of Joy,

We have already observed more than once, the ancient *Romans*, upon the trifling Principles of *Augural Science*, judged of the good or bad Success of an Enterprize, by the different Motions, and Cries, of Birds.

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CARVILIUS
MAXIMUS,
Consuls.
Livy, ibid.

Livy, ibid.

*Liv. B. 10.
c. 40.*

*Orosius, B. 3.
c. 22.*

*Liv. B. 10.
c. 41.*

We have already observed more than once, the ancient *Romans*, upon the trifling Principles of *Augural Science*, judged of the good or bad

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Cominium is taken. This is my Colleague, who is coming to help us. Courage, Fellow Soldiers, Courage; let us strive to gain the Victory ourselves, before another Army comes to share the Glory and the Spoils with us! These Words were heard far, for *Papirius* was on horseback, in the midst of his Battalions; and then he directed his Cavalry to fall on the Enemy. *Trebonius* and *Cædicius* who commanded it, had Orders to begin the Attack, when they saw the General hold up his Spear, and shake it; and upon this Signal, the Horse rode full speed between the Spaces of the Lines, and came and fell upon *The Linen Legion*. *Volumnius* and *Scipio* also made new Efforts, at the same time.

WHEN the Enemy's Ranks were broken, by the Attack of the *Roman Cavalry*, the *Legions* immediately made themselves a Way into the midst of the *Samnite Battalions*. And then, notwithstanding all human Precautions, and the Fear of the Gods, this Company of Men, who had bound themselves by terrible Imprecations never to fly, were routed. Their Fear of the Enemy was too great to suffer them to attend to any other Apprehensions. And the Flight of these Braves, who were the Choice of their Troops, occasioned all the rest of the *Samnite Army* to do the same. The Foot in their left Wing retired to *Aquilonia*, as being the nearest Fortress they could come at; and those in the right Wing regained their Camp. As for the Horse, which consisted of the Nobility of the Country, they fled a great way from the Field of Battel, to ²³*Bovianum*, a City which, after having often changed its Masters, then belonged to the *Samnites*.

THE Conduct and Valour of *Papirius* had begun the Victory; and his good Fortune, together with the Courage of his Soldiers, completed it. Whilst the *Roman Cavalry* was pursuing the *Samnites*, the *Legions* were at the Heels of the Enemy's Infantry. One Part of the *Roman Manipuli* followed those who retired to their Camp; and the other closely pursued those who fled to the City. And *Volumnius*, who led the Conquerors to the Enemy's Camp, soon made himself Master of it.

BUT *Scipio* met with more Resistance before *Aquilonia*: Not that the Vanquished had more Courage, to sustain the Assault made on the City, than to defend their Camp; but because it is always more difficult to scale Walls, than to break thro' Pallisades. Besides, *Scipio* had but few Men with him. The *Aquilonians* endeavoured first to drive the *Romans* from their Walls, by throwing Stones at them; but *Scipio* thought it not proper to suffer the Ardour of his Troops to abate, and judged it best to take a Place upon the Spot, which it would require Time to reduce, if he suffered his Men to cool. He therefore addressed himself to his little Troop, and asked them, *Whether such brave Men as they could bear to see the right-Wing take Possession of the Enemy's Camp, whilst the left wanted Courage to take Aquilonia?*

THEN Emulation gave these Men, tho' fatigued with a long Battel, new Strength and they consented to make the Attempt. *Scipio* instantly covered his Head with his Buckler, to guard himself from the Stones which were thrown from the Walls and his Troop all following his Example, they advanced, in good Order, to one of the City-Gates. There they formed themselves into a *Tortoise*, broke open the Gate, made themselves Masters of it, and seized a Part of the Rampart. So the hitherto the *Romans* seemed to have taken the most prudent Measures; but when they came to penetrate into the Heart of the City, they were sensible they had been guilty of a rash Attempt. They were too few in Number to be able to withstand the Multitude of the *Samnites* who had fled into *Aquilonia* for Refuge. But Fortune, who attended the *Roman General*, came to their Relief. *Papirius* was then busy in collecting together his victorious Army, which was dispersed in several Places by an eager Pursuit of the Fugitives. The Day was closing, and Night is formidable even to Conquerors. *Papirius's* Uneasiness therefore made him very active. He was running over the Plain, to bring back his Soldiers to his Camp, when he the left saw the *Samnite* Entrenchments forced, and to the right, on the Side of the City, heard the Shouts of Combatants, and the Groans of those who were dying in an Engagement; and he therefore instantly hastened thither, and carried with him the *Manipuli* he had picked up.

He arrived very seasonably; saw the Danger to which a small Number of resolute *Romans* were exposed, at the Gate of the City, which they had broken down; and tho' he did not approve of their Rashness, was well pleased with this Opportunity

²³ We have given an Account of the Situation of this City already.

completing a difficult Conquest, without much Trouble. He therefore marched his Troops thro' the Gate he found open; but Night approaching, he contented himself with entrenching his Men, just within the Walls of the City, without advancing any farther. And then, by the help of the Darkness, the Enemy escaped, and left the Place to the *Romans*.

THIS Battel of *Aquilonia*, was thought one of the most honourable the *Romans* ever fought. It was said, that *Papirius* the Son, had equalled the Glory of his Father, in his first Assay. No young Officer had ever shewn more Intrepidity, Conduct and Strength of Mind. During the whole Action, which was sharp, *Papirius* appeared with an Air of Chearfulness and Confidence; which encouraged his Troops, and assured them of the Victory. But he was chiefly commended for that Greatness of Mind, which raised him above the common Apprehensions and Uneasinesses, which doubtful *Auguries* generally produced; and it was reported, that in the most critical time of the Engagement, when any other General but himself would have made a Vow to build a Temple to some Divinity, he only promised to make *Jupiter* a ²⁴ Libation of a little Wine mixed with Honey, before he drank any Wine himself. It gave the *Romans* great Pleasure, to see that every thing succeeded with him, even to the Meanness of his Vow, and his little Concern at the Falshood of the *Augur*. But notwithstanding all these Talents, we shall with Surprise see him long buried in the Obscurity of a private Life. So unaccountable were the Elections at *Rome*! *Papirius* was not replaced in the highest Dignity, till long after his first Victory; nor would he have been drawn from his Solitude then, had it not been for the pressing Wants of the Republick.

ACCORDING to *Livy*, the *Samnites* lost thirty thousand three hundred and forty Soldiers, in the Battel of *Aquilonia*; and the *Romans* took from them three thousand eight hundred and seventy Prisoners, and ninety seven Standards. But this Number of slain seems incredible, and *Livy* contradicts himself ²⁵ concerning it. I rather believe, with *Orosius*, who doubtless made use of better Memoirs, that it ought to be reduced to twelve thousand.

§.IX. AND whilst his Collegue was destroying the *Samnite* Army, *Carvilius* was preparing to pursue the Siege of *Cominium* with Vigour; but upon the Arrival of *Papirius's* Courier, who brought him Intelligence of the considerable Detachment sent from the *Samnite* Army to relieve the City he besieged; he delayed the Attack a little, and first dispatched away one of his Lieutenant-Generals to meet this Reinforcement, and with Orders, to amuse, or fight it, wherever he found it. *Brutus Scaeva* led the first *Legion*, and twenty *Cohorts*, of Auxiliaries on this Enterprize, and went to meet the *Samnite* Detachment; whilst *Carvilius* in the mean time, stormed the Town. At Break of Day the Scaling begun; and the Wall was surrounded by the Besiegers. The *Romans* made a sort of *Tortoise*, in order to approach the City; that is, a Body of them led up by the *Consul*, covered their Heads with their Bucklers, closed their Ranks, and advanced with equal Pace quite up to the Gates of *Cominium*; Guards being posted at all the Avenues of the City, to prevent Sallies. At the same time, the *Romans* broke down the Gates, and fought Man to Man upon the Walls. Then the Strength and Courage of the Besieged failed them all at once. They were exceeding proud, as long as they saw the Enemy at a distance, and could beat them down with Darts and Stones, from the Top of their Ramparts: But when the *Romans* had with much Difficulty raised themselves up to a Level with the Besieged, and they could engage them, as it were, upon even Ground, from their Machines, the Inhabitants of *Cominium* were seized with Dread. They abandoned their Towers and Ramparts, and retreating to the *Forum*, in the Center of the City, drew up in Battalia. There they indeed sustained the Efforts of the *Romans* for some time; but were forced at

²⁴ The *Romans* thought Wine mixed with Honey a delicious Drink. This Liquor was used in Libations and Sacrifices; and those who triumphed, caused some of it to be distributed among the Soldiers who attended them in their Processions.

²⁵ If it be true, as *Livy* himself confesses, that the *Samnite* Army consisted of no more than thirty thousand Men, it can never be imagined that thirty thousand three hundred of them were killed in the Field of Battel; besides the three thousand

eight hundred, and sixty, who were taken Prisoners by the *Romans*. Is it credible, that an Army of thirty six thousand Men should be reduced in one Battel to four hundred and ninety? This may surely be very justly doubted. Besides, it is difficult to reconcile this Loss with *Livy's* own Relation; who confesses that a Part of the *Samnite* Army saved itself in *Bovianum*; and that the Fugitives hindered one another in their Flight.

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last to give way to their superior Strength. The Besieged, to the Number of fifteen thousand four hundred, threw down their Arms, and surrendered at Discretion, after having lost four thousand three hundred and eighty of the Garrison.

NOTHING now remained, but to give the Detachment Battel, which the *Samnites* had sent to relieve *Cominium*: But the Lieutenant-General *Brutus Scæva* had not met with them, at the Place where he hoped to join them, which was between *Aquilonia* and *Cominium*. And in short, when the *Consul Papirius* appeared, and offered the *Samnite* Army Battel, the Detachment, which was got within seven Miles of the besieged City, was countermanded, and immediately turned back. So that, it neither assisted in the Battel of *Aquilonia*, nor the Defence of *Cominium*. These Troops were indeed very near the Place, from whence they were sent, when they heard the Shouts, and from thence inferred that there was a Battel; but seeing that their Camp was set on fire, which they discovered in the Beginning of the Night; this made them believe that the *Samnites* had been overcome. They therefore halted on the Place where they were, laying down upon the Grass without entrenching themselves, and spent the Night very ill, expecting the Day with Fear and Impatience. When the Morning came, they immediately dispersed, at Sight of a Squadron of *Roman* Horse, which, as it was pursuing the Vanquished, accidentally saw them, and came to attack them. On the other hand, the *Legionaries*, who had also seen this Detachment, from the Top of the Walls of *Aquilonia*, came likewise to fall upon them; but these *Samnites* immediately dispersed, before the *Legionary* Troops could come up with them. The *Roman* Horse, who pursued them, killed about three hundred of them, the rest escaped to *Bovianum*, and secured themselves there.

THE Success the *Consuls* had had, filled them with Joy. The two *Consular* Armies had equally signalized themselves. Rewards were therefore due to these brave Men, and Recompences of several kinds were accordingly bestowed upon them. In the first place, the Generals gave up the Spoils of *Cominium* and *Aquilonia*, as free Booty to them; and after they had been plundered, both Cities were burnt, at the same time. Then, after the two Armies were united in one Camp; and the *Consuls* had mutually congratulated each other on their Victories, their whole Care was to give the brave Men of both Armies the Rewards due to their Valour. *Carvilius* praised his Troops, and made them all Presents, according to their Merit: *Papirius*, whose Army had distinguished itself in several Places, and several Expeditions, gave his Officers and Soldiers Rewards of various kinds. *Nautius* had artfully carried on the Stratagem, and made an Handful of Servant-Boys, and Followers of the Camp, pass for a whole Army. The young *Sp. Papirius*, the General's Nephew, had signalized his Valour, among the Horse; had continued the Pursuit of the *Aquilonians* all Night; and destroyed a great many of them. Four *Centurions*, with one *Manipulus* of *Hastati*, had seized the Gate of *Aquilonia*, and broken it. And to all these brave Men, the *Consul* gave Bracelets, and Crowns of Gold. His Cavalry had performed wonderful Feats of Valour, during the Action, and pursued the Fugitives after it; and to every one of them the General gave Bracelets, and a ²⁶ little Horn of Silver.

IN this manner *Livy* relates the famous Battel of *Aquilonia*, ascribing almost all the Glory of it to *Papirius*; and we have not interrupted his Relation with any impertinent Criticisms. But I, nevertheless, dare affirm, that he was either deceived by unfaithful Memoirs, or sacrificed the Honour of *Carvilius* a little, perhaps to flatter the *Papirian* Family, which was in his time illustrious, and *Patrician*. It is certain that *Carvilius* shared the Glory of defeating *The Linen Legion*, with his Colleague; since, as *Livy* himself assures us, it was not for having defeated the *Hetrurians*, but the *Samnites*, that he triumphed, on *The Ides of January*, in the Year of *Rome* 460; that is, a Month before *Papirius*, who did not triumph till *The Ides of February*, in the same Year. *Pliny* adds, that *Carvilius* seized the Spoils of the *Samnites* which were killed in the Battel of *Aquilonia*, and out of the brazen *Cuirasses*, *Cuisses*, and Helmets, of the consecrated *Legion*, made a gigantick ²⁷ Statue

Tabulæ Tri-
umphales.

B. 34. c. 7.

²⁶ No Author has shewn us the Form and Use of these little Horns of Silver, which *Livy* reckons up among the military Rewards, with which the Generals honoured the Brave.

²⁷ If we believe *Pliny the Naturalist*, B. 34. c. 7.

the Height of this *Colossus* was so monstrous, that it could be seen, from the Temple of *Jupiter Latiaris*, which stood on the Hill of *Alba*, above twelve Miles from *Rome*.

of *Jupiter*, which was placed in the *Capitol*. And he likewise declares, That this Year of *Colossus* was so great, that when it was repaired, another Statue of *Jupiter* was made, out of the Chippings only, and placed at the Foot of it. All these Honours bestowed on *Carvilius*, purely for having conquered the *Samnites*, shew that he had a greater Share in the Victory of *Aquilonia*, than *Livy* gives him.

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Liv. B. 10.
c. 44.

HOWEVER, the Campaign of the two *Consuls*, did not end with all these Profperities. They called a Council of War, in which it was resolved to take Advantage of the Humiliation of the *Samnites*, and so totally to reduce these obstinate Enemies, as to put it out of their Power to give the succeeding *Consuls* any Trouble. The *Samnites* had now no Army to oppose the *Romans*. The *Consuls* had nothing to do, but to besiege, and take Cities; and by this means, they hoped to ruin this turbulent Nation, by degrees; to carry on the War at their Expence; and to enrich the *Roman* Soldiers with their Spoils. Which Scheme being approved by the Senate and People of *Rome*, Orders were brought to *Carvilius* to go and besiege ²⁸ *Velia*, in *Lucania*, near *Cape Palinurus*. Without doubt, this City then belonged to the *Samnites*, whose Jurisdiction reached a great way beyond *Samnium*. As for *Papirius*, he was ordered to turn his Arms against *Sepinum* ²⁹, a City, situated at the Foot of the *Apennines*, and at the Head of the ³⁰ *Tamarus*.

§. X. AND whilst the two *Consuls* were separating, in order to go upon different Expeditions, all *Rome* resounded with their Names. The Letter they had written to give an Account of their Victory, had been read in full Senate, and in the *Comitia*; and the People, and *Conscript Fathers*, were the more rejoiced at receiving it, because News was brought to *Rome* at the same time, that the *Hetrurians* had taken Arms again. The Citizens said one to another, *If Affairs had gone ill in Samnium, we should have been in the utmost Danger from the Hetrurians*. Thus the Joy of the *Romans* was increased, by the lessening of their Fears. *Supplications* were appointed, by way of Thanksgiving; and all the Temples were opened and frequented for four Days. In short, the particular Affection the People had for the *Consuls*, made them celebrate the Festival with the more Alacrity, and Earnestness.

As for the Reports which were spread of the Commotions in *Hetruria*, they were confirmed, upon the Arrival of Deputies sent from some Cities in Alliance with *Rome*. These declared, That their Country had just been plundered by the *Hetrurians*, because they refused to join with those Rebels, in making War upon the Republick. The Deputies were presented to the Senate, by *Attilius* the *Prætor*, who during the Absence of the *Consuls*, was at the Head of Affairs. They complained, That they were pillaged by the *Hetrurians*, for their Fidelity to *Rome*; and it appeared, that the Reason of the Insurrection of the *Hetrurians*, was this, that all the *Roman* Forces were employed in *Samnium*. The *Conscript Fathers* gave these faithful Allies a gracious Reception, promised them Assistance, and assured them, that the *Hetrurians* should in a little time be reduced to the same Condition as the *Samnites*. And indeed, if the *Hetrurians* only had declared against the *Romans*, the latter would not perhaps have been so much in haste to revenge it; but the *Falisci*, a People, who had long been faithful Friends to *Rome*, had suffered themselves to be drawn into the same Revolt.

THE *Falisci* being the nearest Neighbours to *Rome*, on the Side of *Hetruria*, it was thought necessary immediately to take Measures, to prevent an Irruption into the *Roman* Territory on that Side. But before they were treated as Enemies, the

²⁸ *Velia*, which the ancient Geographers call sometimes *Helia*, and sometimes *Elea*, lay about twenty five thousand geometrical Paces South of *Posidonia*. The River *Halys*, now the *Halente*, watered its Territory. It had a Port which joined to *Cape Palinurus*; and from the Name of *Elea*, the neighbouring Gulph was called *Eleates Sinus*. Some think they find the Footsteps of this City near *Pistiota*, in *The Hither Principality*. The old Editions of *Livy* don't mention *Velia*; for so it is written in an ancient Manuscript of that Author. The printed Copies of him, give the City to which *Carvilius* led his Legions, the Name of *Volana*. *Papirius* ad *Sepinum*, *Carvilius* ad *Volanam* oppugnant. *Legiones ducunt*. The Situation of this City

cannot be justly known; all that can be said of it is, that it belonged to the *Samnites*. Some Moderns doubt, whether we ought not to read *Velinam*, as if the City here spoken of, stood near the Springs of the River *Velinus*.

²⁹ The City of *Sepinum* became, in Process of Time, first a *Municipium*, and then a *Roman Colony*. It still retains its ancient Name with some Variation in that of *Supino*; and stands at the Foot of the *Apennines*, upon the Confines of *The County of Molise*, towards *Terra di Lavoro*.

³⁰ The River formerly called *Tamarus*, is now known by the Name of *Tamaro*. It empties itself into the *Calore*, near the City of *Benevento*.

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Romans proceeded against them, according to Form. They sent *Feciales* to them, to demand Satisfaction for the Injuries they had done the Allies of the Republick by their Incursions; and upon their Refusal to give it, War was declared with them, and proper Measures were taken to bring them to Reason. It therefore being necessary to recall one of the *Consuls*, and his Army, from *Samnium*, and send him into the Territory of the *Falisci*; *Papirius* and *Carvilius* drew Lots, which should march thither; and it fell to *Carvilius*, to the great Joy of his Soldiers. They were weary of making War in a Climate, which was much colder, than that of *Hetruria*; but as for their General, the Course of his Conquests was thereby interrupted. He had already taken three Cities, *Velia*, *Palumbinum* ³¹, and *Herculaneum* ³², since the Battel of *Aquilonia*. The two former were taken upon the first Assault; but *Herculaneum* had cost two Battels, which were warmly disputed, and in which the *Consul* had some Advantage; and at last he made himself Master of the Place: and the Terror of his Name had brought a large Province into Subjection to him. It was computed, that he killed or took Prisoners ten thousand Men, in the Sieges of the three Cities.

§. XI. NEVERTHELESS, *Carvilius* obeyed; for the *Consuls* were not absolute. Their Marches and Expeditions were regulated by the Senate and People. *Papirius* was therefore left alone to finish the Reduction of *Samnium*; and he had already found more Resistance at *Sepinum*, than his Brother *Consul* had met with in his Expeditions. The *Samnites* were not content with defending the besieged Place; *Papirius* had been forced to engage them sometimes in a pitched Battel, and sometimes in little Parties; and to sustain the frequent Sallies of the *Sepinates*. He had a great Army to subdue, before he could force the *Samnites* to shut themselves up within their Walls. But at last he gained his Point. The Enemy defended themselves only from the Top of their Ramparts; *Papirius* besieged them, and took the Town by Assault. Then the Rage of the Conquerors vented itself on the Conquered, for the Trouble it had cost them to take *Sepinum*; they killed seven thousand four hundred Men there, and made about three thousand Prisoners of War. The Plenty of Booty which was in the Place, was all given to the Soldiers, who may be said to have found the Spoils of many Cities, in *Sepinum*. Most of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Cities had removed their Effects thither. So that the *Roman* Soldiers, who were exceedingly enriched, were very willing to return to *Rome* with *Papirius*, to assist in his Triumph, and make a Part of the Procession. The Winter was grown too severe in *Samnium* to be any longer tolerable; the Ground was covered with Snow, and the Soldiers could no longer live there in Tents.

THE *Consul Papirius* therefore, returned to *Rome*, loaded with Glory, in the Month of *February*. His Colleague *Carvilius* had received the Honours of a Triumph there, the Month before; doubtless, as he passed through it, in his Way from *Samnium* to *Hetruria*. And the same Honour was readily, and unanimously granted to *Papirius*, whose Procession was as magnificent, as the Season would allow it to be. The Cavalry, adorned with those Marks of Honour, which their General had bestowed upon them, entered the City on Horseback; and those *Manipuli* of the Infantry to whom the *Consul* had given Rewards, were carried in Chariots. Several brave Soldiers appeared in the Procession, with *Civick*, and ³³ *Mural* Crowns on their Heads; but what made the finest Show, was the Spoils of the *Samnites*, especially of the devoted *Legion*. These rich Ornaments were compared with those, which *Papirius* the Father had formerly taken, and which were universally known in *Rome*, because several Places in the City had long been adorned with them. And what redounded yet more to the Honour of the triumphing Victor, was the Number of Captives who followed his Chariot. There

³¹ We dare not affirm, that the City of *Palumbinum*, stood two Miles below *New Capua*, in the Place now called *Palumbara*. Upon this Supposition, *Palumbinum* would indeed be placed in *Campania*; and we may have observed all along in the Body of the History, that the *Samnites* often made Incursions into this fine Province, and had made themselves Masters of some Places in it.

³² Whether this City of *Herculaneum* be the same

with the City of that Name in *Campania*, which we have spoken of before, is uncertain. At least the ancient Geographers have not told us, that there was another City called *Herculaneum*, in the Territory of the *Samnites*.

³³ See what we have said before of the different Sorts of Crowns, the Generals gave the Officers and Soldiers, who distinguished themselves by their Valour, in a Battel.

were several Persons of Distinction among them, whom either their own Merit, or that of their Fathers, had raised above the Vulgar. And after them, the Riches which the Conqueror had gained for the Republick, was carried on Biers. The Money arising from the Sale of the Prisoners of War, who were made Slaves, and of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, amounted to two 34 Millions, and about thirty thousand Pounds of Brass; and *Papirius* had taken one thousand three hundred, and thirty Pounds Weight of Silver, in sacking the conquered Cities. But though these Riches increased the Magnificence of his Triumph; they did not help to gain the General the Good-will of his Soldiers. They, tho' enriched by pillaging so many Cities, took it ill, that he gave all the Brass and Silver which he had taken, to the publick Treasury, without bestowing upon them a Share of it: And this Frugality offended the People also. A Tax had just been laid on the Publick, to pay *Papirius's* Troops, whom he might have satisfied without it, by distributing among them, a Part of the Money, he had delivered to the *Quæstors*. And this perhaps made the Populace so little inclined afterwards to raise him to the *Consulship*.

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THIS Triumph, which was magnificent, was followed by another religious Ceremony, of which *Papirius* had all the Honour, before he left the *Consulship*. His Father had formerly made a Vow, in the midst of a Battel, to build a Temple to *Quirinus*. This was the third Temple erected in *Rome*, to this God, whoever he was; for some understand by *Quirinus*, the God *Mars*, or some other warlike Divinity worshiped by the *Sabines*; and others take him for *Romulus*. But be that as it will, the Temple old *Papirius* had made a Vow to build, was erected towards the Close of his Son's first *Consulship*; and it was but just, that he should consecrate it. Accordingly, *Papirius* did it with an extraordinary Magnificence. He carried thither the finest of the Spoils taken from the *Samnites*, adorned the Walls and Vault of the Temple with them; and there being still left a great Number of these rich Spoils, which there was not room to hang up, either in this Temple, or the *Forum Romanum*, the *Consul* made Presents of them to the *Colonies*, and Cities in Alliance with *Rome*, for Ornaments for their Temples and publick Places.

Plin. B. 7. c. 41.
and *Liv. B. 10.*
c. 46.

NOR must I neglect to mention another Monument, for which *Papirius's Consulship* was remarkable, and with which the Temple he had just consecrated, was adorned. A Sun-Dial 35 was then seen at *Rome*, for the first time; but the Historians have not told us the Workman's Name. It is well known, that the Art of shewing the Hours of the Day by the Sun, with the Assistance of a *Gnomon*, or *Index*, had now been long discovered at *Lacedæmon*, by *Anaximenes*; but this Art had not yet reached *Rome*. The *Romans* at first distinguished no Parts of the Day but the rising and setting of the Sun; and afterwards they observed Noon likewise,

Plin. B. 7. c. 60.

34 Most Editions of *Livy* differ as to this Sum. In some we read, *Auris gravis transvecta vicies centum millia & auri triginta millia*, that is, that out of the Produce of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, and arising from the Sale of the Prisoners, two millions of Pounds of Copper, and thirty thousand Pounds of Gold, an incredible Sum for those Days, was put into the publick Treasury. In other Editions, the Sum is advanced to thirty three thousand, & auri triginta tria millia. In *Galenius's* Edition, the Text mentions only two million, five hundred, and thirty three thousand Pounds, without saying any thing of the Gold. In the Manuscript, in *Mon-sieur Colbert's* Library, the Sum is exorbitant. It is there two hundred thousand millions, and thirty three thousand * *Asses*, of a Pound each. This enormous Quantity of *Asses*, reckoned only at one *French Sol* each, will amount to near a thousand millions, and thirty three thousand *French Livres*. To which if we add the thirty thousand Pounds of Gold, the whole will amount to about sixteen millions, five hundred and three thousand *French Livres*, without the thousand three hundred and thirty Pounds of Silver, reserved out of the Plunder of the conquered Cities. But it is not probable, that some Cities of *Vannium* should be able to furnish sixteen millions and an half in Gold, at a time when this Metal was very scarce, and consequently much less common than Silver. Besides, it is not to be imagined that

the *Romans* should heap up such Sums in one Campaign, as would now be thought excessive. We have therefore followed *Mr. de Thon's* Manuscript, which reduces the whole Sum to two millions, thirty thousand Pounds of Brass, exclusive of the thirty three thousand Pounds of Gold, of which that Manuscript does not say one word. It mentions only one thousand three hundred Pounds of Silver.

†65551. 4s. 2d.
Arbutnot.

35 According to *Censorinus*, c. 33. it is very difficult to assign the exact Year, in which Sun-Dials came first to be used in *Rome*; to which he adds, That it is as uncertain where the *Romans* first placed the first Sun-Dial they had. According to some, the first they had, was that with which *Papirius* adorned the Temple of *Quirinus*, which he built in Discharge of the Vow his Father had made, twelve Years before. Others are divided between the Sun-Dials placed on the *Capitol*, and near the Temple of *Diana* on the Hill *Aventinus*. Besides, which are we to believe, concerning this Matter, one *Fabius Vestalis*, or *Varro*, who are both quoted by *Pliny the Naturalist*, B. 7. c. 30? The former gives *Papirius* the Glory of having first marked out the Hours on a Plane. But *Varro* pretends, that there was no Dial in *Rome*, till that brought from *Catana* by *Valerius Messala*. In this Contrariety of Opinions, it is not possible to determine which is right.

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but

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but in a pretty gross manner. When they perceived the Sun to shine, between
The Tribune of Harangues and the House in which foreign Ambassadors were lodg-
ed, one of the *Consul's* Heralds was ordered to make Proclamation, That it was
Noon. But now, the Art of making Sun-Dials, which was first made known to
them in the *Consulship* of *Papirius*, taught them how to divide the Day into Hours.
And the Water Dial, which was some time after invented, helped them likewise to
reckon the Hours of the Night.

S. XII. AFTER *Papirius* had received the Honours of a Triumph at *Rome*, he did
not tarry long there; but set out, with his Troops, for the Territory of the *Vestini*,
which was infested by the *Samnites*, and in which they were cantoned. This Ro-
man Army passed the rest of the Winter there, whilst that of *Carvilius* was in Mo-
tion in *Hetruria*. The latter began with the Siege of *Trossulum*³⁶, a City pretty
near the Lake of³⁷ *Bolsena*. Upon the *Consul's* Arrival, all the Inhabitants were
seized with Fear, and every one hastened out of the City with all Speed, to avoid
the Fatigues and Danger of a long Siege. But *Carvilius*, who kept *Trossulum* in-
vested, suffered only four hundred and seventy of the richest of the Citizens to quit
the Place; and made them pay dear for their Escape. After this, he laid close Siege
to the City, took it by Storm, and made all those whom the Sword had spared,
Prisoners of War. Then he took five Castles, which were advantageously situated;
and in this Expedition he is reckoned to have killed two thousand four hundred of
the Enemy upon the Spot.

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Varro, de Ling.
Lat.

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THESE successful Beginnings forced the *Falisci* to sue for a Peace. But the *Con-
sul* would only grant them one Year's Truce, made them give his Troops a Year's
Pay, and demanded of them an hundred thousand *Asses* of * Brass, for the publick
Treasury. So that *Carvilius* returned to *Rome*, where he had already triumphed,
after having now gained as much Glory, by having subdued the *Falisci*, and kept
Hetruria to its Duty, as before, for having conquered the *Samnites*. He brought
from his Expeditions, three hundred and ninety thousand * *Asses* of Brass, for the
publick Treasury, besides a pretty great Sum, which he reserved to build a Temple
to *Fortune*³⁸ who favours the Bold. *Carvilius* erected this Monument near ano-
ther Temple dedicated by King *Servius*³⁹ *Tullius*, to the same Goddess, and which
stood on the Banks of the *Tyber*, without the City. And after all this, he had
enough left to make Presents to his Soldiers. He gave every private Soldier an
hundred and two * *Asses* of Brass, and every *Centurion* and Horseman twice that Sum.
This was no considerable Present; but the Remembrance of the covetous *Papirius*,
who had sacrificed the Interests of his Troops to the Magnificence of his Triumph,
made them accept it with Pleasure. By this means, *Carvilius* gained a great Supe-
riority over his Colleague, in the Minds of the People. He became powerful enough
to get one of his Lieutenant-Generals acquitted; whose Prosecution, tho' begun,
could not be finished during his Absence. The Glory and Interest of the General,
made the former Disobedience of the old *Consul* almost forgotten. Besides, *Scav-
tius* the *Tribune*, his Accuser, was out of his Office; so that all the Proceedings
against him came to nothing.

S. XIII. IN the mean time, *Attilius*, who from *Consul* was become *Prætor*, made

³⁶ The Geographers agree, that *Trossulum*, a Ci-
ty of old *Hetruria*, stood in the Neighbourhood of
Monte Fiascone. *Pliny* and *Festus* observe, that to
the time of *Caius Gracchus*, the Roman Knights
were called *Trossuli*, from the Name of this City;
because they had taken it by Force, under the Con-
duct of one *Namius*, without the Assistance of the
Infantry, who had no share in this Conquest. But
afterwards, they were ashamed to bear a Name
which was equivocal. *Pliny* tells us, That the Term
Trossulus was used in *Rome*, to signify a nice effe-
minate young Man; and in this Sense, *Seneca* uses
it, in his 87th Epistle. *Idem faciam quod Trossuli
isti, & Juvenes*.

³⁷ The Lake of *Bolsena* took its Name from the
City of *Polfinii*, whose Territory it watered. It is
now called *Lago di Bolsena*. *Pliny*, B. 2. speaks
of two floating Islands covered with Trees, which
were in this Lake. But those that are now in it,
are fixed.

³⁸ We have spoken of the several Monuments
Servius Tullius erected to *Fortune*, Vol. 1. B. 4. p.
135. The Romans afterwards multiplied them in al-
most all the Quarters of *Rome*. *Fortune* was in-
deed the Idol, or Favourite-Divinity of the Repub-
lick.

³⁹ According to *Ovid*, *Fasti*, B. 6. *Servius Tul-
lius* had built a Temple to *Fortune*, under the same
Title as *Carvilius* did, viz. FORTUNÆ FORTI.

*Itæ Deam læti FORTEM, celebrate Quirites,
In Tiberis ripâ munera Regis habet.*

Varro adds, de Ling. Lat. B. 5. That *Servius Tul-
lius* consecrated a Festival to this Goddess, in the
Month of *June*, and dedicated a Temple to her,
under the Name of *Fortuna Fortis*; which Temple,
he says, was built without the Walls, on the Banks
of the *Tyber*.

a Law,

a Law, which was ever after in force, because deemed a very equitable one. It related to Guardianships. The *Twelve Tables* had only determined two things concerning them. First, That the Father of a Family might, by his Will, appoint whomsoever he pleased, to be Guardians to his Children; which Guardians were called *Testamentarii*. Secondly, That if a Father died intestate, the nearest Relation should be the Orphans Guardian; and these Guardians were called *Legitimi*, because appointed by the Law, and not the Will of the Parent. So that the *Twelve Tables* had not provided for all Cases. There were some Families, the Orphans of which had no very near Relations, and the Heads of which died intestate; and *Attilius* took care that these poor Infants should not be left utterly destitute. He ordered, that the *Prætor* and *Tribunes of the People* should assign them a Guardian, by a majority of Voices; and such Guardians are called by the *Civilians*, *Attilians*, because nominated by virtue of the *Attilian Law*. It is likewise probable, that it was made in the Year when *Attilius* was *Prætor*, though the Historians have not given us the Date of it. At least it's certain, it was looked on in *Rome* as a very ancient Institution; and no time agrees better with the passing it than this. At the same time the *Curule Ediles* made two other Laws, which were not of that Consequence as the *Attilian*. The first related only to The Games; and enacted, That those who had received any Crowns, as Rewards for their military Exploits, should wear them on their Heads, at the publick Shews; and that the Conquerors should carry Palm-Branches in their Hands. The second Law related to Shepherds, who had committed Trespasses, by feeding their Flocks on the Demesnes of the State; and with the Fines which were laid upon them, the *Ediles* payed a great Road from the *Campus Martius*, to ⁴¹ *Bovillæ*.

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Ulpian de Tus-
telis.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 47.

§. XIV. The *Consuls Papirius* and *Carvilius*, had by their Conquests left the Republick in a more flourishing State than ever. It seems certain, that they did not quit ⁴² the *Consulship* till *March*, at soonest. *Papirius* presided at the Election of the new *Consuls*, which could not be made till *February*. The Persons chosen by the *Centuries* were *Fabius Gurgæ* ⁴³, a *Patrician*, and *Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Scæva*, of an illustrious, tho' a *Plebeian* Family. It may justly seem strange, that the Promotion of *Fabius Gurgæ* to the *Consulate* should be opposed by him who seemed most nearly concerned to interest himself in his Favour. But so it was, that *Fabius* the Father became his Son's Adversary in the *Comitia*. One Historian, who does not always deserve entire Credit, says, that the Modesty of the Great *Fabius*, who was then *Prince of the Senate*, was his only Motive to oppose his Son's Grandeur. He had been *Consul* five times himself, and his Father and Grandfather before him had likewise been promoted to the *Consulship*; and he is said to have thought the uniting so many Honours in his House, a pernicious Precedent for a Republick, in which it is of Importance not to heap too many Honours on any one single Family. So that the Moderation of old *Fabius*, adds this Historian, got the better of his paternal Affection, and Love for his own Blood. But should we grant that he acted from these noble Inclinations, which are never probable but in the Mouth of an Hero; who can say, whether this Republican Principle was the only Inducement the Father had, to thwart his Son's Election? Perhaps Family-Discontents might have exasperated old *Fabius*. His Son had been surnamed of *Gurgæ*, purely on account of his Prodigality, and Debauchery in his Youth. Besides, old *Fabius* knew better than any body else, the Incapacity of the Man the Republick was going to place at the Helm of Government. Which makes it probable, that a Love of the Publick, and a Fear of seeing his Family dishonoured by an unworthy *Consul*, were the real Motives that

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VA, Consuls.

Val. Max. B. 4.
c. 1. §. 5.

⁴⁰ The Romans granted Conquerors the Privilege of appearing at the publick Shews and Games, with Crowns on their Heads, after the manner of the Greeks, from whom they borrowed this Custom. The Right of carrying Palm-Branches, was likewise a second Mark of Distinction shewn them, but was peculiar to the Roman Republick, and had never been practised in Greece.

⁴¹ *Bovillæ* stood in Old Latium, between Rome and Alba Longa, at a little distance from the Tyber. It is now buried in its Ruins.

⁴² Livy places the *Censors* and *Lustrum* of the preceding Year, under this Year 461; and adds, That

this *Lustrum* was but the nineteenth since *Servius Tullius*. But this appears plainly to be a Mistake from the Testimony of the *Fasti Capitolini*. So great an Authority ought always to prevail against that of a Writer, whose Chronology has been often found defective both as to the Order of Facts and Magistracies.

⁴³ According to the *Greek Tables*, it was not *Quintus Fabius Gurgæ*, but one *Fabius Maximus*, that the *Centuries*, now raised to the *Consulship*, a second time. But the Annalists have acknowledged this to be a Mistake.

Year of *R O M E* stirred up the Father against the Son. We shall soon see that the Apprehensions of old *Fabius* were not entirely groundless.

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Q. FABIVS
MAX. GUR-
GES, D. JUNIVS
BRVTVS SCÆ-
VA, Consuls.
*Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 1.*

*Orosius, B. 3.
c. 22.
Livy, B. 10.
c. 47.*

AND it may be affirmed, that *Junius Brutus* had little Advantage over his Colleague, at least in the Art of War. So that the *Consulship* was now conferred on two Persons, who only bore the Name of *Consuls*, without any *Consular* Merit; which was a very impolitick Step in the *Romans*. Had they taken care to nominate to the *Consulship* two of those great Generals, with which the Republick then abounded, *Hetruria* had continued peaceable; and the *Samnites*, who had been so severely handled the last Year, would at last have sunk. But *Papirius*, who presided at the Election, caused two unexperienced Men to be chosen; perhaps for fear of having his own Glory eclipsed, by Successors, who were capable of putting an End to a War which he could not finish. Add to this Misfortune, that the City was visited with a Plague, which spread itself into the Country. *Rome* had often undergone the like Calamity, occasioned either by the Multitude of her Inhabitants, or the Unwholsomeness of the Air; but no Plague had ever raged with more Fury than the present. Those who give us an Account of it, seem to want Expressions to describe the Havock it made; they can only say, It was fatal to a Prodigy! This Scourge therefore, and the Incapacity of the *Consuls*, gave the *Samnites* an Opportunity to recover their Courage, and the *Falisci* to break the Truce they had obtained the last Year. The former spread themselves over *Campania*, in order to lay it waste; whilst the latter assembled their Forces against *Rome*, which was exhausted of Men by the Numbers of the Dead, and oppressed with the Multitude of the Sick.

Zonaras, Annual. B. 8. c. 1.

THE Republick perceived her Mistake, in placing two Men of small Abilities, and no Authority, at the Head of Affairs; and remedied the Evil as well as she could. When it had been determined by Lot, that *Fabius Gurges* should make War with the *Samnites*, and *Brutus* with the *Falisci*; it was resolved to appoint the *Consuls* two Lieutenant-Generals who were capable of supplying their Want of Experience. The illustrious *Carvilius*, who had just triumphed over the *Samnites*, and whose Valour *Hetruria* had experienced, was placed under *Junius Brutus*; and afterwards a yet greater Officer than *Carvilius*, was appointed to direct, and command under *Fabius Gurges*; which was his own Father. The venerable old Man, in order to save his Son's Honour, and out of Affection to his Country, did more than could have been expected from a Man of his Age. We shall see him so far demean himself, as to become a Subaltern to the young *Consul*. As for the *Consul Brutus*, when assisted with a good Lieutenant-General, he set out for *Hetruria*, and by the help of *Carvilius's* Counsels executed his Commission there with Honour. His Army over-run a great Part of *Hetruria*, ravaged it, and brought off a great deal of Spoil. The *Falisci*, who came to stop his Progress, were beaten. And in short, *Rome* could not justly blame his Conduct, or charge any Want of Bravery on *Brutus*. But this was not wholly the Case with *Fabius Gurges*. As soon as he understood that the *Samnites* were ravaging *Campania*, he hastened thither with his Army. His Father did not follow him; for he had not yet accepted of the Employment of directing his Son, and serving under him. And from hence proceeded the Imprudence and Temerity of the young *Consul*. He had all the Vivacity and Ardour which the *Fabii* generally discovered in Battels; but he wanted Moderation and Experience. As soon as he came in sight of the Enemy, he offered Battel. He, without deliberating, immediately fell upon a Troop of Scouts, which had been sent out to reconnoitre him; and as he easily put them to Flight, this was enough to make him believe that the whole *Samnite* Army was routed. He therefore advanced against it, without observing any Order, or keeping his Troops drawn up, and with only one Body of *Romans*; for all his Forces were not yet come up with him. Nay, his Fire carried him so far, that he came and fell upon an Army which would have surrounded him, and cut him off, and all his Troops with him, if the Night had not overtaken them, and protected him from the Pursuit of the *Samnites*. And after all, he received a violent Blow. He lost three thousand of his *Romans* in the Action; and carried back with him a yet greater Number of Wounded, many of whom perished for Want of Medicines, and due Attendance; which was occasioned by the General's Imprudence, and Precipitation to give Battel. For he had left all his Baggage, and the Surgeons of his Army, a great way behind him; and it may well be

Eutropius, B. 2.

Zonaras, Annual. B. 8.

be presumed, that he and his Army would have undergone that Fate the next Day, which they had escaped the Day before, if the Dread of the Great *Fabius's* Name had not been of Service to his Son. The Enemy believed, That the Father commanded the rest of the *Roman* Army; and That they should soon have a powerful Avenger upon them. The Conquerors therefore decamped, without tarrying to receive him; and gave *Gurges* Time and Opportunity to escape.

§. XV. THE News, which was brought to *Rome*, of so ill conducted an Action, and so lamentable a Defeat, justified the Father's Distrust of his Son; and the *Romans* were no longer surprized at the Opposition he had made to his being appointed *Consul*. The Indignation of the Publick against the rash *Consul*, was increased, by the Remembrance of the Victories of Old *Fabius*, and the Glory of his Ancestors. He was accused before the Senate, and it is probable the *Tribunes of the People* did not spare him, in the Harangues they made in the Assemblies of the People. At length, the Murmurs were carried to such a height, that it became necessary to call him back to *Rome*, and cite him to appear. Nay, the Depositions against him were so strong, that he was not even admitted to justify himself. And in short, every thing tending to a Condemnation, the Shame of which would have rebounded upon the *Fabian* Family; this roused the Zeal of the Father, in favour of the Son. He spoke for him, with all the Dignity of a Man of his Age, Merit, and Employments. *I don't pretend*, said he, *to excuse the Rashness of an imprudent General, whom you placed at the Head of your Armies, contrary to my Inclination. Nay, I would give him up to the Rigour of your Justice, were it not that the Disgrace of the Son must reflect Dishonour on the Father. Call to mind my Victories, and the Spoils I have so often taken from the Enemy; and compare them with the Disgrace, and slight Losses which Gurges has brought upon you; and then you will pardon the one, in consideration of the other. And after all, I have the Satisfaction of seeing that the Consul you have chosen does not degenerate from the martial Ardour of his Ancestors. If he dishonours me, it is rather by an Excess of Valour, than Cowardice and Fear; and the Fault he has been guilty of, does not render him incorrigible. A Want of Valour is indeed never to be repaired; but Prudence comes with Years. Experience will correct the too precipitate Sallies of my Son's Zeal for his Country; and he may yet become a very great Man, when I myself have formed him for the Conduct of Armies. I will therefore go and command under him; and what may you not expect from his youthful Fire, when corrected by the Flegm of a Man of my Age? My Son and I, when thus united, shall soon gain you more than you have lost.* These Words appeased the Minds of the People, who accepted the Offer the wise old Man made, and passed a Decree, appointing Old *Fabius* to be Lieutenant-General to the *Consul*, whom they were just ready to have deprived of the Command of the Troops. Upon this, the Father immediately followed the Son; and the Losses young *Fabius* had suffered, were soon repaired. As soon as it was reported, that the Father was coming to assist the Son with his Advice, Recruits were sent from all the *Latin* Cities, to increase the *Roman* Army. Indeed no Levies were made in *Rome*, where the Contagion daily swept away a great Number of Citizens; but the Allies supplied that Defect, and Old *Fabius's* Reputation drew him Succours from all Parts. With these Reinforcements the *Roman* Army went to try another Battel with the *Sannites*. Both Nations burned with an equal Ardour to fight; and at length they appeared in an open Country, and the Signal was given.

THE *Sannites* made the first Onset, with their usual Vigour; and the *Romans* found it difficult to withstand their Impetuosity. *Pontius Herennius*, a Man of indefatigable Constancy in Battel, was their General, whom no adverse Fortune could hitherto discourage; he supported the weak Remains of his exhausted Nation with fortitude. This brave *Sannite*, full of his first Victory, made incredible Efforts to gain a second. On the other hand, the *Consul*, spurred on by the Shame of his Defeat, fought as a private Soldier, in the first Line. But *Pontius* had already broken thro' the Troop which covered young *Fabius*, and the *Sannites* were surrounding him on all Sides, when his Father came to his Assistance. It was expected, that old *Fabius* would only assist his Son with his Advice, and not personally engage in Battel; but the Danger in which he saw him, roused his Courage, and gave him new strength. The old Warrior exerted himself with the same Bravery, in Defence of his Son, as he had formerly shewn in *Hetruria*, and his first Campaigns in *Samnium*.

He

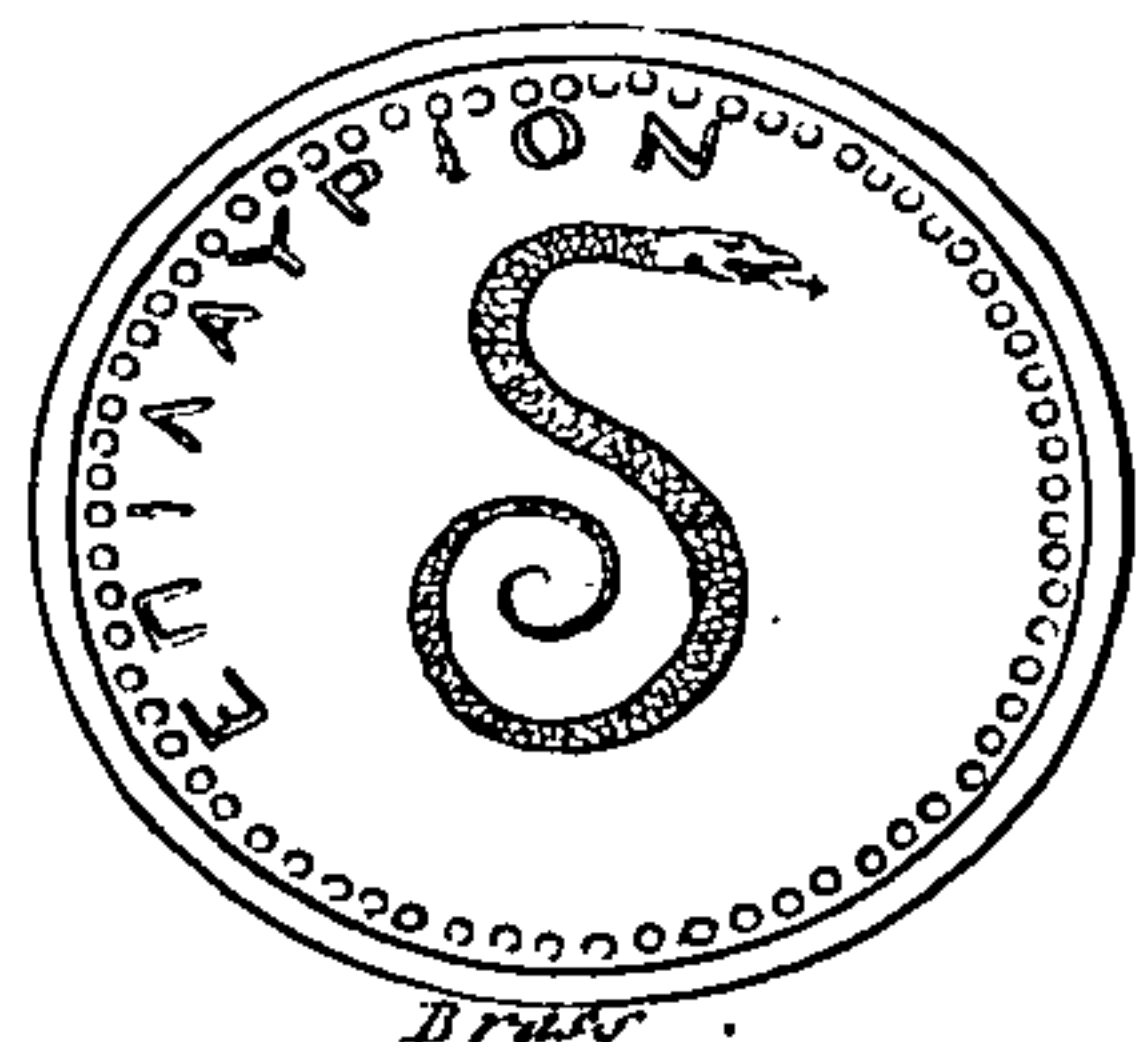
Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXI.Q. FABIVS
MAX. GUR-
GES, D. JUNIVS
BRVTVS SCÆ-
VA, Consuls.Florus, in Epi-
tome Undecima.Dis Coccianus
in excerptis a
Valesio.

Oros. B. 8. c. 22.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLXI.
Q. FABIVS
MAX. GUR-
GES, D. JUNIVS
BRVTVS SCE-
VA, Consuls.

He threw himself the first Man into the midst of the Battalion which surrounded *Gurges*; and, animated by his Example, the bravest of the *Roman* Youth fell upon this Body of *Samnites*, broke it, and dispersed it. So that the Boldness of the Old General was the Fore-runner of the Victory. The *Legions* pursued the Attack, in the Place where the *Samnites* were broken; and pushed them so vigorously, that *Pontius* himself, after having done every thing in this fatal Engagement, which could be expected from a good General, or brave Man, was taken Prisoner. Twenty thousand of the Enemy were killed upon the Spot, or in the Rout, and four thousand of them, with their Chief, taken Prisoners. So true is it, that the Addition of one able Head in Councils of War, is of great Weight in military Enterprizes! The Defeat of the *Samnites* was complete. Their Camp was taken and plundered. *Samnium* was left to the Mercy of the Conquerors. And in short, the Spoils the *Romans* took in it, were partly delivered up to the *Quæstors*, to be put in the publick Treasury; and partly distributed among the Soldiers.

BUT *Rome* would have been more sensibly affected with the Victory of the *Fabii*, at any other time; the present publick Misfortunes much damped her Joy. The Plague daily made new Ravages; and in this Extremity, Recourse was had to the usual Remedy; that is, Superstition. The *Sybilline* Books were consulted; and they declared it necessary to fetch from *Epidaurus* ⁴⁴, a City of *Peloponnesus*, in the Territory of *Argos*, the God *Æsculapius* ⁴⁵, who was there worshiped under the Figure of a Serpent. The *Roman* Ambassadors might probably ⁴⁶ set out at that time, to beg his Assistance; but he did not arrive till the next Year, when the Contagion was upon the decline: And we shall then see with what Applause the credulous People received the pretended Author of their Preservation. At present nothing was thought on but chusing new *Consuls*, at whose Election neither of the present ones could preside. They were both busy in carrying on the War, in their respective Provinces; and it was therefore necessary to create a *Dictator* to supply their room. This *Dictator* was



⁴⁴ There were reckoned to have been formerly two Cities in *Greece*, which bore the Name of *Epidaurus*: one in *Argos*, the other in *Laconia*. The former, according to *Sophian*, was situated near *Cherronefsi*; but *Niger* places it, in the Neighbourhood of *Pigiada*. It is now called *Æsculapio*, and is the same which was dedicated to the Worship of *Æsculapius*. The latter was surnamed *Limera* by the *Greeks*, from the fine Meadows with which it was surrounded. It is now known by the Name of *Malvasia*, or *Malvoisie*.

⁴⁵ The Ancients received as many *Æsculapii* as the Mythologists thought fit to invent. This was the Fate of the Pagan Divinities. Depending on the Caprice of the Statuary; who made them, or the Wit of the Poet, who realized them, they grew numberless, and seemed to produce one another. *Cicero*, in his Treatise *Of the Nature of the Gods*, reckons up three *Æsculapii*; but the Pagan Mythology, which gives them all, almost the same Attributes, generally confounds them, and makes them all but one. The ancient Monuments represent him, sometimes under the Form of a Serpent, as in a Medal, which bears this Inscription, ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΟΝ, because it was struck at *Epidaurus*. This Animal, and the Cock, are Symbols that are almost always represented with him. These allegorical Figures,

are said to be designed to point out the Vigilance and Wisdom which are necessary for the Cure of Diseases. This God is represented with a Staff in his Hand, to shew that Medicine is the Support of Life. His usual Sacrifice was a Goat; and as this Animal was thought to be always feverish, the sacrificing it, was agreeable enough to the Worship paid to the God of Physick. The ancient Pagans, who according to the Prejudices of their Religion, drew Conjectures concerning Futurity from the Motions and Cry of a Raven, consecrated this Bird to him; thereby to point out, as is pretended, the Sagacity of an able Physician, in foreseeing Diseases, and discovering the most hidden Causes of them, by certain Symptoms. What we have said in another Place of the Goddess of Health, is equally applicable to the God *Æsculapius*.

⁴⁶ What is certain, is, that the Ambassadors did not set out for *Epidaurus*, before the End of the Year 460. Their Departure was delayed, says *Livy*, at the End of his tenth Book, because the *Consuls* were then employed in military Expeditions. All that was done at present, was only the passing a Decree, appointing one Day for solemn *Supplications*, in order to get an end put to the Contagion, by the Assistance of the God *Æsculapius*.

probably

probably the famous *Appius Claudius*, of whom we have said so much; at least, one ancient Monument tells us he was *Dictator*. And as his *Dictatorship* could scarce fall in any other time but the Year 461, we shall place it here upon the Credit of an old Inscription, which we take for granted is genuine. But nevertheless, *Appius's* Nomination must have proved defective, since he did not preside in the Assembly of the Centuries. The Republick fell into an *Interregnum*, and *L. Postumius*, one of the Magistrates nominated to govern the State till the new Election, held the *Comitia*, in the *Campus Martius*, and presided in them. This *Postumius* was the same who had, the last Year, escaped Condemnation, by the Assistance of the *Consul Carvilius*, who had made him his Lieutenant-General. He was distinguished by his high Birth; but was in his Temper haughty, enterprizing, untractable, and above all Regards to Decency or Justice: He looked on the Violation of the Laws as a Trifle; thought every thing lawful, that helped to aggrandize him; and agreeably to this, made an ill Use of the Presidency of the *Comitia*, with which he had been entrusted, and gaining their Suffrages, got himself declared ⁴⁸ *Consul*. This was an open Breach of the Laws, for which there never had been a Precedent, except that of *Appius* the *Decemvir*, which no good Citizen had approved. But nevertheless, the Election held good; and *Rome* gave *Postumius* for his Collegue, one *C. Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Bubulcus*, who had not yet appeared upon the Stage.

§. XVI. THIS was the third time *Postumius* had obtained the *Consulship*; and he discovered as much Haughtiness and Pride in the Discharge of it, as he had done Ambition in procuring it for himself, contrary to Law. No Man was ever more regardless of the Esteem and Affection of others, than he. He had Quarrels with *Brutus* his Collegue; and with *Fabius Gurgēs*, who was continued General of a *Roman Army* in *Samnium*, with the Title of *Proconsul*, on condition his Father would continue to serve under him as his Lieutenant-General. *Postumius* discovered his Spleen to *Brutus*, as soon as they were entered upon their Office. It has been already observed, that the *Bruti*, tho' of the Family of the first *Brutus*, were *Plebeians*. They did not descend from the *Patrician* Branch of the Family of that Destroyer of the Regal Power and Authority; this Branch ended with his Death, and that of his two Sons, who were sacrificed to the publick Good. And hence arose the Arrogance of *Postumius*, and the Contempt he had for his Collegue. He treated him as *A New Man*, or an Upstart. So that when Lots ought to have been drawn, as usual, to assign the *Consuls* their Provinces, *Postumius* demanded *Samnium*, and pretended, that his Name alone was enough to give him a Claim to it, without putting it to the Chance of a Lot. The *Fabii* indeed then commanded an Army, which was acting against the *Samnites*; but he depended on being able to succeed against them, by the same violent Measures, which he made use of against *Brutus*. And he first practised all his Intrigues and Tricks against his Collegue; who was obliged to give way to the Senate, who took his Rival under their Protection. He did not wait for a Decree; but declared himself content to take upon him the Command in *Hetruria*: and *Postumius* despised the Indignation of the People, who were exasperated at the Injustice done to a *Plebeian Consul*. Upon this Victory, he grew more audacious than ever; and he made Preparations for marching a new *Consular Army* into *Samnium*.

§. XVII. IN the mean time, *Rome* still continued to be afflicted with the Plague; and at length, *Æsculapius*, the salutary God, who had been expected a whole Year, arrived from *Epidaurus*. But we do not vouch for the Truth of all we are going to say of him. It is certain, That there were many Tricks practised in the Removal of his pretended Divinity, and That Superstition has blended many Fables with the Relations the Historians have given us of it.

ÆSCULAPIUS was a Native of *Messene*, a City of *Peloponnesus*. As soon as he was born his Parents exposed him in the midst of a Forest, where he was found by some Hunters. These had Compassion on him, and caused him to be suckled by a

⁴⁷ This Inscription is written in a Style so different from that of the old *Latins*, that it is generally thought to have been made *ex post facto*.

⁴⁸ The ancient Annalists, and Historians, all expressly agree, in the Names of the *Consuls* for this Year; except *Livy*, who, B. 29 gives *Lucius Postumius* the false Surname of *Metellus*, instead of *Megellus*, which all ancient Monuments give him.

⁴⁹ Here *Livy's* History breaks off; and we lament the Loss of the Continuation of this great Work

for ninety four Years, which has not escaped the Shipwreck of Time. So that this Historian will now disappear, till the Beginning of the second *Carthaginian War*: but then he will again shine forth, with yet greater Lustre than before. Where he is defective, we continue to have recourse to the ancient Annalists, and other Writers of Antiquity; and have endeavoured from their rich Remains, to repair the Breach, which the Ages of Ignorance have made in *Livy's* Story.

Year of
R O M E
CCCC LXI.
Q. FABIVS
MAX. GUR-
GES. D. JUNIVS
BRVTVS SCÆ-
VA, Consuls.
Apud Petrum
Victorium Flo-
rentiæ.

Liv. B. 10.
c. 47.

Year of
R O M E
CCCC LXII.
L. POSTVMIVS
MEGELLVS,
C. JUNIVS
BRVTVS BU-
BVLVS, Con-
suls.

Suidas in *Pos-
tunium*.

D. Hal. in ex-
cerptis a Vale-
sio.

Laërtius ex
Tarquitio.

Year of Bitch. When he was old enough to be capable of Instruction, he was committed to the Care of the famous *Chiron*⁵⁰, who taught him Physick, or, if you will, Surgery; for the two Arts were then confounded. The Disciple soon excelled his Master, and, being grown an able Physician, settled at *Epidaurus*, a City of *Argos*, and practised his Art there. It must be granted, that *Æsculapius* made some Discoveries in the Cure of Diseases and Wounds. He is said to have invented the *Probe*; to have first made use of *Bandages*; and to have been the first who invented Purges, and the Art of drawing Teeth. And as he lived in an Age wherein it was usual to deify those who distinguished themselves by any useful Discoveries, the People were pleased to call him the Son of *Apollo*, and rank him among the Gods. After which, he soon had a Temple erected to him in *Epidaurus*; which was built upon an Eminence, without the City, because the most airy and wholesome Situations are most suitable to the God of *Health*. There the Priests, who presided over the Worship of this new God, bred one of those Snakes, which are easily tamed, and taught to follow any Persons where they please, without any Danger of being bit by them; and the silly Vulgar honoured this Snake, as the God himself. His usual Hole was under the Feet of the fine Stone Statue of *Æsculapius*, which the famous Sculptor *Thrasymedes*⁵¹ of *Paros* had made; and whenever he came out of it, his Appearance was understood to prognosticate the Cure of the Sick. The Envoys of *Rome* were brought into this Temple, to which the Love of Life drew all *Greece*, and which Gratitude for imaginary Cures had exceedingly enriched. *Ogulnius* was the Head of the Embassy: And it's probable the *Epidaurians* made the *Romans* pay very dear for the Relief they desired; their Reputation and Interest being then very small in *Greece*. But however that be, the *Epidaurians* granted their Request, and suffered them to carry away with them the Snake, which drew all the People in the Neighbourhood into the City. It is reported as a Prodigy, that the Snake came out in sight of the Ambassadors, whilst they were attentively viewing the magnificent Statue of *Æsculapius*: And that he left the Temple of *Epidaurus* of his own Accord, and winding his great Body along, passed all thro' the City, and went directly to the Port where the *Roman* Ship was at Anchor. To which it is added, that he entered the Vessel of his own accord, went directly to *Ogulnius's* Cabin, and curling himself into several Circles, continued quietly there. An Account, which is neither incredible nor miraculous, if we suppose (which might have been the Case,) that the Master of the Snake, who had tamed him, went before him to the Ship. Besides, this was not the first time that one of these Snakes had been taken out of the Temple of *Epidaurus*. The *Sicyonians*⁵² had already carried one from thence to their City, in a Chariot; and an unknown Woman, named *Nicagore*, had conducted him thither. Thus the Impostures of the *Greeks* furnished the Nations, who were willing to be cheated, with *Æsculapius's*; and thus the *Romans*, among others, were bubbled by them.

THE other Adventures of the pretended *Æsculapius*, in his Passage from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*, have been celebrated both by the Historians and Poets. They relate, or feign, that the Ambassadors Galley felt the good Effects of the God's Presence, in her Voyage, it being exceeding prosperous and happy. But nevertheless, the Sea became boisterous towards the Coasts of *Italy*, and the Strength of the Winds forced the Seamen to put in, at the Port of *Antium*, where there was a Temple dedicated to *Æsculapius*. The Snake had hitherto confined himself to *Ogulnius's* Cabin; but here he escaped, and gliding along came to the Court of the Sanctuary where he was worshipped. This Place was planted with Myrtles and Palm-trees, and the pretended *Æsculapius* got

⁵⁰ Not to mention the fabulous Story of the Birth of *Chiron* the Centaur, it is sufficient to know the most rational Account the Mythologists give of him. He is said to have spent Part of his Life in the Mountains; and the profound Knowledge he acquired by the Study of Simples, gained him the Reputation of the most able Physician of his Time. Nor was he less remarkable for the military Education he had given *Achilles*, to whom he was *Preceptor*, than for his Skill in Physick. *S. Clemens Alexandrinus* ranks him among those, who established Forms of Religion, and introduced the Use of Sacrifices. We refer the Reader to Fable, for the manner of his Death, and the Place the Gods gave him among the twelve Signs of the Zodiack, under the Name of *Sagittarius*.

⁵¹ This *Thrasymedes* of *Paros* was, according to *Pausanias*, one of the most famous Statuaries of his Age. His Master-piece was an *Æsculapius* of Gold

and Ivory, sitting upon a Throne, to denote the sovereign Power of this God, over all sorts of Diseases. In one hand he held a Staff; in the other, a Dragon. By the Side of the Statue was a Dog. The Pagans had consecrated this Animal to *Æsculapius*, either in Conformity to the Fable, which supposed him to have been suckled by a Bitch; or because, as *Plutarch* observes, *Quæst. Rom.* Dogs don't a little contribute to the cleansing of Wounds, by licking them. The Statue of *Æsculapius* of *Epidaurus*, had also a golden Beard, which *Dionysius the Tyrant* seized, under pretence that it was unnatural to give *Apollo's* Son a Beard, when he himself was represented as a beardless young Man.

⁵² The Inhabitants of *Sicyone*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, had erected a Statue of *Æsculapius*, made partly of Gold, and partly of Ivory, in the Porch of the Temple. It was made by *Calamis* the Statuary.

upon the largest of his Trees, and twisted his long Body round it. For three Days, it was much feared, that the divine Animal would continue there; and all Endeavours to bring him back to the Ship were vain. It availed nothing to offer him his usual Food; he continued three Days twisted round the Palm-tree. But at length, he returned to the Galley of his own accord, and suffered himself to be carried to the Place intended. *Antium* was at no very great distance from the Mouth of the *Tyber*; and the Snake was carried up that River, to *Rome*. The Joy the *Romans* shewed upon the Arrival of this salutary God, is not to be expressed. Altars were erected all along the Shore; and Incense and Sacrifices offered, even to Profuseness. The *Romans* expected immediately to receive *Æsculapius* within their Walls, and build him a Temple; but the God is said to have chosen his own Abode. In the midst of the *Tyber*, over-against the Walls of *Rome*, there was an Island, formed in the Infancy of the Republick, by Straw, Trunks of Trees, Sand, and the Rubbish of the City; and thither the Serpent retired, swimming gently thro' the Water. From that time it was called *The Island of Æsculapius*; and a ⁵³ Temple was soon erected to him there, and enriched with numberless Presents. The Temple was built in the Shape of a Ship; the higher Part of it resembled the Stern, and the lower, the Prow. But whatever the Historians say of it, it is very uncertain whether the Plague was not stopped, before the Serpent arrived; and if we believe *Pliny*, who gave no Credit to popular Traditions, the *Romans* themselves would not suffer this *Æsculapius*, who had been brought from Beyond-sea, to be placed within their Walls. He says, they had an Aversion ⁵⁴ to Physicians, and their Art; and despised even the pretended *Æsculapius*, the Prince and Head of Physicians. But nevertheless, the Temple of this God of Health was very much frequented by the Commonalty at *Rome*; the Sick ⁵⁵ came and passed the Night in it; and Imagination, or the Strength of Nature, sometimes wrought Cures there, which were ascribed to the Power of the God.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXII.

L. POSTUMIUS
MEGELLUS,
C. JUNIUS
BRUTUS BU-
BULCUS, Con-
suls.

Martianus.

Plin. B. 29. c. 1.



⁵³ There were some Ruins of the ancient Temple of *Æsculapius* in the Island of the *Tyber*, to be seen in the sixteenth Century, near the Church of *St. Bartholomew*. Besides, a *Medaillon* struck by the Order of *Antoninus Pius*, renewed the Memory of *Æsculapius*'s Arrival in that Island, under the Form of a Serpent. We have the Figure of this God, on Multitudes of *Antiques*. He is represented (as above) on an engraved Stone, as a Child, who is receiving from *Chiron* the Centaur, some plant, probably, for the Cure of Wounds and Diseases. *ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΣ*, or *Asclepius*, is the Name the *Greeks* gave *Æsculapius*. Under the Centaur, is a Satyr, or the God *Pan*, holding a rural Pipe in his Hand. These were the Prepossessions of the Pagans, concerning the Power of the God of Physick. *Hippocrates* himself advises a Physician, if he would succeed in the Cure of a Disease, to invoke first *Apollo*, and then *Æsculapius*, and his two daughters, *Hygia* and *Panacea*.

⁵⁴ *Pliny* tells us, *B. 29. c. 1.* that *Archagatus* was the first Physician, who came from *Greece* to *Rome*, where he practised Physick and Surgery, with Reputation, in the Year of *Rome* 535, according to his Way of reckoning, in the Consulship of *Lucius Æmilius*, and *Marcus Livius*. To which he adds, That this Greek was commonly looked upon as a kind of Executioner, because he had an heavy Hand. It is

probable *Rome* was not absolutely destitute of Physicians, before *Archagatus*'s time; but they were in less Credit, and their Knowledge of the Nature of Diseases, and the Virtue of Remedies, was very little. *Terence* introduces Physicians upon the Stage, and *Plautus* calls their Shops *Medicina*, to distinguish them from those of the Barbers, and Perfumers, which he calls *Tonstrina*, and *Myropolia*. But it must be confessed, that the *Romans* had not that regard for Medicine, which an Art of that Importance deserves. They, for a long Course of Years, left the Practice of it wholly to Persons of a servile Condition, or *Freedmen*. And this Art was sunk still lower in the Opinion of the *Romans*, by the Roguery and Ignorance of Quacks, who, under the Title of Physicians, abused the Credulity of the People, made their Market of them, and at the same time much endangered the Sick which were under their Care.

⁵⁵ If sick Persons recovered, they, by Way of Thanksgiving, sacrificed a Cock, to the God, whose Protection they thought they had experienced. It was in Allusion to this Ceremony, that *Socrates*, when condemned to die, and thereby delivered from all the Evils of Life, ordered the same Animal to be sacrificed to *Æsculapius*. By which we may judge of the Offerings which Persons cured of Diseases made to their supposed Benefactor.

§. XVIII. *It*

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLXII.
L. POSTUMIUS
MEGELLUS,
C. JUNIUS
BRUTUS BU-
BULCUS, CON-
suls.

Dio. Cocceia-
nus in excerptis a Valefso.

D. Hal. in ex-
cerptis a Valefso.

§. XVIII. HOWEVER, it is probable, *Rome* ⁵⁶ was delivered from the Plague, when the *Consuls* set out, one for *Hetruria*, and the other for *Samnium*. As for *Junius Brutus*, his Exploits in his Province were so inconsiderable, that the Historians have not thought them worth remembring; and we shall see *Postumius* behaving himself with the same Haughtiness at the Head of his Troops, which had made him odious at *Rome*. The two *Fabii*, Father and Son, made War also in *Samnium*, and that with a great deal of Prudence and Valour. The Father was only Lieutenant-General to the Son, who as *Pro-Consul* commanded in chief; and the wise old Man took Care to govern the young General with all possible Address and Circumspection. He was the main Spring of all the Expeditions which were undertaken; but without appearing to be so. The Schemes and Advice were his; but he did not propose them with the Authority of a Father. He artfully and imperceptibly insinuated them into his Son's Mind, who adopted them with the more Pleasure, because he fancied himself to be Author of them. They had already reduced all that Part of *Samnium*, which was called *The Canton of the 57 Pen- tri*. The Father and Son had already laid Siege to *Cominium*, an important Place formerly taken and burnt by *Carvilius*; but since re-taken, and re-built, by the *Samnites*. In the mean while, *Postumius* was also preparing to enter *Samnium* with a *Consular* Army. Before he left *Rome*, he had sent away a Detachment of his Army, and employed his *Legionary* Troops in his own private Business. He had made them grub up a Forest which belonged to him, without furnishing them with Utensils; and this first Act of Tyranny was followed with greater Impositions. As soon as he arrived in his Province, he made it his Business to interrupt the *Fabii* in their Enterprize, and assume to himself the Credit of the Siege of *Cominium*, which they had begun. He sent Orders to the *Pro-Consul*, to desist from his Enterprize, and leave it to him to carry on the Siege. *It belongs to me only*, said he, with an imperious Air, *to command here*. But *Fabius* had the Authority of a Decree of the Senate, who had nominated him *Pro-Consul*, to support him. Besides, the *Fabian* Family did not think themselves inferior to that of the *Consul*; and old *Fabius*, on whom the Insult partly fell, was an Hero, whose Merit was much respected. The *Conscript Fathers* therefore supported him in his Pretensions, and sent an Order to *Postumius*, not to thwart the *Pro-Consul*, but to leave him in Possession of his Province, and go upon some other Expedition in *Samnium*, in order to gain himself Glory there. But the *Consul* was too proud to pay any Regard to publick Authority. He gave the Messenger from the Senate this insolent Answer; *Tell the Conscript Fathers, it is their Business to obey their Consul, and not their Consul's to submit to their Directions*. Nor did *Postumius* confine himself to Words. He marched towards *Cominium*, with Resolution to give the *Fabii* Battel, in case they did not yield to his obstinate Humour. Then would a *Roman Consul* have fought with a *Pro-Consul* for the first time; and the *Samnites* would have triumphed, upon the Division of the *Romans*. But the Wisdom of old *Fabius* inclined him to Moderation; and he brought his Son into the same Measures, whose Youth would otherwise have given him more Spirit; and the Justice of whose Cause would have warranted his sustaining the Attack of a rash Aggressor. The *Pro-Consul* gained more Glory by the Conquest of himself, than he could have done by that of the Enemy. He left the Place to *Postumius*, after he had protested, That the publick Welfare was his only Motive to quit so glorious a Conquest; and That he was very little afraid of the Menaces of an imperious Rival.

THEN the *Consul*, seeing the Way open to him, pressed *Cominium*, with all the Vigour of a fiery Man; and in few Days he made himself Master of it. From thence he turned his Arms towards ⁵⁸ *Venusium*, an important Place, situated between three Provinces of *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and *Samnium*, which it was necessary to keep in Awe. *Postumius* wanted neither Courage nor Dispatch. He soon gained the City, and brought it into Subjection to the *Romans*: and hoping, that so considerable a Service would efface the Stain of his Disobedience, the *Consul* wrote to the Senate, to give them an Account of his Conquest. But the Republick valued Submission at a

⁵⁶ The Priests of *Epidaurus*, who were well acquainted with the Art of curing Diseases, by reading the *Physical* Books, which were kept in the Temple of *Aesculapius*, may possibly have communicated Part of their Knowledge to the *Romans*. Perhaps some Remedies judiciously applied, wrought the Cures, which simple Persons ascribed to the Power of the God.

⁵⁷ All that *Livy* tells us, B. 9. of the Country of the *Pentri*, is, that it was near *Bovianum*.

⁵⁸ *Venusium* was so situated, that it bordered up-

on *Lucania*, *Apulia*, and the Country of the *Samnites*, or *Hirpini*. *Strabo* ranks it among the Cities of *Samnium*. *Pliny* makes it a City of *Apulia* *Davania*; and *Ptolomy* places it in *Apulia* *Peucezia*. But this last Situation does not agree with that, which all Geographers unanimously give it. *Venusium* now bears the Name of *Venosa*. It had the Honour to give Birth to *Horace* the Poet. And according to *Livy*, it had the Title of a *Roman Colony*, from the time of the second *Carthaginian* War.

much higher rate than Valour; and from that time *Rome* made him sensible, how disagreeable his Conduct had been. *Postumius* represented to the Senate, in his Letters, that it was proper to send such a *Colony* of *Romans* to *Venusium*, as should be able to keep a great Province in Order, which was always ready to take Arms: and his Proposal was approved. But Occasion was taken from this very thing to mortify him. It was natural and customary, for the Conqueror of a City to be one of the three *Collegues*, who were sent thither to settle a *Colony*; and for him to assign the new Inhabitants their Places of Abode, and distribute among them their Shares of the Land which was given them for their Property. But in the Case of *Venusium*, no regard was had to the *Consul's* Request, to be the Founder of the *Colony*. The Senate named three other Persons to conduct it, without giving him a Share in the Glory, which seemed to belong to him. Twenty thousand *Romans*, according to some, and two thousand, according to others, went from *Rome* to *Venusium*, much to the Dissatisfaction of the General who had conquered it. Nor was this all. The better to humble the proud *Postumius*, and at the same time reward young *Fabius* his Rival, the Honours of a Triumph were granted the latter, who made his Procession on *The Calends* of the Month *Sextilis*. The brave *Pontius*, the General of the *Samnites*, who was famous for the Defeat of the *Romans*, at *The Caudian Forks*, followed the Chariot of his Conqueror; and by an Act of Inhumanity unworthy of *Romans*, lost his Head. But there was another Sight, which was more surprizing to the Eye, and made a greater Impression on the Minds of the Spectators. Whilst *Fabius Gurgus* was riding in a Chariot, his Father followed him on Horseback; and took a pleasure in mixing with the rest of the Officers of the Army. He heard the Acclamations of the People, and the Songs of the Soldiers, in Praise of the triumphant Victor, with inexpressible Delight. And as old *Fabius* had formerly carried this dear Son upon his Knees, in his own first Triumphs; it was now his Joy to march after him. However, the Spectators did him Justice; they said the Son was honoured with a Triumph, but the Father had deserved it. This venerable old Man lived a great while after this, influenced his Son in all his Conduct, made him worthy of new Honours, and presided in the Senate with Dignity.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXII.

L. POSTUMIUS
MEGELLUS,
C. JUNIUS
BRUTUS BU-
BULCUS, Con-
suls.

Tabulæ Trium-
phales.

Plut. in *Fabio*
Cunctatore, &
Val. Max. B.
5. c. 7. §. 1.

D. Hal. in ex-
cerptis a *Vale-*
sio.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXIII.

P. CORNELIUS
RUFINUS, M.
CURIUS DEN-
TATUS, Con-
suls.

Liv. *Epitome*
11. & D. Hal.
16. *ibid*.

So many Marks of Distinction, granted or refused respectively, to the two Rivals, filled the violent *Postumius* with Rage. His Jealousy vented itself in an angry Behaviour towards the People and Senate; and he invented a new kind of Revenge. He distributed all the Booty he had taken in the two Cities among his Soldiers, without sending any Part of it to the publick Treasury: and then disbanded his Troops before his Successor arrived. Which spiteful and passionate Behaviour makes me give no Credit to what some Historians say, of his having triumphed by the Consent of the People, which he found means to extort from them, contrary to the Inclinations of the Senate. We shall soon see the Commons as much exasperated against him, as the *Conscript Fathers*. And it is improbable, that *Postumius* presided at the Election of the new *Consuls*, in the *Campus Martius*. This Honour was doubtless conferred on his Collegue *Brutus Junius*. The *Consuls* the *Centuries* chose, were *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, a *Patrician*, and *Manius Curius Dentatus*, a *Plebeian*. §. XIX. As soon as the new Governors were in Office, and *Postumius* out, a Design was formed to punish him, for his Abuse of Power. Two *Tribunes of the People* were his Accusers. The *Tribes* were assembled; and the Offender appeared on the Day appointed. His Accusation chiefly turned, on his employing his Troops in so mean an Office, before he set out for *Samnium*. Nothing made him more odious to the People, than the Slavery to which he had, for a time, reduced the *Legionary* Troops; who were Men of free Condition, and owed no Service, but to the Publick. This Crime offended the Commons more, than his Disobedience to the Orders of the Senate. A considerable Fine was laid on *Postumius*; a Blemish was long cast on his Reputation; and we shall see him no more promoted to the *Consulship*. And yet it is probable, that he was the Man, who after Age had abated his Fire, was sent on an Embassy to the *Tarentini*.

THE War with the *Samnites* was now drawing to a Conclusion. The Strength of these old Enemies was upon the decline; and the Loss of *Pontius* had weakened them much, that one Campaign was sufficient to reduce them. *Pontius*, equally able to manage the Minds of his Countrymen, and to fight for them, had supported their Cou-

This *Cornelius Rufinus* was probably the Son of *Publius Rufinus*, who was created *Dictator*, in the Year of *Rome* 419. As for *Manius Curius* his Collegue, the *Triumphal Tables* have restored us his

Prænomen, and Name; which had been so much altered by most ancient Authors, that some have called him *Marcus Curius*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXIII.

P. CORNELIUS
RUFINUS, M.
CURIUS DEN-
TATUS, Con-
suls.
Cic. de Offic.
B. 2.

rage in publick Assemblies, and had commanded them in Battels with more Bravery than Success. His Address appeared by the great Number of Nations which he had raised up against the *Romans*; he often excited even their most faithful Allies to act against them. And it is even said, that he sometimes complained of the too great Disinterestedness which he found in the many Generals the Republick continually sent against him. *How unhappy am I, said he, to have to do with a People, who are not to be wrought upon by Presents and Promises! Had the Romans been capable of being influenced by their private Interests, I had long since put a Stop to the Rapidity of their Conquests.* And as soon as the *Samnites* were deprived of this brave Leader, Rome thought it necessary not to delay giving them the finishing Stroke.

It must be confessed that the *Romans* were a little weary of having the same Enemy continually to engage with, every Year. Tho' this War had furnished Matter for twenty four Triumphs, yet it had cost the Conquerors a great deal of Blood, many Fatigues, and vast Expences. And it was therefore with design to put an End to it, that the two *Consuls* were ordered to set out together for *Samnium*; where it is certain they acted separately, each at the Head of a *Consular* Army.

NEVERTHELESS, *Curius Dentatus* distinguished himself above his Collegue. He ravaged the Country, took Cities, won Battels, and at last reduced these untractable People to become Suppliants, and sue for Peace; which *Rome* granted. She now entered into a Treaty of Alliance with the *Samnites*, a fourth time. The Conditions she imposed upon them are not known; but it is probable she took proper Precautions, to cure the Inconstancy of a warlike and restless People. And it is also probable, that the Senate left it to *Curius Dentatus* to settle the Articles of the Treaty. He was a Man whose Probity was equal to that of the most renowned Sages of the *Greeks*. He was almost as poor as the famous *Diogenes*; but did not pervert his Philosophy, by making himself a Spectacle, and leading an idle unactive Life, in barren Contemplations. He was a great General, who did his Country much Service by his Victories; and who, without any Affectation or Vanity, practised the Rules which the Philosophers ostentatiously dictate. He was extremely negligent of Dress and Out-side Shew, and a Master of exceeding great Frugality. This appeared, upon the Embassy the *Samnites* sent to him, without doubt to procure of him favourable Terms. The Ambassadors found him sitting near the Fire, upon a bad wooden Seat, like those the Peasants used, and dressing his own Dinner, which consisted of a few Roots, which he was boiling. All his Furniture for his Table was only one wooden Dish. This evidently shewed, that he liked to live in this abstemious and poor Way; and, out of a Superiority of Understanding, preferred it to Luxury and Excess.

THE Envoys offered *Curius* a large Sum of Money, which the generous Consul resented; but expressed his Indignation, only by a disdainful Smile. *Without doubt, said he, my Indigence prompts you to enrich, in order to corrupt, me. But your Attempts are vain. I had rather govern the Rich, than be rich my self. Carry back with you this fatal Metal, which Men brought into use, only for their own Destruction; and tell your Countrymen, they will find it as difficult a Matter to corrupt, as to conquer, me.*

THE *Samnites* accepted the Treaty, as it was offered them; and the Consul returned to *Rome*, where he enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph, which was as agreeable to the *Romans*, as any ever had been. They were exceedingly rejoiced, to find themselves at last disburthened of a War, which had lasted forty nine Years, and employed fifty four *Consuls*, not without some Disadvantages, though upon the whole with great Success. The conquered Nation were a brave People, and gave the *Romans* as much Trouble as any Nation had hitherto done. The Riches of *Samnium* were immense; and, if we believe the *Latin* Historians, its Inhabitants were without Number. Their Arms were made of Gold, and Silver, or at least were sometimes adorned with both those Metals. Their Luxury in Dress signally appeared, even in their Armies. They were skillful in laying Snares for their Enemies, in their Forests and Mountains, where they sought a sure Retreat, after Defeats. But it must be owned, that their Courage was rather the Effect of Fury, than regulated by Reason, or conducted by Counsel, and military Skill. And lastly, tho' very humble and submissive when conquered, they made no Scruple of breaking thro' Treaties, as soon as they had recruited their Forces.

It is difficult to conceive, that the Dominion of the *Samnites* could be then confined to the Limits of *Samnium*, properly so called, and to some few Cities which they had conquered in the Neighbourhood. Nay, it is certain, their Empire extended far on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea; and therefore *Curius* gave the *Roman* People the

A count

Epit. 11. Livii,
& Eutrop. B.
2.

Plut. in Apoph.
Val. Max. B.
4. c. 3. §. 5.
Plin. B. 19. c. 6,
&c.

Account of his Conquest. *I have increased your State with so large a Tract of Ground, that the Coast of Italy, where I have made War, would become a vast Desert, if I had not subdued Men enough to cultivate it; and I have brought so great a Number of Men into Subjection to you, that they must perish with Hunger, if I had not conquered so much Land to support them.* It was doubtless at this time, that the Conqueror distributed the Lands, with which he had enriched the Republick, among those Romans who had none of their own. He would allow no more than seven Acres to be given to each Person; nor would he receive more himself, tho' a much more considerable Portion was offered him. All the rest was appropriated to the Publick. The more covetous complained of it; but the wise Consul made them only this Answer, *That in order to preserve the Frugality of the Romans, it were to be wished, that no Person possessed more Land, than was barely necessary for his Subsistence.* Such was the Great Man, whom Providence had reserved, to finish the Work so many illustrious Generals had begun. By the Reduction of the *Samnites*, *Curius* put *Rome* into a Condition of becoming first Mistress of *Italy*, and then of the whole World.

It is uncertain, what kind of Government that of the *Samnites* was. I believe they were divided into several Cantons, which assembled annually in a Diet, wherein general Resolutions were taken for the publick Good; and that in time of War they chose a Head, whose Authority was absolute. At least, I find the Title of King given to *Pontius Herennius*, their last General. The *Samnites* had one Custom which was very particular. They every Year assembled the marriageable young Men and Women, in one Place, where there were Judges appointed by publick Authority, to match them. These Judges enquired strictly into the Merit of the Boys and Girls; and he among the former, who deserved to be distinguished for his Wisdom or Conduct, obtained the Woman who had most good Qualities for his Wife. Thus the Choice was carried on through them all, till they came to the most defective of the Men, and the least deserving of the Women. By this means, a Love of Virtue was kept up among the Youth of both Sexes; and an Emulation to see their Children handsomely provided for, made Parents the more careful of their Education.

§. XX. AND now the Conquest of *Samnium* drew after it, the entire Reduction of the *Sabines*. Their Confederacy with *Rome*, was almost as ancient as the City itself; but notwithstanding their Alliance with the *Romans*, they still were governed by their ancient Laws, and dreaded nothing so much, as to see themselves reduced by the Republick, to the State of a *Province*, and forced to submit to the Laws of Foreigners. The approaching Ruin of the *Samnites* their Neighbours, had made them apprehensive of a total Loss of their Liberty; and this had induced them to join the *Samnites*, and assist them against the *Roman* Armies.

NOR was this all. The *Sabines* had not only permitted their Youth to take Arms, but had also suffered them to make Incursions on the Lands of the Republick, and lay them waste. *Curius* was therefore charged with this Expedition; for his Consulship was not yet near expiring; and he marched thither with all the Assurance of a Conqueror, who hastens to complete a certain Conquest. He led his Troops into those fine Fields, which are watered by the ⁶⁰ *Nar*, and the ⁶¹ *Velinus*; and brought the whole Country, from the Head of the former River, that is, from the *Apennines*, to the Springs of the latter, that is, to the very Center of *Sabinia*, under the *Roman* Dominion. In order to compass this, it was indeed necessary he should do two things at once. First, force the Enemy to quit the Territory of the *Romans*, which they infested by their Rapines; and Secondly, beat them, and disperse them in their own Country. And to this end, he divided his Army into several Detachments, and sending them into the Enemy's Country, filled it with Terror, and made more Noise, than he did mischief. Then the *Sabines* laid aside their Thoughts of pillaging the *Roman* Lands; and made it their Business to defend their own, which were become a Prey to the enemy. By this means, the formidable Army the *Sabines* had abroad, was dispersed in a few Days. The *Romans* attacked them in Parties, as they were returning home,

⁶⁰ We have already spoken of the River *Nar*, now *Nera*.

⁶¹ The *Velinus* is the same River the *Italians* now call the *Velino*. It overflowed all the neighbouring Lands, and turned them into Marshes; for which reason, all the Territory it watered, was called *Velina*, from the Greek Word *lain*, which signifies a marshy Country. This River first runs into the Lake *Velinus*, and then discharges itself into the *Nar*, by a

Canal, which *Manius Curius* built, or rather enlarged. He was forced to cut through the Rock, to complete his Design, as we are told by *Cicero*, in the 14th Epistle of the 4th Book, to *Atticus*. *Lacus Velinus a Manio Curio emissus, interciso Monte in Narem defluit.* The Natives now call this Lake, *Lago di pio di Luco*; it is the same with the Lake of *Rieti*, formerly called *Rento*.

and

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXIII.
P. CORNELIUS
RUFINUS, M.
CURIUS DENTATUS, Con-
suls.
Auth. de Villis
Illustr.
Plut. in Apoph.

Bossuis. B. 3.
c. 23.

Year of and gained a more complete Victory, in several little Engagements, than if they
 R O M E had fought a general Battel.

CCCCXLIII. So that this single Expedition reduced the rebellious *Sabines*, from the Condition of
 P. CORNELIUS Allies to that of Subjects, to the Republick. They submitted, and surrendered them-

RUFINUS, M' selves up to her at Discretion; and *Rome* shewed them Favour. The *Sabines* were, af-
 CURIUS DEN- ter all, old Friends, who had furnished the *Roman* Monarchy with several Kings, in
 TATUS, CON- its Infancy: and they had not aggravated their Offences, by any long Revolt, or ob-

Flor. in Epit. stinate Hatred. The Weight of the Yoke of their Slavery, was therefore lessened.

Vell. Patere. The Right of *Roman Citizenship* was bestowed upon them, as a Favour; but with-
 B. 1. out the Right of Suffrage.

THEN the brave *Curius*, who had brought the *Sabines* to their Duty, received an
 Honour, which not one of all the Generals his Predecessors, had enjoyed before him.
 Flor. in Epit. He triumphed a second time, in the same *Consulship*. He was an illustrious *Plebeian*,
 11. and warlike Philosopher, who gained more Glory in his first Magistracy, than the
 most noble, and richest *Patricians*, had acquired in many *Consulships*, and by many
 Victories. It is not to be doubted, but his Virtue must have made many envy him;
 and in order to destroy that Character of Disinterestedness, which he had so justly
 gained, he was accused of having converted a Part of the Spoils he had taken from
 the Enemy, to his own private Use. He gave in his Answer to the Accusation; which
 being very general, his own Oath was taken. And he confessed, that he had kept
 out of the Spoils of the Enemy, a little wooden Oil Pot, which he used in the Li-
 bations he made to the Gods. He was believed upon his single Testimony, and the
 Malice of his Accusers, turned into an Admiration of the Accused.

Auth. de Illuf.
Virg.

Plin. B. 34. c. 7.

A new Accident gave him likewise new Lustre. The *Lucani* thought fit to make
 War with the Inhabitants of ⁶² *Thurium*, a City, formerly called *Sybaris*, from the
 River of that Name, because it stood at the Mouth of it, upon the Borders of *The*
Gulph of Tarentum. The *Thurini* had recourse to the *Roman* People, and one of their
Tribunes, named *Ælius*, undertook to protect the attacked City. He prevailed on the
 Republick to send some Troops under the Command of *Curius*; and this indefatigable
 General made the *Lucani* raise the Siege. Nevertheless, the *Tribune Ælius* robbed
 him of a Part of his Honour; the *Thurini*, to reward his Zeal, erected a Statue to
Ælius, in their City.

Year of

R O M E

CCCCXLIV.

M. VALERIUS

CORVINUS,

Q. CÆDICIVS

NOCTUA,

Consuls.

S. XXI. WHEN the Time for a new Election drew near, it is certain *Curius* re-
 turned to preside at it; for all the Historians who have recorded this memorable
Consulship, have entirely forgotten the Name of his Colleague *Cornelius Rufinus*. The
 same *Comitia* then, which appointed *M. Valerius* ⁶³ *Corvinus*, and *Q. Cædicius No-*
tua, *Consuls* for the next Year, nominated also *Curius Dentatus* for *Proconsul*, to go,
 and make War in *Lucania*. So that being continued in the same honourable Employ-
 ment, at the Head of the Troops, which had procured him two Triumphs, he pene-
 trated into the most Eastern Part of *Italy*. And the Success of his Arms against the
Lucani is unquestionable; but we don't know how he behaved himself in this new
 Province. Only, if we may judge of his Expedition by the Consequences of it, it
 will appear, that he did something more than deliver *Thurium* from the Oppression
 of the Enemy: since, when he had finished his Campaign, he returned to *Rome*, and
 received the Honour of an ⁶⁴ *Ovation*. This was a less honourable kind of Triumph;
 but it was scarce ever granted to any but those, who had quieted, or conquered Pro-
 vinces, without Loss of Blood. I am much inclined to believe, that *Curius* re-establish-
 ed a good Understanding between the *Lucani*, and the Inhabitants of *Thurium*; and
 made them both Friends to the *Romans*, by the Terror of his Name, and by treating
 them with great Moderation. Thus this great and wise General brought all the

⁶² See what we say of the City of *Thurium*, and the River *Sybaris*, B. 21.

⁶³ The Surname of *Corvinus* given to *Valerius*, makes us believe, that he was the Son of the famous *Valerius Corvus*, whom we have seen honoured with the *Consulship*, no less than six times. His Colleague *Quintus Cædicius*, was the Father of a *Consul* of the same Name, who was promoted to the *Consulship*, in the Year of *Rome* 487, and died before his Office expired.

⁶⁴ According to *Livy*, *Manius Curius* triumphed twice, the first Year he was *Consul*, viz. over the *Samnites*, and the *Sabines*: to which the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men* adds, That he after-

wards received the Honour of an *Ovation*, for having reduced the *Lucani*. But it is not credible, that he should have subdued three different Nations in one Year; nor is it more probable, that the Republick should grant him three Triumphs in so short space of time. It is more rational to suppose, as some modern Annalists do, That he was sent into *Lucania* with the Title of *Proconsul*, after his *Consulship* expired; and That the Senate and People decreed him his *Ovation*, after this last Expedition. Upon this Supposition, *Livy* had reason to say, that he obtained the Honours of two Triumphs whilst he was *Consul*.

Country, which extends from the *Adriatick* to the *Tyrrhenian*, and *Sicilian* Seas, under the *Roman* Dominion. There yet remained indeed, some Cities to conquer, and Nations to subdue; but *Rome* having now scarce any more Enemies abroad, gave herself a little Rest, after so ⁶⁵ many Fatigues.

VALERIUS CORVINUS, and *Q. Cædicius*, the present *Consuls*, were wholly employed in Works of Peace. It is not improbable, that they sent out three Colonies, to as many important Places, which being become *Roman*, might be made a good Barrier to the *Roman* State. At least we know, that those kind of Garrisons, which the *Romans* called *Colonies*, were sent to *Adria* ⁶⁶, a maritime City, which is said to have given Name to the *Adriatick* Sea, to *Castrum* ⁶⁷; a Place in *Picenum*; and to *Sena* ⁶⁸, another City on the Coast of the *Adriatick* Sea, at the Mouth of the *Seno* ⁶⁹, and in the Country of the *Senones*: tho' we cannot exactly assign the Time when it was done.

§.XXII. IN *Rome*, Men were grown more vitious, since they enjoyed Peace; and indeed it is not to be wondered at, that Violences should be common in a City, which was wholly devoted to War, and whose Inhabitants were all Soldiers. The *Prætor* alone was not sufficient to maintain good Order in it; nor could the People hear all the criminal Causes, which were brought before them, when assembled by *Tribes*, which was seldom done, and then not without Difficulty. And it was therefore necessary to erect a new Tribunal, to suppress the Insolence of the Villains. This, *Papirius* the *Tribune* moved to the People, and they consented to create three Judges, who should have a Right to hear and determine all Causes relating to publick Crimes. The Law which was made for this Purpose, is yet in being; and is drawn up in more intelligible Terms, than the more ancient Laws are. It is this. *Every Prætor who shall be hereafter elected, shall present his Petition to the People, desiring them to nominate three Judges. These Triumviri shall have a Right to lay Fines upon those who deserve it. Their Decrees shall have the Force of Laws, and be as obligatory, as if the People themselves had passed them.* Whence it appears, that the Punishments these Judges could inflict, reached no farther than pecuniary Fines, which were always applied to the Worship of the Gods, and Works of Religion. But nevertheless, these Magistrates were stiled ⁷⁰ *Triumviri*

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXIV.
M. VALERIUS
CORVINUS,
Q. CÆDICIVS
NOCTUA,
Consuls

Flor. in Epit.
12.

Fest. Pomp. B.
17.

⁶⁵ *Dion. Hal.* gives us a memorable Instance, much about this time, of the *Roman* Severity, against those who debauched Youth. *Caius Lætorius Mergus*, a Man as much distinguished by his Birth, as Valour, was a *Legionary Tribune*, in the last War *Rome* had with the *Samnites*; and then conceived an infamous Passion for a young Man of great Beauty, who served in the *Legions*, as a common Soldier. The brutish *Tribune* first made use of Caresses and Artifices to ensnare his Innocence; but nothing could move the young Soldier. He rejected the infamous Solicitations of this execrable Debauchee, with a Courage, which was Proof against all Temptations; and then *Lætorius*, confounded, and enraged, at his Refusal, made use of Violence. The News of this wicked Attempt was soon spread through the Army; and *Rome* trembled at the Recital of so monstrous a Crime. The *Tribunes of the People* did not delay executing Vengeance on this Violator of the Laws of Chastity; but cited the Wretch to appear at the Tribunal of the *Cemities* by *Centuries*; which inflicted on the guilty *Lætorius*, the Punishment he deserved. The People pronounced Sentence of Death upon him.

⁶⁶ Some had falsely pretended, as we have already observed, that the City of *Adria* gave Name to the *Adriatick* Sea. We can now scarce find any Footsteps of this City, which is nothing but a miserable Retreat for Fishermen. It stands in the *Polesin de Rovigo*, on a little Island formed by the River *Tartaro*. *Atri*, now *Atri*, still retains the Name of a Bishoprick, tho' the See has been transferred to *Rovigo*. *Volomy* mentions a City of the same Name, in the *Marquisate of Ancona*.

⁶⁷ *Polybius* and *Livy* speak of this City, under the name of *Castrum Novum*. It belonged to *Picenum*. We have only some Ruins of it remaining near *Flanico*, in *The Further Abruzzo*, not far from the Mouth of the *Trontino*.

⁶⁸ The City formerly called *Sena Gallica*, and sometimes *Seno Gallia*, still retains the same Name, with some little Alteration in it, and is called *Sene-gaglia*, or *Sinigaglia*. It was founded by the *Senones*, (a People who came originally from *Transalpine Gaul*) when they came into *Italy*, with *Brennus*. *Silius Italicus* ascribes its Origin to them, in his 15th Book.

.....*Qua Sena relictum
Gallorum a populis traxit per sæcula nomen.*

This City stood in a Canton of *Umbria*, which is now a Part of *The Marquisate of Ancona*; and is still subsisting, near the River *Nigola*, which makes a pretty deep, but a very narrow Port, on the Sea-shore, four Miles from the River *Cesano*.

⁶⁹ This River, which is called by antient Authors, *Sena*, or *Seno*, is the same which now waters *The Dutchy of Urbino*, and is called *The Cesano*.

⁷⁰ The *Triumviri Capitaes* had not indeed Power to put a *Roman Citizen* to death; but they had this Power over the Slaves which lived in *Rome*. The Republick granted them an absolute Authority over the latter, and full Right to punish them in any manner for their Crimes. This appears from *Valerius Maximus*, who says, *B. 5.* that *Alexander*, one of *Fannius's* Slaves, was condemned to be crucified, by *Lucius Calpurnius* the *Triumvir*. *Festus* quotes a Law, which obliged the Parties who had a Cause depending before the *Triumviri*, to deposit, each a Sum of Money, in the Hands of the *Pontifex Maximus*. He who gained his Cause, withdrew his *Depositum*; his Adversary's was put into the publick Treasury, and was generally applied to defray the Expences of the Sacrifices which were offered, in the Name of the People. And from hence comes the Name of *Sacramentum*, which the Ancients gave to this Sum of Money. *Varro* mentions this Law. *de Ling. Lat. B. 4;* and *Tully*, in his first Book *de Oratore*.

5 E

Capitales;

Year of R O M E CCCCLXIV. M. VALERIUS CORVINUS, Q. CÆDICIVS NOCTUA, Consuls.

Capitales; not because they had a Right to punish capitally, but because the Care of the Prisons, in which *the chief* or greatest Criminals were kept, was committed to them, and they had the Direction of their Execution. Each of these *Triumviri*, had eight *Lictors* under him, who beheaded Criminals. Their Institution was ancient; we find some Footsteps of it in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*; but then these Judges were only two in Number, were called *Duumviri*, and there lay an Appeal from them to the People. Whereas there lay no Appeal from the Sentence of the three now created. But the People did not grant them the Power of Life and Death, [over *Citizens*] the chief Prerogative of Sovereign Authority; and they ordered, that these Magistrates should be annually chosen, in the *Comitia by Tribes*.

THE time of a general Peace, was also thought a proper Season to take a *Census* of the *Roman People*, and close it with a *Lustrum*. This was the thirty first since the Institution of the Ceremony. It is difficult to discover, who were the *Censors* that had the Direction of it; for the Historians have only told us, that in this last Enumeration of the *Roman Citizens* who were fit to bear Arms, they amounted to two hundred and seventy three thousand. A prodigious Number, if we consider what Losses the *Romans* had suffered by the Plague, and in Battels, and what *Colonies* they had planted!

THE Fruit of this new Peace Abroad, was Trouble and Dissention at Home. The *Romans* had found by long Experience, that as soon as they were freed from a War, which had employed them, Idleness raised Tumults and Divisions among them; and now, the first Sparks of the like Disturbances broke out, in the *Consulship* of *Valerius* and *Cædicivus*. The People, oppressed by the Usuries of the rich Citizens, revived a Quarrel, which had been begun near two hundred Years ago. They made their *Tribunes* their Speakers, and by them demanded, That the Abuses introduced in the Contracts, whereby Creditors exacted Interest for Money lent, should be reformed; and these Murmurs, which were yet but weak, grew stronger under the succeeding *Consuls*.

Year of R O M E CCCCLXV. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS, P. CORNELIVS ARVINA, Consuls.

S. XXIII. Q. *Marcivus* ⁷¹ *Tremulus*, and P. *Cornelivus Arvina*, who were both promoted to the *Consulship* a second time, found the People more exasperated than ever, by the Avarice of the Creditors, and their Cruelty to their Debtors, whom they kept in Irons; and a new Accident strengthened the Complaints of the Commons, and pushed them on to Extremities. T. *Veturius*, the unfortunate *Consul* for the Year of *Rome* 432, who had suffered himself to be surprized in *The Caudian Forks*, and who was forced to surrender himself up to the *Samnites*, by way of Reparation for the Disgrace of a shameful Treaty, was just dead, insolvent. He had left behind him a Son, whom he had educated with Care, and formed to Virtue. Young *Veturius*, then in the Flower of his Age, was a Youth of great Modesty, as well as Beauty; but to his great Misfortune, one C. *Plotius*, an infamous Debauchee, who disgraces the History of his Country with the second Instance of the most shameful Vice, was his Father's chief Creditor.

PLOTIVS had also lent the young Orphan a pretty considerable Sum, which he had spent in his Father's Funeral; and his Piety cost him dear. *Veturius* the Father was dead, exceeding poor; and the Son, being pressed to pay *Plotius*, both his old Family-Debts, and what he himself had borrowed of him, for his Father's Obsequies, was forced, for want of Money and Credit, to submit to be his Creditor's Slave, and work for him, till he had discharged the whole Debt. He bore his Servitude with Constancy, and strictly did *Plotius* whatever Service, he could, consistently with Honour and Virtue, pay him. He refused nothing, till he came to be solicited to gratify a brutal Passion, which his Master had conceived for him. But then, *Veturius* remembered his Birth, and the Lessons he had been taught in his earliest Infancy. And his Constancy was immovable; tho' his Master treated him in the basest Manner for his Resistance. One Day, when he had been whipped till he was covered all over with Blood, he escaped out of the Place of his Slavery, and appeared in the *Forum*. There, mounted upon a sort of *Tribune*, he shewed the *Romans* the Marks of a barbarous Creditor's Cruelty, and discovered the infamous Brutality of his Tyrant. Then the People took hold of this Opportunity, to decry the Usurers, and abolish the Law which permitted them to reduce those of their Debtors to Slavery, who were not in a Condition to pay them. It had formerly been annulled, once before, on a like

⁷¹ The two *Consuls* for this Year 465, had been Collegues before, when they were first promoted to the *Consulship*.

Occasion; but the *Patricians* had, by their Authority, revived it. The *Tribunes of the People* accused the execrable *Plotius*, before the assembled *Centuries*, and got him condemned to die. It is not indeed said, that the Law was then abolished; but we are assured, that all those who languished in Slavery for their Debts, were delivered from their Chains, and set at Liberty.

§. XXIV. NOR were the *Plebeians* content with this first Victory over the rich *Patricians*. It had hitherto been the Fate of *Rome*, to have her greatest Revolutions owe their Rise to a Love of Chastity: And now, the Vengeance the *Romans* executed for a wicked Attempt against common Modesty, strengthened them in that Freedom, in which it had already more than once established them. The Pretensions of the People increased the next Year, in the *Consulship* of *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Nautius Rutilus*; and then the Seditions begun two Years before, were carried to Extremities. The enraged People no longer kept within Bounds. Their *Tribunes* demanded the Abolition of the Law which gave Creditors a kind of despotick Power over their insolvent Debtors; and the Rich, on their Parts, opposed it. *This is robbing us*, said the latter, *of our Security for what we have lent; Debts must be paid*, (quoting the old Proverb,) *either in Body or Goods*.

THE Contentions daily grew more sharp on both Sides; and the People finding that no end was put to them, had recourse to an Expedient, which they had always found effectual, whenever they wanted to free themselves from Oppression. They left the City, separated themselves from the *Patricians*, and leaving the *Tyber* to part them, and their Persecutors, posted themselves on the *Janiculus*. And this Separation had the same Effect on the Magistrates, as the former ones. By this Removal of the Populace, the City was left destitute of any Assistance. No more Artificers, no more Mercenaries, no more Provisions from the Country; for we shall soon see, that the Villagers had also their Complaints to make, and a Reformation to demand. In order therefore to remedy the present Evils, the *Patricians*, and rich Citizens, who continued in the City, thought it necessary, that the *Consuls* should nominate a *Dictator*; and *Q. Hortensius* appearing to stand possessed of all those Talents, which were necessary for him, who was to appease this revolted Multitude, he was promoted to the *Dictatorship*. Who his Master of the Horse was, is not known. *Hortensius* immediately entered into a Treaty with the separated Citizens; heard their Complaints and Demands with Condescension and Temper; and by those Laws of his which yet remain, and which we have collected from several Authors, we may guess, what the Proposals of the Mutineers were, and what Concessions the *Dictator* made to them. In the Year of *Rome* 414, the People had complained, that the *Patricians* thought themselves exempt from the Laws made in the Assemblies of the *Curie* or *Tribes*. *Since the People*, said the *Patricians*, *make Edicts, let them obey them themselves. As for us, we acknowledge no Laws, but those of the Senate*. And it was then declared, That the Laws made by the People, should be observed by the *Patricians*, as well as *Plebeians*. But notwithstanding this Regulation, the Nobility had still continued to despise the Ordinances of the People, and refused to pay Obedience to them; and the Revival of the Complaints of the Commons, on so important an Article, caused the neglected Law to be now renewed. *Hortensius* declared, that for the future, whatever Decrees were made in the *Comitia Tribes*, should be equally observed, both by the Nobility and the People. And it is probable, that better Measures were now taken than formerly, to prevent the Infractions of this Law. Another Law *Hortensius* made, was in Favour of the Country-people. They complained, That Justice was not administered at *Rome*, on Market-days; and That when any Causes were depending, they were forced to leave their Work, and come to the City to have them determined: and it was granted them, That the Market-Days should no longer be Vacation-Days, for the Judges; That so they might have their Causes heard, before they returned home. And the *Tribune Mænius*, who supported the Interests of the People in these troublesome Times, obtained also another Law, which was of more Importance to the Commons, than both the former. At *Romulus's* Time, the Edicts of the People were not allowed to be of any Force, unless confirmed by the Senate. So that all the Laws made in the *Comitia*, were subject to the Examination of The *Conscrip*t Fathers, who disannulled them, at pleasure. This gave the *Patricians* a great Superiority over the Commons; and the *Tribune Mænius* undertook to reform this Part of the old Law, and get it abrogated, as a Condition for the Return of the Separatists. By the *Mænian Law*, which was accepted by the

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLV.
Q. MARCIUS
TREMULUS,
P. CORNELIUS
ARVINA, Con-
suls.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLVI.
M. CLAUDIUS
MARCELLUS,
C. NAUTIUS
RUTILUS,
Consuls.
*Aut in Ære,
aut in cute.*

*Flor. in Epit.
11. & Aug. de
Civ. Dei. B. 3.
c. 18.*

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXLVI.
Q. HORTEN-
SIUS, Dictator.

Liv. B. 8. c. 12.

*Plin. B. 16. c.
10. & Aul. Gel.
B. 15. c. 27.*

*Macrob. Sat. 1.
c. 16.*

*Varro apud
Nonnum.*

Year of Senators, they gave up their Right of approving of the Elections and Regulations made in the *Comitia* of the People. The Order was changed; and for the future, the People should enact in their Assemblies.

Q. HORTENSIVS, Dictator.
Cicero in Orat.
pro Plancio.
CCCCLXVI.

Q. FABIVS
MAX. RULLIANVS, Dictator.

Fragmentum
Fast. Capit.

Auth. de Vir.
Illust.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLXVII.
M. VALERIUS
POTITVS, C.
ÆLIUS PÆ-
TUS, Consuls.

ALL these Articles of Pacification were drawn up in *Hortensius's Dictatorship*; and the People's Minds began to be calm. But in the mean time, a Misfortune happened, which had never befallen the Republick before; *Hortensius* died before his *Dictatorship* expired. And this made it necessary to nominate another *Dictator* to finish *Hortensius's* Work, with as much Expedition as he had begun it. So that the *Consuls* cast their Eyes on the illustrious *Q. Fabius Rullianus*, who in an extreme old Age, was yet *President of the Senate*, and his Strength of Mind was not at all abated. He chose a famous *Plebeian*, named *Volumnius Flamma*, for his General of Horse; and the Interposition of these two great Men, could not but be very agreeable to the Separatists. The one was much respected for his Birth, his Merit, and his Offices; he being now *Dictator* a third time. The other was beloved by the Commons, on account of his being a *Plebeian* who had been twice honoured with the *Consulship*. And both together brought the People to their Duty. The Separation was at an end; and the People returned to the City, well satisfied, with having completed the great Work of establishing their Dominion to which they had long aspired, and which they had not obtained, but gradually and slowly. This is the last time the great *Fabius* appeared on the Stage. He probably did not live long after this new Acquisition of Glory. In his Life-time his Country looked on him, as a Prodigy of Valour, Wisdom, and Roman Virtue; and as soon as he was dead, the People were very earnest to contribute to the Expence of his Obsequies. The Money, which was lavishly bestowed on his Son, amounted to so very great a Sum, that he made a publick Feast, and treated the whole City with the Victims, which he offered up, at his Father's Funeral.

§. XXV. SOME Moderns suppose, that the Republick chose new *Consuls* during the Separation; but this is a Paradox not to be maintained. How could the *Centuries* be assembled in the *Campus Martius*, in a time of Trouble and Division. It is more probable, that after the Reconciliation, the *Dictator Fabius*, who was yet living, presided in an Assembly, wherein the usual Elections were made. *M. Valerius Potitus*, and *C. Ælius Pætus*, were raised to the *Consulship* by it; and tho' their Year did not abound in great Events, the Republick was never happier than under their Administration. The People, now arrived at the Height of their Desires, were wholly intent on tasting the Sweets of an honourable Tranquillity. The Ballance now inclined to their Side; and they may be said to have obtained more, than that exact Equality of Power with the Nobles, after which they had thirsted, and for which they had so long struggled. The Nobility had now no other Advantage over the Commons, but that of great Riches acquired at a time, when their Power was at the Height; and the Respect which naturally attends Persons of high Birth. In short, the *Plebeians* had a greater Share of the Government in their Hands, than the *Patricians*. And therefore the Peace of the City being no more interrupted, till *Gracchus* raised Tempers in the State, long after this time; we shall see the Republick continue in almost perpetual Calm at home, and infinitely increase her Dominions abroad, by her Conquests. So true is it, that the Union of a warlike and unquiet People, is the principal Cause of their Prosperity and Grandeur.

T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXI.

§. I. **R**OME was now in a perfect Tranquillity, and in a flourishing Condition. Her Conquests in *Italy* were enlarged, even beyond the Hopes of the Conquerors themselves. The Dominion of the *Romans* had extended itself by Degrees on the other side of the *Tyber*, from the ¹ *Adriatick* to the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. The *Latins*, *Sabines*, *Hernici*, *Æqui*, *Marsi*, and *Campani*, were brought into Subjection to them. The *Volsci*, who were formerly so fierce and haughty, were utterly destroyed. The Terror of the *Roman* Arms reached to the *Apulians*, and kept them in Awe. A part of *Lucania* on one hand; and on the other the *Um-*

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLXVIII.
C. CLAUDIUS
CANINA,
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS,
Consuls.

¹ The *Adriatick* Sea, now the *Gulph of Venice*, took its Name from the anient City of *Adria*, which was formerly one of the most considerable Cities, in this Canton of *Gallia Cisalpina* and *Transpadana*, which is at present the *Polesin de Rovigo*, and is under the Dominion of the Republick of *Venice*. It is now a miserable Village, inhabited only by Fishermen, on the Banks of the *Tartaro*, formerly the *Adria*, or *Adrianus Amnis*, from the Name of the City it watered; as *Ptolomy* and the *Abridger of Stephens* observe. The *Adriatick* Sea is about 190 Leagues in length, from the *Gulph of Trieste*, or *Aquilia* (*Tregestanus Sinus*) to its Mouth, where the *Ionian* Sea begins, between the Coasts of *Dalmatia* to the North, and those of *Italy* to the South.

² The *Tyrrhenians*, who formerly inhabited *Hetruria*, gave their Name to this Sea, which washes the South Coasts of *Italy*. It is of little Importance to know, whether the *Tyrrhenians* were originally Natives of *Italy*, or a *Lydian* Colony, who, forced by want to leave their native Country, came into *Hetruria*, with *Tyrrhenus* the Brother of *Lydus*. For what have not ancient Authors said, who, prepossessed with numberless false Traditions, have dived into the fabulous Ages, to discover the Origin of Nations? Some pretend, that *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus* finding their Patrimony too strait for them, resolved to separate, and empty their little State, which had not been able to subsist their Subjects, in a barren Year. They drew Lots which should leave his Country and seek for new Habitations, and it fell upon *Tyrrhenus*. He therefore embarked with a great Number of *Lydians*, and landed on the western Coasts of *Italy*, which were then possessed by the *Umbri*. He drove out these ancient Possessors; founded Cities; extended his Dominion along the Coasts of the South *Italian*, and made his Name immortal in the Province, of which that Country consisted; which from the Name of these new Conquerors, was called *Tyrrhenia*, afterwards *Hetruria*, from one of their Princes, named *Etruscus*; then *Tuscia*; and now *Tuscany*; thence the Name of *Tyrrhenians* and *Tyrans*. The ancient *Roman* Historians say the former Appellation was taken from the *Greek* Word

θύω, which signifies, *to sacrifice*; because these People were thought to be best instructed in the Ceremonies of Religion, and to understand its Mysteries most perfectly. Whilst others, and above all, *Dion. Hal.* insist that the *Tyrrhenians* were Natives of *Italy*. These contend, in Opposition to the former, that this Nation was so far from being foreign with Respect to *Hetruria*, that its Language, Manners, and Laws (which had no Conformity to those of the *Greeks*) if at all considered, disproved that *Greek* Descent, which was given it, without any Foundation. It is not indeed surprising, says *Dion. Hal.* that different Colonies of the same People, when dispersed and transplanted into different Regions, should, after a long Course of Years, forget their Mother-tongue, and their ancient Customs: But is it credible, that a whole Nation, long united together in the same Canton, should entirely lose all Marks of its Origin, so as not to retain the least Footstep of it? But the Misfortune is, that *Dion. Hal.* seems to contradict himself. He here says, that he thought their Opinion the truest and most rational, who believed the *Tyrrhenians* were originally *Italians*. But a little before, he had been forced to acknowledge, that in *Fescennia* and *Falerii*, two *Hetrurian* Cities, there were in his Time some visible Footsteps of the *Greek* Customs and Antiquities, which had there been transmitted down from Father to Son. See above, B. 15. p. 104. of this Volume, where we point out the Origin of the *Falisci*. Nevertheless, *Dion. Hal.* declares himself to be of their Opinion, who thought the *Tyrrhenians* originally of *Hetruria*; and upon this Supposition, he thinks, with several others whom he quotes, that their Name was taken from the Walls and Towers with which they first encompassed their Cities, to guard them from the Insults of their Neighbours. They, as well as the *Greeks*, called Fortresses, or Places surrounded with Walls, and flanked with Towers, *τύρραι*; whence, according to him, came the Name of *Tyrrhenia*. And lastly, several Historians think that the Colony, which was conducted by *Tyrrhenus*, was a part of the same Nation, as the *Pelasgi*; who being driven out of *Thessaly*, by the *Curetes* and *Leleges*, or the *Ætolians* and *Locri*, embarked on the *Ionian* Sea, and

Year of *R O M E* CCCCLXVIII.
 C. CLAUDIUS CANINA,
 M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS
 Consuls.
Cassiodorus, Tabulæ Græcæ, & Cuspinian.

bri, and Inhabitants of *Picenum*, quite up to the Frontiers of the 3 *Senones*, were all obedient to the Republick: At least, they were awed, and kept within their Bounds, either by the great Number of *Roman Colonies*, near them; or by their late Experience, that the *Romans* were able to punish their Aggressors. On the other side of the *Tyber*, one part of *Hetruria* was become subject to the *Romans*, and the other, which was at the greatest Distance from *Rome*, enjoyed the Truce, which had been granted it. *Samnium* was in all Appearance entirely quieted; *Curius Dentatus* seemed to have given it the finishing Stroke. As for the *Gauls*, both the *Senones* and *Boii*, their nearest Colonies to *Rome*, now lived in Peace with the Republick; but were always ready to hearken to the Suggestions of those, who desired to engage them to take Arms against her. This was the State of *Rome*, when 4 *C. Claudius*, surnamed *Canina*, and *M. Æmilius*, surnamed *Lepidus*, entered upon the Consulship. They had never been promoted to this Office before; (the Republick, in these Times of Tranquillity, being little anxious about placing experienced Men at the Helm of Affairs.) Neither was their Administration made memorable, by any considerable Event.

Year of *R O M E* CCCCLXIX.
 C. SERVILIUS TUCCA, L. CECILIUS METELLUS,
 Consuls.

§. II. FROM them the *Fasces* were transmitted to *C. 5 Claudius Servilius Tucca*, and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*. *Rome* was then in perfect Peace; but some Seeds of War were already sown, by an artful People, who were jealous of the Prosperity of the *Romans*. The *Tarentini* had many Reasons to believe, that *Rome* aimed at the Conquest of all *Italy*; and since they will appear to be the chief Authors of one of the most formidable Wars the *Romans* ever had to sustain, it is highly proper to give the Character of this People. *Tarentum* was a City of *Great Greece*, which comprehended that vast Tract of Ground, which runs along the South Coast of *Italy*. Almost all the Cities, in this great Province, had been founded by *Greeks*, who brought thither with them, the *Grecian* Language, Customs and Manners. The *Tarentini*, in particular, were thought a Colony of *Spartians*, who settled on the Continent of *Italy*, at one end of a Bay of the *Ionian* Sea. The City, of which they made themselves Masters, was at first called 6 *Oebalia*: But this new Swarm of *Greeks*, conducted by one

and landed at one of the Mouths of the *Po*, then called *Spineticum*. After this, say they, these New-comers, mixed with the *Aborigines*, who had joined them; dispersed themselves all over *Umbria* and *Hetruria*; drove out the *Umbri* and *Siculi*; seized their Towns, and settled there. But be that as it will (for who can ascertain Facts, which are as it were buried in the Obscurity of the first Ages) it is certain, that *Hetruria* was long the Seat of Politeness, Religion, and the liberal Arts, in *Italy*. The Ancients boast much of the Fruitfulness of its Soil, the Sweetness of its Climate, and the Power, Riches, and Magnificence, of its Inhabitants. But *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 9. and *Athenæus* B. 12. say, the *Hetrurians* afterwards degenerated from the Virtue of their Ancestors, and debased themselves by their Effeminacy and Incontinence.

3 We have already spoken of the Origin and Situation of these several Nations of *Italy*.

4 *Cassiodorus* in his *Chronicon*, the *Greek Tables*, and *Cuspinian* in his *Fasti*, all agree in the Surnames given to *Caius Claudius*, and *Marcus Æmilius*, who now entered upon the Consulship, the first time. *Pighius* supposes that this *Claudius*, was the same Man, who triumphed over the *Lucani*, *Samnites*, and *Bruttii*, in the Year of *Rome* 480.

5 The *Greek Tables* have transmitted to us, *Servilius's* Surname. In some Copies of *Cassiodorus*, the other Consul for this Year, is called *Lucius Cælius*, instead of *Lucius Cæcilius*. But this is a manifest Mistake, since none of the *Cælian* Family, were promoted to the Consulship, till long after this; as appears by *Tully's Oration for Murena*. The *Cæcilian* Family was, according to *Festus*, thought to be descended from one of *Æneas's* Companions, whom he calls *Cæcades*. *Alii appellatus eos* (*Cæcilius*) *dicant a Cæcade Trojano, Æneæ Comite*. Some make the *Cæcili*, to have descended in a right Line, from one *Cæculus*, who is said to have founded the City of *Præneste*. *Cæculus condidit*

Præneste, unde putant Cæcilios ortos, quorum erat nobilis familia apud Romanos. Virgil speaks of this Cæculus, Æneid 7, in these Words,

*Nec Prænestina fundator defuit Urbis
 Vulcano genitum pecora inter Agrestia Regem,
 Juventumque focus, omnis quem credidit Astæ.*

Velleius, B. 2. says, that the *Cæcili*, tho' *Plebeians* were a very considerable Family in *Rome*. *Cæciliae familiae notanda Claritudo est*. Nevertheless the Surname of *Metellus*, which one Branch of this Family affected, is scarce reconcileable with those noble Titles which the Historians bestow upon it. The Black-guard Servants, and Sutlers, attending an Army, were called *Metelli*, says *Festus* in another Place; and it is from this sort of People, that the *Cæcilian* Family is supposed to have borrowed the Surname of *Metellus*. *Metelli dicuntur in militari, quasi Mercenarii. Astius Annalium vicesimo septimo, Calones, Famulique, Metellicæ Calæque, a quo genere hominum Cæciliae familie cognomen putatur ductum*. So true is it, that among the *Romans*, the Glory and Dishonour of Families was perpetuated by their Surnames. But the Rich and the Great, found mercenary Genealogists among the *Romans*, as they now do among us, who were very ready to invent Titles of Honour for them, where was Occasion, and magnified the Glory of their Families by fictitious and fabulous Pedigrees. And where a long Roll of illustrious Ancestors were wanting, their Vanity taught them, to go the shorter Way to work, and have immediate recourse to Gods, and imaginary Heroes. *Italy* and *Greece* abounded much with these Impostors, who were employed at the Service of the best bidder.

6 *Virgil*, *Claudian*, and *Silius* speak of the Territory of *Tarentum*, under the Name of *Oebalia*; it was so called in common with *Laconia*, from whence the *Tarentini* originally came. It is well known, that the *Lacedæmonians*, reckoned *Oebalia*

one *Phalantus*, greatly multiplied the Number of its Inhabitants; and after they had fortified their new Conquest, they changed its Name, and called it *Tarentum*: Doubtless, from the Name of *Taras*, or *Tarentus*, its first Founder. These transplanted *Lacedæmonians* soon forgot the severe Discipline of *Lacedæmon*, or *Sparta* (two Names for the same City) and plunged themselves into all the Debaucheries, with which the rest of the *Greeks* were reproached. The Heat of the Climate, the Fruitfulness of the Country, and their Opportunities of easily supplying themselves by Sea, with all the Delights of *Greece*, sunk the *Tarentini* into Idleness, and all the Vices,

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CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
Consuls.



Silver.



Gold.



Silver.



to have been one of their first Kings: But nevertheless, the *Tarentini*, as we have observed, B. 16. p. 155. of this Volume, Note 30. carried up their Pedigree as high as to one *Taras*, the Son of *Neptune*, who was saved in a Shipwreck, and brought to the Coast of *Tarentum*, by a Dolphin. And some of the Ancients, make *Tarentus* the Son of *Taras* and *Saturia*, to have been the Founder of this City; and ascribe the Adventure of the Dolphin to him, as *Pausanias* does to *Phalanthus* who restored *Tarentum*. But be that as it will, the Tradition of this supposed Fact was conveyed down to Posterity, by the Medals of this City; and *Julius Pollux*, B. 9. c. 6. agrees with the Medals, in this particular. *Aristotle*, says he, speaking of the Republick of *Tarentum*, tells us, that the *Tarentini* engraved the Figure of *Taras* sitting upon a Dolphin, on their Medals. They preserved the Memory of him, by a Monument they kept themselves, and by another they sent to the Temple of *Delphos*. *Taras* was, according to *Justin*, B. 3. so much revered in this Country, that the People paid him divine Honours. The Owl, consecrated to *Minerva*, the Trident, the pretended Sceptre of *Neptune*, and *Hercules's* Combat with the *Nemean* Lion, which we find represented on their Medals, shew the Worship the *Tarentini* paid to these three Divinities. *Horace* gives *Neptune* the Title of *Protector of Tarentum*, *Arm. Lib. 1. Od. 28. Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti*. The famous *Colossus of Hercules*, which was the great Ornament of this City, was one of the finest Monuments of the Devotions the *Tarentini* paid this *Grecian* Hero, from whom they supposed *Phalanthus* their second Founder to have been descended, in a right Line. This was the Master-piece of the famous *Lysippus*, which was removed to the *Capitol* at *Rome*, after the Reduction of *Tarentum*, as will appear in the Sequel of this History. In this Sense we are to understand this Line of *Virgil, Æneid 3.*

*Hinc sinus Herculei, si vera est fama, Tarenti
Cernitur*—

It is probable, that *Phalanthus*, who said he was descended from the *Heraclidae*, brought the Worship of *Hercules*, from *Greece* to *Tarentum*.

7 The Ancients all speak of *Tarentum*, as a City utterly void of all Modesty, and given up to all sorts of Debauchery. But the single Story, *Athenæus* relates, B. 12. exceeds all that they have said of it. The *Tarentini*, says he, after they had made themselves Masters of *Carbina*, a City of *Iapygia*, assembled together the Women and Children of the *Carbinates*, of both Sexes, in the Temples of *Carbina*, stripped them naked, and in this ignominious Condition, delivered them up to the Lust of the Soldiers. Those who partook in these monstrous Crimes at *Carbina*, were struck dead with Lightning; and in Memory of this exemplary Punishment, the Magistrates of *Tarentum*, ordered, That Pillars should be set up before the Houses of each of these Profligates, with the Names of those who had been killed with the Fire from Heaven: That all Funeral Honours should be denied them; and That in order to expiate their Crimes, a Sacrifice should be offered to *Jupiter Catabates*, which is the Name the *Greeks* give, to *Jupiter the Thunderer*. The Effeminacy of the *Tarentini* was so notorious, and so infamous, that it became proverbial. Hence these Expressions of *Horace. Molle Tarentum, Imbellè Tarentum, and Petulans Tarentum*. The Women of *Tarentum* especially gloried in throwing off all Regards, to the distinguishing Virtue, of their Sex, Modesty. They were not ashamed to appear in a sort of Habits, called by *Eustathius, Com. in Dion Afric, Tarentinidion*, which were made of Stuff which was exceeding thin and transparent.

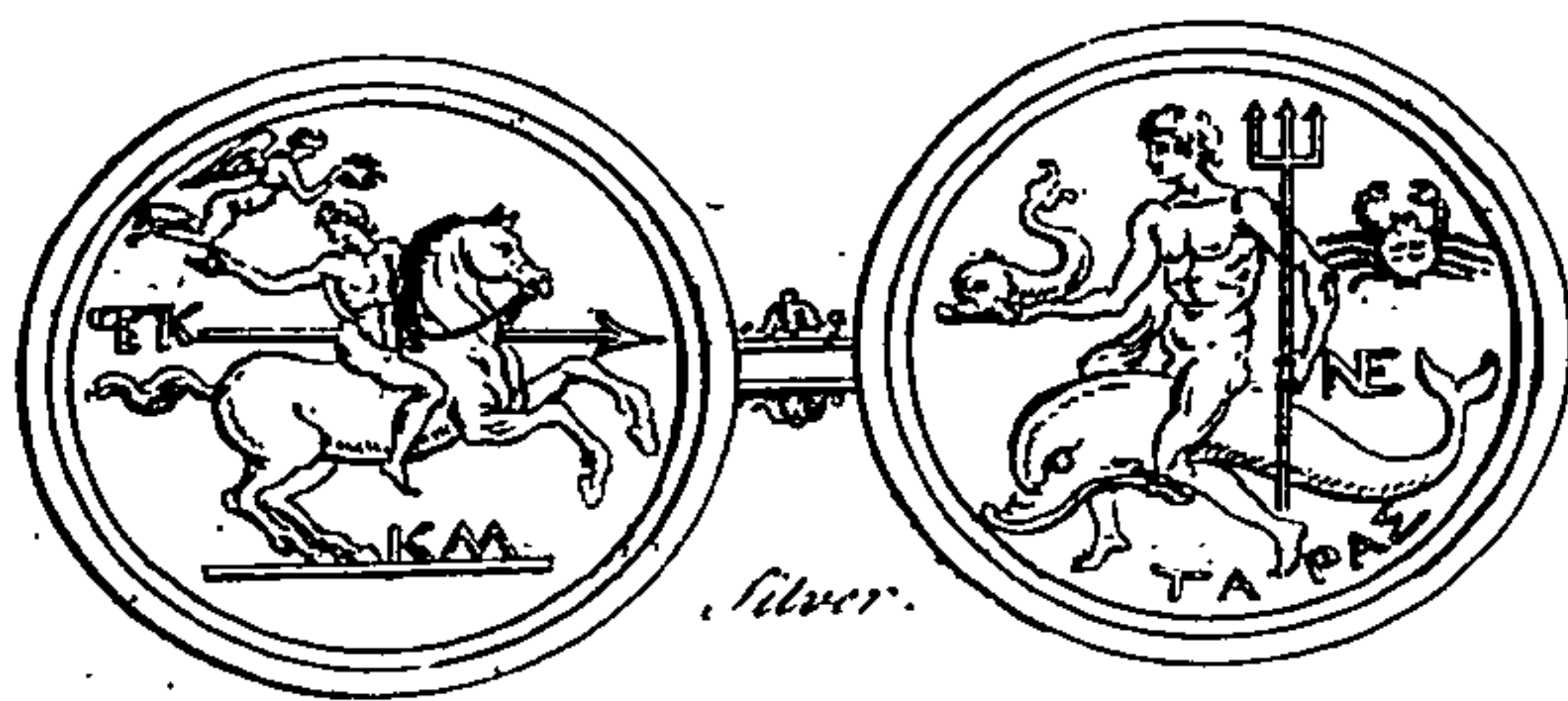
8 The *Cornucopia*, on one of the Medals above imports the Riches of *Tarentum*; the Bunch of Grapes, on the other, points out the excellent Vineyards

Year of **R O M E** Vices, that attend it. The Entertainments ⁹ of the *Circus* and Theatre were no longer Relaxations to them after Labour and Fatigue, but their daily Business. They had almost as many publick Feasts in a Year, as there were Days in it. Buffoons and Prostitutes were admitted to a Share in the most important Deliberations of the State; which they often determined as they pleased, by a Joke, or some indecent Action. The same Acts of Intemperance were repeated Day after Day; one Feast soon drew on another; and the whole Lives of the *Tarentini*, were in a manner, one continued Fit of Drunkenness. Indeed there sometimes arose up among them at Intervals, Men ¹⁰ wise enough to pursue their Pleasures with Moderation; but Sobriety and Continence were as rare among them, as Gluttony and Debauchery, at *Rome*: So that the *Tarentini* dreaded the Dominion of the *Romans*, not only for fear of losing their Liberty, of which all Nations are jealous, but also for fear of being disturbed in their Pleasures. And they therefore made it their Business, to find the *Romans* enough to do, and draw so great a Number of Enemies upon them, as still to keep them at a Distance from themselves. To this end, they put all their *Grecian* Subtlety in practise, and stirred up both old and new Enemies against the Republick, without appearing to be concerned. In the Year 469, or perhaps a little before, the *Romans* discovered some Commotions among the ¹¹ *Volturnenses* and *Lucani*; but all that the Historians tell us of these two Wars is, that *Rome* quieted those Nations. This was also the very time, when the *Senones* indirectly declared against the Republick. They raised Troops, in order to march into *Hetruria*, and besiege ¹² *Aretium*, a City,

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METELLVS,
Consuls.

Zonar. B. 8.

Florus in Epi-
tome 11.



yards which this Country produced, near Mount *Aulon*; which *Horace* commends for producing good Wine, L. 2. *Carm. Ode* 6.

*Et Amicus Aulon
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
Incidet Uvis.*

And the Wool of *Tarentum*, which was so much boasted of, for its Fineness, is perhaps represented by the Distaff, on the same Medal. But what contributed most to the Plenty and Luxury of *Tarentum*, was its convenient Port; which *Strabo*, *Geog. B. 6.* says, was a hundred *Stadia*, or 12500 Paces in Circumference; that is, above four common *French* Leagues, at the Rate of 3 Miles to a League. The Mouth of this Port is now so filled up, that only small Boats can get into it. To which we shall here add, by the by, that the Insects called *Tarentula*, whose Sting produces very extraordinary Effects, in the Persons they wound, and is only to be cured by Musick, took their Name from that of the City of *Tarentum*. See *George Bagliui*, an Anatomy Professor's Dissertation on these Insects, which was printed at *Rome* in 1696. *Father Kircher*, as *Mathiolus*, *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and *Sanguerdus* in his Treatise upon the *Tarentula*, say strange things of them.

⁹ *Strabo* tells us, *B. 6.* that there was a stately *Gymnasium*, or publick Building, set apart for Races and Wrestling, at *Tarentum*. The *Tarentini* were much used to Tilting, Riding, and Horseracing. Before their Effeminacy and Debauchery enervated their Courage, they early instructed their Youth, in the Art of Fighting on Horseback. Inasmuch, that *Enstathius*, in his *Commentary on Dionysius Africanus*, says nothing was finer than their Horsemen; and from hence, says he, came the

Greek Word *Ταρρηνίζω*, which signifies, to conduct or order a well-disciplined Army of Horse: And from hence it is that we find the Figure of an Horseman on most of the Medals of the *Tarentini*, like that which is crowned by a Victory, on the Medal above. *Pausanias* tells us, that in the first Ages, the *Tarentini* subdued the neighbouring Countries, gained great Victories over the *Messapians*, and by way of Thanksgiving for them, sent brass Statues of Captive-women, and Horses, to the Temple of *Delphos*. There was a large Square at *Tarentum*, even in *Strabo's* time; and its chief Ornament was its *Colossus* of *Jupiter*, which was as big as that of *Rhodes*.

¹⁰ The famous Geometrician, *Archytas*, a *Pythagorean*, was born at *Tarentum*. He flourished about the Year of *Rome* 346. and was promoted to the chief Magistracy in the City, seven times; though no one before him had ever enjoyed it above one Year.

¹¹ The *Volturnenses* were the Inhabitants of *Volturni*, one of the most considerable Cities, in all the twelve *Hetrurian* *Lucumonies*. *Pliny* says, *B. 2. c. 52.* that it was entirely consumed by Fire from Heaven. See *B. 13. p. 10.* of this Volume, *Note 51.*

¹² *Aretium*, a City of *Tuscany*, or old *Hetruria*, now *Arezzo*, stood between *Perusium* and *Florence*, near the *Appennines*, and the *Arno*, or *Arno*, a 1000 *Stadia* from *Rome*, according to the *Abridger of Stephens*, i. e. 125000 geometrical Paces, which make above forty Leagues, at the Rate of three Miles a League. *Pliny B. 3. c. 5.* mentions three Cities of this Name. The Inhabitants of the first which is here spoken of he calls *Aretini Veteres*, and those of the second and third, *Aretini Julenses*, and *Aretini Fidentes*. There are now no Footsteps remaining of the two latter, nor are the Pla-

a City, which was quietly enjoying the Truce the Romans had granted it. It will appear by their Proceedings, how bold these Gauls were, and how much dreaded, by the Republick. The ¹³ Senones had continued unactive for ten Years; and the Battel they had lost, only (as they flattered themselves) by Decius's Devotement, had kept them within their own District. But now, they resolved to try their Fortune once more, and promised themselves, that Rome would send no more such formidable Generals against them, as had formerly conquered them. They made Preparations to besiege Aretium, with a considerable Force; and the Aretini, in their Fright and Distress, had recourse to the Romans, with whom they had formerly desired an Alliance, though they could obtain only a Truce. They were sure, that the Romans would not suffer the Gauls to oppress them; and knew, that the least Motion of these Enemies, who had formerly made themselves Masters of Rome, and were the only People who had conquered it, gave the Republick an Alarm.

BESIDES, it was the Interest of the Romans not to suffer the Senones to make Conquests in *Hetruria*, and thereby open themselves a Way to Rome: And they were too regardful of their own Interests, and had too much Compassion for the Afflicted, not to grant the Request of the Ambassadors of Aretium, who came to implore their Assistance. They ordered an Army for *Hetruria*, under the Command of a General, whom the Historians only call by his *Prænomen* of Lucius. Was this Lucius Cecilius ¹⁴ the Consul, or some other Officer in the Roman Army? It is most natural to suppose, this Command was given to the Consul. However, the Romans proposed to march against the Gauls, and appear before Aretium; but nevertheless they thought it proper, to endeavour to prevent a Rupture, by a Negotiation. They sent a Deputation to the Senones, to inform them, That the Aretini were under the Protection of Rome: That by virtue of a Truce with the Republick, she was obliged to guard them against the Miseries of a War; and That as the Hetrurians were in Alliance with the Gauls, it was an Injustice in them, to march their Troops into *Hetruria*. But the Embassy only enraged the Senones the more: They even violated the Laws of Nations, and killed the Roman Envoys. The Historians lay all the Blame of this cruel and barbarous Action, on a young Gaul, named Britomaris, who is said to have been descended from the Kings of his Nation. His Age, his violent Temper, the Hatred of his People to the Roman Name, and his Thirst after Revenge for personal Injuries, all conspired to hurry him on to this mad Action. His Father is said to have lost his Life, in a Battel with the Romans; and Britomaris therefore, surprized

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TUCCA, L.
CÆCILIVS
METELLVS,
Consuls.

Polybius B. 2.
c. 19.

Appian. apud.
Fulv. Ursi-
num.

of their Situations known. Perhaps Pliny might mean by these three Names, the three different Colonies, which were sent from Rome to Aretium. It is supposed, that Arrezzo was founded before the Siege of Troy, either by the Umbri, or Pelasgi, or Tyrrhenians; if the latter were indeed different People from the Pelasgi. Tully, in his Oration for Murena, and Frontinus, Lib. de Colonia, tells us, that this City was called a Roman Colony; and Festus make it to have been a Municipium. It at present stands on an Eminence; its territory is watered by the Clanis, or La Chiana, which formed a Marsh near it, but the Great Duke in part dried it up. Livy, Dion. Hal. and Diodorus Siculus, say, that Aretium was the Capital of one of the twelve Hetrurian Lucumonies.

¹³ We have already spoken of the Senones, B. 13. 49. of this Volume, Note 10.

¹⁴ Florus in his Epitome, gives this Lucius Cecilius, who was ordered by the Senate to raise the Siege of Aretium, the Title of Prætor. Nevertheless the Consular Annals agree in reckoning him to be one of the Consuls, for this Year 469. But Florus also places this Event in the next Year, supposing that Lucius Cecilius was made Prætor immediately after he was Consul: And Freinshemius in his Supplement, agrees with Florus. To which he adds, That the Senate had recourse then to the Prætor, Lucius Cecilius, because Cneius Domitius, one of the present Consuls, was engaged in keeping the Lucani in Awe (who had entered into a League with the Samnites, against Rome) whilst his Collegue Publius Cornelius Dolabella was making War with

the Volsinienses in *Hetruria*. But we, without regarding the Accounts of these two Authors, or the order of time they have followed, adhere to the Testimony of the judicious Polybius, whose Authority will always be superior to that of two Abridgers. He says, the Consul Lucius was killed in the Battel. Now Lucius was Cecilius's *Prænomen*. We cannot be mistaken in it, since his Collegue Servilius, and Cornelius and Domitius the Consuls for the Year 470, had other *Prænomena*. The first was called Caius; the second, Publius; and the third, Cneius. Cecilius therefore was not Prætor, when he went to relieve Aretium: And it will at the same time follow, that, upon the Testimony of Polybius, we have Reason to place the Defeat of the Roman Army by the Senones, under the Year of Rome 469, in which Cecilius was Consul. But yet, we cannot but own, that Polybius neither agrees with Livy, nor the *Fasti Capitolini*, in point of Chronology, in the Account he gives of the several Expeditions of the Gauls against Rome, when he speaks of the Siege of Aretium, by the Senones. He says, the Gauls were forced to make Peace, and quit Rome after they had made themselves Masters of it, in order to go and defend their own Country, from an Invasion of the Veneti, who had just entered it Sword in Hand. A remarkable Circumstance mentioned only by Polybius! And from that time to this last Enterprize here mentioned, he reckons but ninety nine Years at most: Whereas it is certain, that from the Year 362, in which Rome was taken, to this Year 469, were almost 108 Years.

Year of the Ambassadors, as they were passing from one Town to another, endeavouring to
 R O M E dissuade each Canton from taking Arms, broke their *Caduceus*, and put them to
 CCCCLXIX. death; a Crime, which we shall soon see pursued with condign Punishment; but in
 C. SERVILIUS the mean time, the *Senones* emboldened by this first Villany, brought their Troops
 TUCCA, L. before *Aretium*. The City was already actually besieged, when the Consul L.
 CECILIUS *Cæcilius* came to its Relief: And the *Gauls*, says an ancient Author, never vented their
 METELLUS, Fury against the *Romans*, without doing them a great deal of Mischief. A
 Consuls. Battel was fought, in which the *Romans* were worsted. The Consul was killed in
 it, the *Legions* routed, seven *Legionary Tribunes*, the best part of the Nobility, that
 is, of the *Roman Knights*, and thirteen thousand private Men were left dead upon the
 Field of Battel.

Polybius B. 2.
c. 19.

BUT the prodigious Number of her Inhabitants, and the Experience of her Ge-
 nerals, soon enabled *Rome* to repair this considerable Loss. The brave *Manius Cu-*
rius marched away with new Troops, and came to supply the Place of the Consul
Cæcilius, who had fallen in the Battel. *Curius*, surnamed *Dentatus*, was perhaps *Pra-*
tor at that time; and, as such, it was his Province, while the Consul *Servilius* was
 carrying on a War with the *Lucani*, to command the Army in *Hetruria*, which had
 lost its Leader. At least, it is certain, he took upon him the Command of the Ro-
 man Armies; and this philosophical General, instead of eagerly hastening to take
 Vengeance on the Army of the *Gauls*, which was yet warm with its Victory, neglected
 the Relief of *Aretium*, marched along by the Confines of *Hetruria*, and came directly to
 the Country of the *Senones*, to chastise them for the Murder of the *Roman* Ambassadors,
 in the Place where it had been committed. He crossed *Sabinia* and *Picenum*, and entered
 the Enemy's Territories, who, surprized at the Expedition of the *Roman*, raised some
 Troops in all haste, to oppose him. But *Curius* easily dispersed this Army of *Gauls*,
 tumultuously assembled together, and took Advantage of the Absence of their best
 Troops, which were before *Aretium*. After having so far reduced the *Senones*, that
 they durst not appear any more in the Field, in their own Country, he ravaged it
 without Opposition. The Crime was an enormous one, and the Punishment of it
 was very severe. Every House was plundered, and every Field laid waste. What
 the Sword spared, the Fire consumed. No Person who was capable of bearing
 Arms was suffered to escape; only the Women and Children had their Lives spared,
 and they were carried into Captivity, and forced to spend their Days in Slavery. In
 short, the whole Country of the *Senones* was made a vast Desert, and so utterly waste-
 ed, that there scarce remained any Appearances of its having been inhabited, and
 cultivated by a numerous People. This is *Polybius's* Account, whom we prefer to
Abridgers; and have therefore restored to *Curius* the Glory¹⁵ of an Expedition, which
 reduced the *Senones* to the utmost Extremities.

Dion. Apud.
Fulv. Ursinum.

Year of
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 CORNELIUS
 DOLABELLA,
 CN. DOMITI-
 US CALVINUS,
 Consuls.

§. III. AND now *Rome* had already changed her Governors; *Cornelius Dolabella*¹⁶
 and *Cn. Domitius*, surnamed *Calvinus*, were chosen Consuls; and in the beginning of
 their Administration, the Effects of the secret Springs, the *Tarentini* had set at work
 began to shew themselves, and the *Romans* knew not the first Movers of them. The
Boii, *Hetrurians* and *Senones* (whose Army was still before *Aretium*) and the *Samnites*
 (who alone had found the Republick Employment for near fifty Years) all declared
 against her, at once; and she was alarmed to see so many Nations conspire against
 her, at the same time. But nothing discouraged her. Nay, she had so much Depen-
 dence on the Valour and Conduct of the new Consuls, that she did not oblige them to
 nominate a *Dictator*, as was usual in times of great Danger: Nor was her Dependence
 on them vain. *Domitius* took the Field, with a Resolution to engage the Army
 of the *Senones*, where-ever he should find it; and he did not march far in quest of
 it. He was scarce entered *Hetruria* before the *Senones* appeared, and gave him Bat-

¹⁵ *Freinshemius* gives *Publius Cornelius Dola-*
bella the Honour of this Expedition, upon a Sup-
 position that it was undertaken in the Year 470,
 when *Publius* was Consul. But *Polybius* on the
 contrary assures us, the Consul *Lucius*, who was
 killed in the Battel, was succeeded by the Consul
Manius. For that was the *Prænomen* of *Curius*
Dentatus, whom the Republick invested with the
 Consular Dignity, after his Predecessor's Death.
 And it was no difficult Matter to us to determine,
 whether the Testimony of an ancient Historian, of

approved Credit, or that of a modern Abridge-
 was to be preferred.

¹⁶ The *Greek Tables* call the two Consuls for
 this Year 470, by their Surnames of *Dolabella* and
Maximus, without mentioning either their *Præ-*
mina or their Names. But all the Consular Au-
 thors agree, that *Maximus* was the Surname of
Cornelius Dolabella, and not of *Gneius Domitius*
 who had the Surname of *Calvinus*; though *Man-*
nius, has falsely given him that of *Calvus*.

tel. The Despair to which they were reduced, by the Desolation of their Country, and the Captivity and Slavery of their Wives and Children, made them raise the Siege of *Aretium*, and march directly towards *Rome*. In their Fury, they indulged themselves in the Hopes, of retaking the Capital of the Republick, which they had formerly reduced by Force, of sacking it, and of settling in it, thereby to make themselves Amends for the Ruin of their Country. This was indeed a rash Project; but the Historians have more extolled the Bravery of the *Gauls* than their Prudence and Conduct. They advanced towards *Rome* with the same Confidence their Forefathers had done, when they raised the Siege of ¹⁷ *Clusium*, and came and set down before it. But their Success was different. After they had laid a great Tract of Ground waste, and rambled from Place to Place, without having any settled Rout, or forming any regular Camps, they fell in with the *Consul Domitius's* Army. Upon this they were forced to give Battel, and found by Experience, that Fury in an Engagement is much less to be depended on than the Conduct of a cool Commander, who is at the Head of disciplined Troops. The *Romans* vanquished these Madmen, and covered the Field of Battel with their dead Bodies. Those who escaped Death by the Hands of the *Romans*, turned their own Swords against themselves. Only a small Number of these Wretches retired to the *Boii*, whom they pressed to take Arms immediately, and revenge the common Cause of all the *Gauls*.

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CORNELIUS
DOLABELLA,
CN. DOMITI-
US CALVINUS,
Consuls.
*Appian. Apud.
Fulvium Urbi-
num.*

As for the *Consul Dolabella*, of the illustrious Family of the *Cornelii*, who afterwards furnished their Country with so many great Men, he saw new Enemies start up against the Republick, after his Colleague's Victory. Some *Hetrurians* and *Boii* united, continued the Attempt, the *Senones* had too rashly begun; and marched towards *Rome* with a great Army, the *Boii* having raised all the young Men in their Territory, which were able to bear Arms. *Dolabella* waited for them, on the Banks of the Lake ¹⁸ *Vademonis* in *Hetruria*, very near the *Tyber*; and we may venture to affirm, that the Glory of the *Gauls* was much sunk, by the terrible Shock they received there. This Nation, which had hitherto been so formidable to the *Romans*, were soon reduced too low, to give them any Apprehensions. A pitched Battel was fought there, the Particulars of which are not transmitted to us. All we know of it, is, that almost all the *Hetrurian* Soldiers fell in it, and that few of the ¹⁹ *Boii* returned into their own Country. Nevertheless, these same Enemies made some faint Efforts against the *Romans* the next Year; but were conquered a second

Polybius B. 2.

¹⁷ See what we have said of *Clusium*, B. 3. p. 113. of the first Volume, Note 3.

¹⁸ That our Description of the Lake *Vadimonis* may be exact, we shall borrow that, which *Pliny the Younger* has given us of it, in his 20th Letter to *Gallus*, B. 8. It is this. My Wife's Uncle invited me to his Country-house, near *Amelia*, and as I was walking thither, I was shewn a Lake, which lies in a Bottom. It is called *Vadimonis*, and I was told wonderful Things of it. When I came to it, I found it to be of the Figure of a Wheel. It has no Nook or Angle, and is on all sides so smooth and regular, that it looks as if it had been made by a Line: It is of a deep bluish Colour, with a Mixture of white and green: Its Water smells of Sulphur, and has a mineral Taste: It is very good to cure Fractures. The Lake is not very large, but large enough to be very rough when the Wind blows. There are no Boats in it, because it is sacred; but instead of them, there are several floating Islands in it, covered with Grass, Reeds, and all those things that are usually in Marshes, and on the sides of Lakes. They are of different Figures and Sizes; and the Sides of them all are very dry, and very bare, which is occasioned by their often striking against one another, and against the sides of the Lake. They are cut smooth at the bottom, somewhat like the Keel of a ship. They are sometimes dispersed all over the Lake, and are as much above the Water, as under. Sometimes they are all huddled together, and make sort of Continent. Sometimes the Wind sepa-

rates them; and as soon again, they all lye still at a Distance from one another, in the Places where the Calm seized them. The little ones often follow the great ones, as long Boats follow large Ships. Sometimes you would think the great and little ones were quarrelling, and fighting with one another: Sometimes, they are all driven together on one Shore, and enlarge it: Sometimes they drive the Water of the Lake to one Place, and sometimes to another, but as soon as they return to the middle of it, the Water settles at its usual Level. It is certain the Cattle come upon these Islands for the Pasturage, as if they were a part of the Shore, and are not sensible that they float, till they are got at some Distance from the Shore. Then seeing themselves carried away by the Water, a Fright seizes them, and they immediately get a-shore, at the first Place, to which the Wind drives them. This Lake discharges itself into a River, which after running a little Way above Ground, falls into a great Abyss, and continues its Course so freely underground, that it brings out any thing with it that you throw into it before its Descent. The Lake *Vadimonis* is now called *Il Lago di Bassano*, from the Name of a neighbouring City, which is thought to be the ancient *Ameria* or *Amelia*.

¹⁹ *Pliny*, B. 3. c. 15. says, that *Cornelius Dolabella's* Victory, completed the Destruction of the *Boii*, a Nation which then consisted of 112 Tribes. *In hoc tractu interierunt Boii, quorum Tribus 112 fuisse, auctor est Cato.*

time,

Year of
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CORNELIUS
DOLABELLA,
CN. DOMITI-
US CALVINUS,
Consuls.

Flor. B. 1. c.
13. and Plin.
B. 3. c. 15.

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C. FABRICIUS
LUSCINUS, Q.
ÆMILIUS PA-
PUS, Consuls.

Val. Marc.
b. 4. c. 3.

time, forced to implore the Clemency of the Roman People, sue for Peace, and enter into an Alliance with them. As for the *Senones*, they were so utterly destroyed, that there scarce remained any Footsteps in *Italy*, of a Nation which had formerly distinguished itself so much, by the taking of *Rome*. It is reasonably supposed, that ²⁰ *Dolabella* received the Honours of a Triumph at *Rome*, since it is certain, that few Generals had better deserved them. He had, by his Victory, enlarged the *Roman* Territory more than any of his Predecessors; especially if it be true, that he thereby extended its Frontiers on this side, from the ²¹ *Rubicon* to the ²² *Æsis*, a River of *Picenum*, which is said to have been now the Boundary of the *Roman* Dominions, on the side of the *Adriatick* Sea.

§. IV. AFTER the new Consuls, C. *Fabricius* ²³ *Luscinus*, and Q. *Æmilius* *Papus* were chosen, the *Tarentini* enjoyed the Fruits of their secret Intrigues, for some time. All *Italy* rose up in Arms against those Robbers, as the *Romans* were called, who were not satisfied with so many Rapines, and whose Ambition had no Bounds. The Remains of the *Boii* and *Hetrurians* on the one Hand, and the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Samnites* on the other, conspired together against those Tyrants of *Italy*. And in order to oppose all these Enemies at once, the two Consuls separated, and chose their Provinces by Lot. It fell to *Æmilius* to carry on the War in *Hetruria*, and to *Fabricius*, to command a *Roman* Army in *Lucania*. The former was descended from an illustrious Family, in which Valour was hereditary; but *Fabricius*, though of mean Birth, vastly surpassed his Colleague. He had a great Soul; was naturally inclined to a Love of Honour, Equity, Continence, Frugality, and a disinterested Zeal for the publick Good; and these Dispositions being improved by Education, he possessed all these Virtues in the most eminent Degree, to which Reason and Reflection could raise them. It is giving him the highest Encomium, to say, that *Fabricius* excelled the most virtuous Men, in the most virtuous Age of *Rome*; even the *Curii*, the *Coruncanii*, and all those other great Men, whose Examples shew to the last proposed as the most perfect Patterns of Virtue. He abhorred the very Name of Pleasure, as appears by his Answer to *Pyrrhus*. This King was always commending to him, in private Conversation, the novel Opinion of ²⁴ *Epicurus*, an *Athenian* Sage,

²⁰ *Ozuphris* guesses, that *Cornelius Dolabella* acquired the Surname of *Maximus*, which the *Fasti Capitolini* give him, by this important Victory.

²¹ The River *Rubicon*, so famous for *Julius Caesar's* Passage over it, was formerly the Boundary of *Gallia Cisalpina*, and of *Italy*, properly so called. It is now called the *Fiumecino*. Three Rivers run into it, one of which is called *Rugone*, and by Corruption *Urgone*. It lies more to the West than the other two, and is thought by *Cluverius* to be the ancient *Rubicon*, agreeably to *Strabo's* Account of it, who says, B. 5. that it ran near *Cesena*. The second is now called *Pisatello*; and *Leander* and *Blondus* take this for the *Rubicon*, though it is but a Rivulet, which is most-times dry. The third is the *Borco*, which waters the City of *Savignano*; for which Reason the Natives call it, *Fiume de Savignano*. Among other Proofs, that *Scipio Claramontius* brings in favour of the *Pisatello*, he quotes an ancient Inscription, which was dug up, on the Banks of this Rivulet. The Substance of it, was a formal Prohibition to all Persons whatsoever, to pass the *Rubicon* armed. But many learned Men conclude, that it is a counterfeit one, from the Impropriety of the Words used in it. So that the common Opinion is, that the ancient *Rubicon*, and the *Fiumecino*, or *Lusa*, are the same River; and this is the Opinion of *Raphael Adimari* in his Book, *de Situ Arimini*, p. 49. and of *Jacobus Villani*, in his Treatise entitled, *Ariminensis Rubicon*.

²² According to *Silius* the Poet, B. 8. a King of the *Pelasgi*, who was named *Æsis*, gave this River, which separates *Umbria* from *Picenum*, his own Name. It is now called *Esino Fiume*, and by Corruption, *Fiumesino Fiume*.

²³ Some Writers have thought that *Quintus Æmilius* was the Father of that *Lucius Æmilius*, who was promoted to the Consulate in the Year of *Rome* 528. But the great Distance of fifty seven Years between the two Consulships, makes us doubt of it. The Author of the Book of *Parallels*, ascribed to *Plutarch*, gives *Quintus Æmilius* the Surname of *Paulus*, without any Reason. To which we shall here add, that *Cicero*, in *Lælie*, proposes the two Consuls for this Year, as the most perfect Patterns of Unanimity. They were, says he, united by the Bands of the strictest Friendship; they were twice Consuls, and twice Censors, together.

²⁴ *Epicurus* was born at *Gargetium*, in *Attica*, in the third Year of the 109th Olympiad. His Father's Name was *Neocles*, his Mother's *Chærestrata*, whose Business was, according to *Diogenes Laertius*, that of laying Ghosts and *Lemures*, according to the Superstition of these Times. To this end, she repeated certain Forms of Expiation, in the haunted Houses, where she was wanted, and her Assistance desired; and the same Author adds, that her Son, whilst he continued very young, always went with her, and assisted her in these Ceremonies. His Father and Mother were of the Number of those, whom the Republick of *Athens* sent to the Island of *Samos*, where *Epicurus* spent the first part of his Childhood: When he was eighteen Years of Age, he returned to *Athens*, and five Years afterwards went from thence to *Colophon*, to his Father *Neocles*. After this, he travelled through several other Cities, and at length, when he was thirty six Years of Age, he settled at *Athens*, where he opened a School in a fine Garden, which he had purchased. He had here a great Number of Disciples, who came to him from all Parts, lived in common with him,

Sage, who then began to be in vogue. This Philosopher is said to have made all Happiness to consist in Pleasure, and the Tranquillity of an unactive Life. But *Fab-
ricius* looked on *Epicurus* as a Monster, born to destroy all Virtue, and said, *May
Pyrrhus always regulate his Conduct by a Principle so favourable to the Romans, and so
destructive of his own Glory.* And the Greek, though very fond of the new Philosophy,
admired the right Reason of the *Roman*, more than the subtle Distinctions of the
Athenian Philosopher. But let us return, and take a View of *Fab-
ricius* in publick Life, upon which he is now entering; we shall hereafter see him subdue *Pyrrhus*,
more by the Splendor of his Virtues, than either the Force of his Arms, or the Skill
of the Generals who assisted him in the War.

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ÆMILIUS PA-
PUS, Consuls.

and listened to him, as to an Oracle, till he died, *Cicero*, B. 5. *de finibus*, and *Pliny* B. 31. c. 2. af-
firm, that not only the Day, but the whole Month
in which he was born, was solemnized by his Dis-
ciples with great Solemnity. They exposed his
Picture in all Places, and paid him little less than
divine Honours. He shewed an invincible Constancy
in his last Sickness, though oppressed with acute
Pains, occasioned by that Stoppage of Urine of
which he died, the second Year of the 127th *Olym-
piad*, and not of the 107th, according to *Vossius*.
He was then seventy two Years of Age. He wrote
three hundred Volumes, which were so entirely his
own, that there was not so much as one Quotation
in them all. On which Account; says *Diogenes
Laertius*, he far exceeded *Chrysippus* his Rival, who
swelled his Volumes with great Numbers of bor-
rowed Passages, and Repetitions, and Mistakes.
Though *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, were the first
Authors of the Atomical Hypothesis, and thought
their Atoms eternal, and animated; yet, they may
be said to have been only the forerunners of *Epi-
curus*. He new modelled the System, and made
several Alterations in it, as well in relation to the
Origin and Direction of the Atoms, as their Na-
ture and Properties. It is well known, the only
Principles, he allowed of, were Atoms, and a *Va-
cuum*; a *Vacuum*, because it was not to be con-
ceived, how there could be any Motion in a *Ple-
num*; and Atoms, because, according to him, of
nothing comes nothing. And this Hypothesis, as
refined by *Gassendi*, and confined to the just Bounds,
which the true Religion has set to it, has had very
eminent Followers in our Days. *Epicurus* proved
that the World was not eternal, by the evident
Marks of Novelty, which appear in it; and as to
his Doctrine of the supreme Good, which he made
to consist in Pleasure, some have taken occasion
from thence to decry his Philosophy, as a Source of
Debauchery and Impurity. But others, to clear
him from this Reflection, contend, that by Pleasure,
he meant lawful Pleasures, and such as is insepa-
rable from Virtue. And if this was really his Mean-
ing, there is nothing in it, but what is very rational.
It must be granted, that a Man's Happiness is to
be computed by the Pleasure he feels. There can
be no Happiness, if we separate from it, those a-
greeable Impressions, which the Soul feels, when
the Passions are calmed, and subdued to the Govern-
ment of Reason. In a Word, the Happiness of
Man, and Pleasure (I mean the Pleasure which
flows from a pure and innocent Life) are so insepa-
rable, that the one necessarily supposes the other:
Or, in the Language of the Philosophers, a perfect
Joy, without any Alloy of Bitterness, is as closely
united with true Happiness, as the thing and its
formal Cause, or Essence. The Irregularity of
Man's Heart is not in its feeling of Pleasure,
but in its unlawful Pursuit of the Objects which
cause it. The End he proposes is lawful, and
agreeable to Nature; but the Choice of the
Means, in order to it, is often criminal, and ir-
rational. The Question therefore is, whether *E-
picurus* meant by Pleasure, that Pleasure which
arises from Feasting, Intemperance and Debauch-
ery: And on this Head, many ancient and mo-

dern Authors of distinguished Merit, have en-
tered the Lists in his Defence. Among others,
in the last Age were *Gassendi*, *Stanley* in his *Life of
Epicurus*, and *Rondel* in his *Latin* Treatise, of *The
Life and Manners of Epicurus*. What the Stoicks,
his implacable Enemies, have published of him,
concerning the Curtezan *Leontium*, whom he is
said to have admitted to be one of his Disciples;
and the Accusations of *Timocrates*, who deserted
his Academy, are now esteemed Calumnies, which
have not the least Shadow of Probability. The
Altars, which were erected to him after his
Death, the Paleness of his Complexion, his sober
and temperate Life, attested by *Seneca* himself, an
Author not to be suspected in this Case, and the
Encomiums which several great Men among the
Ancients have given him, are all, say his Apolo-
gists, so many Refutations of the Calumnies of his
Accusers. Some Debauchees indeed, say they,
have in all Ages abused his Doctrine, but they were
not his Scholars. They only assumed the Title of
Epicureans, to shelter their Licentiousness under a
great Name. Not but that *Epicurus* allowed some-
thing to the Senses; he contended, that we cannot
doubt of their Fidelity, in the Informations they
give us of those Things which are their proper Ob-
jects; but he declared against suffering our Reason to
be enslaved by them. With regard to the Gods
indeed, whom he places in a State of pure Inacti-
vity and Indolence, his most zealous Defenders
cannot but acknowledge, the horrid Impiety of his
Doctrine. They, according to him, eased them-
selves of the Trouble of governing the Universe,
and left it to Men to govern it, as they please. He
thought the Care of this lower World too mean
an Office for the Divine Nature to be concerned
in; and therefore left all these Trifles to chance.
He was Opinion, that nothing could interrupt the
Repose and Happiness of the Gods; and therefore
supposed them to be very indifferent, in the Cause
of Virtue and Vice. This is the Sense of these
impious Verses.

*Omnia enim per se Divina natura necesse est,
Immortali ævo summâ cum pace fruatur,
Semota à nostris rebus sejunctaque longè,
Ipsa sui potens opibus, nihil indiga nostri,
Nec bene pro meritis capitur, nec tangitur ira.*

To talk in this manner, is utterly to destroy Pro-
vidence, or rather, as *Tully* observes, it is to allow
of the Being of a God in Words, and in Fact to
deny it. Nevertheless, *Epicurus* acknowledged,
that God deserved our Homage, by the Excellency
of his Nature, and his Superiority to us: So that
he constantly frequented the Temples; and when
Diocles saw him at the Foot of the Altars, he could
not help crying out, What Festival is this! What
new Sight is this, to find *Epicurus* in a Temple!
All my Suspicions vanish. I am more sensible than
ever of the Majesty of *Jupiter*, now that I behold
Epicurus upon his Knees. And upon the same
Principle, this Philosopher recommended nothing
more than the Respect and Submission, due to
Princes and Magistrates, whether good or bad. A
Maxim of great Importance, and Necessity, for the
Support and Safety of Governments.

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LUSCINUS, Q.
ÆMILIUS PA-
PUS, Consuls.
Florus Epitome
12.

Pliny B. 34.
c. 6.

Ammian. Mar-
cel. B. 24.
Val. Max.
B. 1. c. 8. §. 6.
Dion. Hal. in
Legationibus.

§. V. WHILEST his Collegue was carrying on the War against the *Boii* and *Hetrurians*, *Fabricius* led a *Roman Army* into *Lucania*. The revolted *Samnites* endeavoured to stop him, but he made his Way through them, and came to the Relief of the *Thurii*, who were in Alliance with the *Romans*. *Thurium* ²⁵ formerly called *Sybaris*, was a considerable City in *Great Greece*, and stood on the *Gulph of Tarentum*, between the *Brutii* and *Lucani*, who were uneasy to see a City so situated, in Friendship with the ambitious Republick, whose Dominion they dreaded. They had already besieged *Thurium* some Years since, but *Rome* had relieved it; and they were now endeavouring a second time, to wrest this Key to their Dominions, out of the Hands of the Republick. Their Army consisted of three warlike Nations, under the Command of a General, famous for his Bravery, one *Stenus* ²⁶ *Statilius*, who had commanded at the former Siege; so that *Fabricius* was to cope with the *Samnites*, the *Brutii*, and the *Lucani*, all united in one Camp. However, a Battel was fought in the fight of the Besieged, the whole Advantage of which fell to the *Romans*; but no Victory was then thought complete, unless the Camp of the Conquered was also taken, and plundered. The great Difficulty therefore was, after the gaining the Battel, how to force well-fortified Entrenchments, to which the Remains of three Nations were retired, in order to defend them. This was so very hazardous an Enterprize, that *Fabricius* himself hesitated at it, and in all Probability, made use of a Stratagem, which gave his taking the Camp the Air of a Miracle. Whilst the *Roman Consul* appeared to be in Suspence, what to do, a young Man, full of Vigour, wearing Feathers in his Helmet, appeared on a sudden in the midst of the *Legions*, exhorted the *Romans*, to decline no Danger for the Honour of their Country; and then seizing a Ladder, marched first to the Rampart, through a Shower of



²⁵ We have spoken of the City of *Thurium*, B. 11. p. 515. of the first Volume, Note 22. We find some Footsteps of this City, on Medals, under the Names of *Thurium* and *Sybaris*. The first of those above, is the Head of a *Pallas*, who was the Protectress of the *Athenians*, of whom this City was a Colony. The reverse is a Bull, the usual Emblem of Agriculture and Fertility. Over the Bull is a winged Victory with a Crown in her Hand, perhaps, to point out the Prize reserved for those who conquered in the solemn Games annually celebrated in this City, in Imitation of the *Olympick*. We cannot learn, what the Fish and Dart on the other Medal signify; all we know is, that according to *Athenaeus*, who treats largely of the *Sybarites*, the Magistrates of *Sybaris* exempted the Fishermen, and Eel-Merchants, from all sorts of Taxes; because, says our Author, they were very great Lovers of this sort of Fish, and were

very nice in them. And *Ovid* speaking of the *Crathis*, which watered the City of *Thurium*, says it abounded with Fish:

*Est prope piscosus lapidosi Cratidis amnes
Parvus ager.*

We ought also to have observed in the first Volume, that *Thurium* was likewise called *Copia*; of which we have a fresh Proof in one of *Goltzius's* Medals, On the reverse of it, we find the Word *COPIA*; and the *Cornucopia* by it, agrees very well with what *Diodorus Siculus* says of the Fruitfulness of the Territory of the *Sybarites*; though *Athenaeus* says their City stood in a barren Soil. *Strabo* B. 6. and *Diodorus*, B. 11. and 12. have given us a long Account of the Rise, Progress, and Fall of *Thurium*. See *Cluverius*, of *Ancient Italy*, B. 4. p. 1263. ²⁶ *Valerius Maximus*, B. 1. c. 8. §. 6. gives this Commander, the Name of *Statius Statilius*.

the Enemies Darts; planted his Ladder against it, and mounted it. This bold Action, without doubt, cost him his Life; but then it at the same intimidated the Confederates, and inspired the *Romans* with new Courage. They scaled the Enemy's Ramparts with such Intrepidity, that they made themselves Masters of the Camp, and thereby completed the Work of this glorious Day. The General *Statilius*, and 25000 of his Men, were killed in the Plain and Camp; and the *Romans* took thirty three Colours from the Confederates. Thus the City of *Thuria* was indebted to the *Romans* for a second Deliverance. The next Day, when the *Consul* distributed the military Rewards among those who had signalized themselves in the Battel, the brave Man, who had first mounted the Rampart, was not to be found. He was sought for, and summoned to come and receive from the *Consul*, one of those Crowns of Grass, which were usually given to the Generals, who had forced the Enemy to raise a Siege; but no Body appeared. And from this single Circumstance only, the credulous Soldiers imagined that it was *Mars* himself, who had come down from Heaven, on Purpose to encourage the Soldiers of a City, which had been founded by his Son *Romulus*. Thanks were returned for it to the God of War, by *Supplications*; and the imaginary Service he had done them, was recorded, and transmitted down to future Ages, as a Prodigy.

§. VI. As for the *Tarentini*, though they were the real Authors of this War, they had not yet appeared in the Field. They were a Parcel of cowardly Politicians, who contented themselves with exposing their Neighbours to the Danger of a Battel, and drawing them in to engage with the *Romans*, at their own Perils; whilst they themselves were afraid of incurring the Anger, and drawing the Vengeance of *Rome*, on *Tarentum*. But an Accident discovered their Perfidiousness, exasperated the *Romans* against them, and at length caused their utter Ruin, after a long Series of Events, which make one of the most considerable Periods, in the *Roman* Story. One of the *Maritime Duumviri*, that is, one of the Admirals of the *Roman* Fleet, named *Valerius*, according to some, or as others, *Cornelius*, came to the Mouth of the Port of *Tarentum*, with ten of the Ships of the Republick. The idle Inhabitants of this City were assembled as usual, in a magnificent Theatre, by the side of the Port, from whence they could see the *Roman* Squadron; and the Games were instantly interrupted by the Terror it gave the Spectators. They imagined, that *Rome* having at last discovered their secret Plots, had sent a Sea-armament to punish her secret Enemies, who had brought so many Wars upon her. But the *Duumvir* thought of nothing less; he was a Stranger to the Hatred of the *Tarentini*, and had nothing in view, but to take in fresh Provisions, at a Port, whose Inhabitants he thought to be in Amity with the *Romans*. However, as the Stings of Conscience are sometimes most severe, at the time of publick Festivals, and after a Debauch, and leave the Mind but little Power of Reflection, at the sight of sudden Danger, the Alarm among the *Tarentini* was general; and then an infamous Debauchee, named *Philocaris*, but whose shameless Incontinence procured him the Name of *The Thais of Tarentum*, harangued his affrighted fellow-Citizens. The *Tarentini* held their Deliberations about publick Affairs, in the Theatre, after the manner²⁷ of the Greeks; and there *Philocharis* addressed himself to them in this manner. *Why don't we instantly surprise and destroy the Fleet of these new Pirates, who are come to insult us, even at our very Gates? Have you forgotten, that the Romans obliged themselves by their ancient Treaties, not to sail farther than the*²⁹ *Lacinian Promontory, nor to pass with their Ships beyond*³⁰ *Croton. These Treaties were indeed*

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Florus, B. 1.
and *Zonaras*,
B. 8.

²⁷ *Thais* was a famous Curtezian of *Alexandria*, who came to *Athens*, and there debauched all the Youth of that City. *Menander* the Poet, has sung her Praises in Verse; and from thence she was called *Menandrian Thais*.

²⁸ The *Athenians* held their Assemblies sometimes in the *Forum*, and sometimes in a Place in the City called *Pnyx*; and oftentimes in the Theatre: As we learn from *Demosthenes*, in his *Oration for Ctesiphon*; from *Tully*, in his *Oration for Placcus*; from *Tacitus*, *Hist. B. 2.* from *Varro*, quoted by *Nonnius*; and from *Seneca*, *Epist. 108.* *Rostrum* was erected on this Theatre for those who harangued the People.

²⁹ The *Lacinian* Promontory, now *Capo delle Colonne*, lay on the Extremity of the *Gulph of Tarentum*. The second *Gulph of Europe*, says *Pliny*, *ist. B. 2. c. 11.* begins at *Cape Lacinus*, and af-

ter taking in a vast Compass of Water, ends at *Cape Acrocerannius*, now *Capo della Chimera*. *A Lacinio Promontorio, secundus Europæ sinus incipit, magno ambitu flexus, & Acrocerannio finitur Promontorio.* *Stephens* calls this Promontory, the *Mound of Croton*; and *Diodorus Siculus* calls it, *Διοσκουρίδας* from a neighbouring Island called *Dioscorides*, or the *Island of Castor and Pollux*. Near the *Lacinian* Promontory, stood the stately Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, of which we shall speak hereafter.

³⁰ *Croton*, now *Crotone*, in *The Further Calabria*, was, as some say, founded by *Diomedes*; but according to *Dion. Hal.* by one *Mycellus* (whom *Lucian* calls *Mykillus*) in the third Year of the 17th *Olympiad*, which was the fourth Year of *Numa's* Reign. Others say, that *Alcimius* and *Croto*, the Sons of *Æacus*, came into this Country,

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ÆMILIUS PA-
PUS, Consuls.
Orosius, B. 4.
c. 1.

Tabulæ Tri-
umphales.

so old, that they were grown obsolete; but nevertheless, this was enough for Madmen, whom Wine and their own Malice hurried on to their Destruction. The Proposal of the effeminate *Philocharis* was received with universal Applause, and they all came, and fell upon the *Roman Fleet*, with the Fury of Madmen. They pursued, and surrounded it, and the *Romans*, who did not expect a Battel, endeavoured to sheer off. Five of the Ships escaped; so that that on board which the *Duumvir* was, sunk; and of the other five, four only were brought into the Port of *Tarentum*, and plundered. All the Men in them, who were able to bear Arms, were put to the Sword, and the rest reduced to a State of Slavery, and sold to the best Bidder.

THE News of this unexpected Act of Hostility was brought to *Rome*, before *Fabricius's Consulship* expired. He was returned to *Rome* since his Victory, and had received the Honours of a Triumph³¹, on the third of the Nones of May: And as he then presided in the publick Assemblies, this virtuous Consul, was probably the Author of the Moderation the Republick shewed towards the perfidious *Tarentini*. *Rome* had then many Enemies upon her; and it was not prudent, to increase their Number in such critical times. Besides, no Body was more strongly inclined than *Fabricius*, to observe that equitable Law of *Numa*, which commanded the *Romans* not to declare War with any People, though the Aggressor, till Satisfaction for the Injuries *Rome* had received, was first demanded by the³² *Feciales*. It was therefore decreed, that an Embassy should be sent to *Tarentum*, to require the *Tarentini* to repair the Injuries they had done, and make Amends for the Insult they had offered, to the Republick. The chief of the Deputies, was a Man of great Weight, and of an advanced Age, who had been Consul a third time, nine Years before. His Name



Country, and that the former settled in the Island of *Corcyra*, whilst the latter built the City of *Croton*. Some derive the Name of this City from one of the Companions of *Hercules*, whom they call *Croto*, but don't say, whether he was the same with the *Croto* beforementioned. In short, most Enquirers have had recourse to Fable for the Origin of *Croton*. All that is sure is, that it was a City of Distinction in *Great Greece*. Its Walls were formerly twelve Miles in Circumference. The River *Esaro* divided it into two Parts. *Pliny*, B. 2. c. 16. boasts of the good Air of *Croton*; whence the Proverb, *Suidas* mentions, *κρότωνος υγιεινός*, *Sanior Crotone*, to signify a wholesome Place. It was famous for its great Number of Wrestlers; inasmuch, that according to *Strabo*, seven of them gained Prizes in the *Olympick Games*, in one Day. Among others, *Milo of Croton*, *Pythagoras's* Disciple, was a Man of such prodigious Strength, that the Ancients say, he first carried a Bull upon his Shoulders above a 125 geometrical Paces, during the Celebration of those solemn Games, and then killed him with his Fist. The *Crotoniate* learned wrestling and boxing very early, and had a singular Veneration for the God *Hercules*, the Protector of Wrestlers. For this Reason we often find him on their Medals, as in those above; in one of which he has his Club and the Spoils of the *Nemean Lion*; and on the other he is represented under the Figure of a Child squeezing two Snakes to death, which Fable says he did soon after his Birth. The *Tripod* alludes to the Oracle of *Delphos*, which the *Crotoniate* consulted, in the time of a Plague, or other great Calamity. On the third Medal above,

we have, as is supposed, the City of *Croton*; the Conqueror crowned by Victory, and the Horseman, on this Medal, point out the Games which used to be solemnized by its Inhabitants. *Cicero* commends them for their Strength, and Skill in bodily Exercises, *Rhodoric*, B. 2. *Etenim quondam Crotoniata multum omnibus corporum viribus & dignitatibus antefesterunt; atque honestissimas ex gymnica certamine victorias domum cum maxima laude, retulerunt*. But they afterwards degenerated from this martial Vigour, which made them formidable to their Neighbours. After they had conquered the *Sybarites*, they sunk into the Effeminacy and Delicacy of that Nation. *Croton* had the Honour to give Birth to several great Men, especially, to *Alcmæon*, a Disciple of *Pythagoras*; *Democedes* the Physician, who was a great Favourite of *Polyperates* the Tyrant of *Samos*, and of *Darius*, King of *Persia* and to *Philolaus*, who first invented the System, of the circular and annual Motion of the Earth.

³¹ Notwithstanding the Silence of the Historians it is certain, that *Caius Fabricius* triumphed for the first time, this Year, over the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Bruttii*. There are yet some Marks of this Triumph in the *Fasti Capitolini*; and they give him a second Triumph, in the Year of *Rome*, 475, which was his second Consulship: So that it is not to be denied, that he had triumphed once before the time; which could not be but in his first Consulship. By the signal Victory he then gained over the Enemies of the Republick, he had merited this great Honour.

³² See our Account of the *Feciales*, B. 1. p. 6 of the first Volume.

was *L. Posthumius*, his Surname *Megellus*; and his Quality as Ambassador, his hoary Head, and his personal Merit, ought to have gained him Respect. But what can be expected from a People, heated with Wine, who know no Law, but their own Frenzies? *Posthumius* and his Collegues arrived at *Tarentum*, and were admitted to an Audience of the People in the Theatre. The Greek Tongue was at this time taught in *Rome*, it being necessary for the *Romans* to understand it, since they had made such Conquests in *Italick Greece*; and *Posthumius* harangued the *Tarentini* in that Language. It is not to be wondered at, that a Foreigner should not speak the Language of the Country, with the Exactness of a Native. However, they let the Orator go on, but gave much less Attention to what he said, than this Affair required, on which their common Safety or Ruin depended. Nay, they were not only inattentive to his Discourse, but burst out into loud Laughs, and insolently Hissed, whenever *Posthumius* dropped an improper Expression, or pronounced a Word ill. Nor was this all. They rather drove the Ambassador out of the Assembly, than dismissed him; and some add, that they offered Violence to his Person, and struck him several times. At least, it is certain, that the *Tarentini*, offered him the basest Insults, they could have been guilty of. As *Posthumius* was walking out of the Theatre, with an Air of Gravity and Dignity which he preserved, notwithstanding the ill Reception they gave him, a Buffoon named ³³ *Philonides* came up to the Ambassador, and pissed upon his Robe. The mad Multitude applauded the Insolence; and *Posthumius* replied, without any Emotion, *Laugh on now, Tarentini, laugh on. The Time will come when your Laughter will be turned into Tears. Rome will find means to wash my Robe clean in Blood.* So that amidst all these Indignities, the Ambassador did nothing unworthy of his Character; and keeping strictly to his Commission, he repeated the Form prescribed him, Word for Word; as it was the ancient Custom of the *Roman* Embassadors to do.

§. VII. But when the *Tarentini* were a little come to themselves, and recovered from the Disorders of their Drunkenness, they began to reflect a little more seriously, on the Enormity of their Conduct. They had offered the *Romans* the most outrageous Insults, and now looked upon them as irreconcilable Enemies. Nor did they think, the *Brutii*, *Samnites*, and *Lucani* together, able to defend them, against all the Forces of the Republick. Besides, the Nations they had stirred up, had just been subdued, by *Fabricius*, and his Collegue; and they therefore thought, they had nothing left to do, but to get those necessary Succours from beyond Sea, which they could not hope to obtain, in *Italy*. With this View, they cast their Eyes upon *Pyrrhus*, the King of *Epirus*, whose great Reputation for Valour, and long Experience in War, had gained him the Character, of one of the Heroes of *Greece*. And indeed, this *Pyrrhus*, was descended from *Achilles* ³⁴, by his Son *Pyrrhus*, or *Neoptolemus*, who conquered *Epirus*, and settled his Family on the Throne. The Descendants of this first King were called *Pyrrhidae*; and in process of Time, a long Succession of Kings descended from the same Stock, reigned in *Epirus*. At length *Æacides*, the Father of that *Pyrrhus*, whom the *Tarentini* called to their Assistance, lost the Crown, by the Revolt of the ³⁵ *Molossi* his Subjects, who expelled him the Kingdom; but his Son, then at the Breast, narrowly escaped many Dangers, and was carried to *Illyricum*. There ³⁶ King *Glaucias* preserved the Remains of this illustrious House, and committed him to the Care of the Queen his Wife, who brought him up in his Court, with her own Children. Nor was this all he did for his unfortunate foster-Child. As soon as he was twelve Years of Age, *Glaucias* carried him

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PUS, Consul.

Dion. Hal.
in Legat.

Flor. Epitome
12.

Dion. Legat.
Val. Max.
B. 2. c. 2. §. 5.
and Zonara,
B. 8. c. 2.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

³³ This *Philonides*, says *Dion. Hal.* was so great a Drunkard, that he from thence had the Surname of *Cotyle*; which was the Name of a Greek Wine-Measure, used in Taverns, which held about nine Ounces weight of Liquor. To which the Historian adds, that the Brute, was stupified at this time, with his hard drinking the Day before.

³⁴ *Hofman* is mistaken in believing, on the Testimony of *Charles Stephens*, that *Pyrrhus* was descended from *Achilles* by his Mother's side, and from *Hercules* by his Father's side. *Alexander the Great* indeed is said to have been so descended; but *Plutarch* and *Aurelius Victor* don't say the same thing of *Pyrrhus*. The Words of the latter are these: *Pyrrhus rex Epirotarum, paterno*

genere ab Achille, materno ab Hercule, oriundus. This King was therefore descended from *Achilles* by his Father, and from *Hercules*, by his Mother *Phthia*, the Daughter of *Menon* of *Thessaly*.

³⁵ The *Molossi* then gave the Crown to the Sons of *Neoptolemus*, the Uncle of *Æacides*, who were consequently Cousin-germans to *Pyrrhus*.

³⁶ According to *Plutarch*, *Glaucias* hesitated a great while, before he would receive the young Prince into his Palace. His Fear of provoking *Gassander*, the implacable Enemy of *Æacides*, kept him in suspense; and then those, who had rescued *Pyrrhus* from the Fury of the *Molossi*, had recourse to Entreaties. They, in a supplicant manner, im-

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him back to *Epirus*, at the Head of a great Army, and placed him upon the Throne of his Ancestors; which he possessed in Peace till he was seventeen Years of Age, and then he was dethroned by 37 his rebellious Subjects. The fugitive *Pyrrhus* found a Retreat, in the Dominions of 38 *Demetrius*, the Husband of his Sister *Deidamia*; and there first learned the Art of War, under the Scholars, and Companions, of *Alexander the Great*. Till at length, *Demetrius*, becoming Master of *Greece*, and a great part of *Asia*, made War with *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*; and in this War, the King of *Epirus* did him great Service. As young as *Pyrrhus* was, he fought under his Brother-in-law, in the 39 famous Battel of *Ipsus* 40, in which so many Kings engaged; and behaving himself with the Boldness of a Lion, he conquered on that side where he was posted. Nevertheless, *Demetrius* lost the Battel; but *Pyrrhus* very seasonably covered *Greece*, and saved it for the King, his Ally. Nor was this the only Proof he gave of his Affection for his Sister's Husband. When *Demetrius* made a Peace with *Ptolomy*, *Pyrrhus* consented to be one of the Hostages, who were to be carried into *Egypt*, to secure the Performance of the Treaty; and in this foreign Court, he gave great Proofs of his Prudence and Address. He was admired for the Regularity of his Conduct, esteemed for his Dexterity in bodily Exercises, and beloved for his sweet Disposition, and Complaisance. His chief Aim was, to make his Court to the favourite Queen, called *Berenice*; which he did so effectually, that she gave him *Antigona*, her Daughter, by a former Husband, in Marriage. And with her, *Ptolomy* gave him Money and Forces enough, to go and reconquer his Dominions. Another Prince of the Family of the *Pyrrhidæ*, named *Neoptolemus*, had taken Possession of his Throne; and being forced to quit the Diadem he had invaded, he was going to beg the Assistance of the neighbouring Princes, to maintain himself in his Usurpation; but *Pyrrhus* gained him over by the advantageous Offers he made him. He even consented to give him up a part of his Dominions. Nevertheless the Usurper could not long be content with half a Kingdom; and therefore made an Attempt on the Life of his Benefactor and his Master, and formed a Plot to poison him. But *Neoptolemus* was taken in his own Snare, and died by the Hands of him, whom he would have poisoned. And now *Pyrrhus* being thus rid of a Traitor, continued no longer idle in his Dominions. *Alexander*, who was deprived of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, by his Brother *Antipater*, implored the Assistance of the King of *Epirus*, and *Pyrrhus* complied with his Request. Indeed he sold him his Services dear. He demanded of the deprived Prince all the Sea Coasts of *Macedon*, together with 41 *Ambracia*, 42 *Acarmania*, and 43 *Amphilochia*, Provinces which formerly did not belong to the *Macedonians*; and *Alexander* granting all these Demands, *Pyrrhus* pressed *Antipater* so hard, that he was forced to give up the Throne to his Brother. But young *Alexander*, though

explored the King's Protection; placed their precious Depositum in the middle of the Hall; and the little Prince, immediately crawling along to *Glaucias's* Feet, and catching hold of his Knees, this effectually raised his Compassion. But others say, that the Infant, actuated by some extraordinary Instinct, moved and looked towards the Altars of the domestick Gods, as if he claimed the Protection of these Divinities, who were Lovers of Hospitality; and that this Sight struck *Glaucias* with Admiration. He immediately concluded, that the Gods took the young Prince under their Protection; and thought it matter of Duty to take care of *Pyrrhus's* Education. Neither the repeated Instances of *Cassander*, nor the two hundred *Talents* he offered, could induce *Glaucias* to surrender up the young Prince.

37 The *Molossi* took Advantage of the Absence of *Pyrrhus*, who had left his Capital, and was gone into *Illyricum*, to be present at the Marriage of one of *Glaucias's* Sons.

38 This *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus*, was King of *Macedon*, and had the Surname of *Poliorcetes*, that is, *A taker of Cities*.

39 This Battel was fought, according to *Father Petau*, twenty four Years after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, in the fourth Year of the 119th

Olympiad, and the Year of the World 3683; which pretty near coincides with the Year of *Rome* 453. *Demetrius* was overcome in this Battel by *Lysimachus* King of *Thrace*, *Seleucus*, *Ptolomy Lagus*, and *Cassander*, who all joined together against him. It is surprizing, that *Hofman* should say in his *Lexicon Universale*, contrary to the Testimony of the ancient Historians, that the Victory favoured *Pyrrhus*, against *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, as if the former acted against the latter.

40 *Ipsus* was a City of *Phrygia*, which is utterly unknown to us, otherwise than by Name. It is not now known where it stood.

41 The Territory of *Ambracia* was so called from the City of *Ambracia*, which stood at the end of the Gulph of the same Name. It is now called the Gulph del *P'Arta*.

42 *Acarmania*, a little Province of *Epirus*, was then united to *Macedonia*. The River *Achelous* divided it from *Aetolia* on one side, and the Gulph of *Ambracia*, on the other. This Canton is now called the *Despotat*, on *Little Greece*.

43 The City of *Amphilochia*, or *Argos of Amphilochia*, and its Territory, joined to *Acarmania*, upwards of twenty Miles from *Abracia*, to the South of the Gulph of that Name. There are now no Footsteps of this ancient City remaining.

re-established in the Throne, by *Pyrrhus's* Valour, yet did not enjoy his paternal Inheritance long. *Demetrius* came into *Macedonia*, under pretence of assisting him against *Antipater*, and deprived the unfortunate *Alexander*, both of his Kingdom and his Life. And now, since he had usurped the Throne of *Macedon*, the ambitious *Demetrius* neither remembered the Services *Pyrrhus* had done him in his War, nor his near Relation to *Deidamia*. Being become his Neighbour, this made him his Enemy. Disputes arose between the two Brothers-in-law, concerning their Boundaries, and each supported his Pretensions with his Arms. *Demetrius* entered *Epirus*, and *Pyrrhus* marched into *Ætolia*, where he found *Pantauchus* the bravest of *Demetrius's* Generals, whom he had left to defend it. And as *Pantauchus* had the Character of the boldest Champion of his Age, *Pyrrhus* was very ambitious of engaging him, and trying his Strength with him in single Combat. Accordingly, he challenged him at the Head of the two Armies; and the Spectators all acknowledged, that he behaved himself in the Combat, with the Bravery of an *Achilles*, and the Activity of an *Alexander*. He received a slight Wound, but returned his Adversary two furious Blows for it, and would have killed him on the Spot, if his Friends had not interposed, and immediately carried him off. However, this was the prelude to a Victory which he gained, and thereby made himself Master of almost all *Macedonia*. But *Demetrius* could ill brook *Pyrrhus's* Invasions, and therefore brought a great Army into the Field to engage him; and then the King of *Epirus* finding himself too weak to resist him, retired into his own Dominions, resolving to return into *Macedonia* again with a greater Body of Forces. And he accordingly fought *Demetrius* there; upon which a new Revolution ensued. The latter being deserted by his Troops, who preferred *Pyrrhus* to him, he fled, and left the Throne vacant for him: So that the *Epirote* was proclaimed King in Form, and joined the Kingdom of *Macedon* to that of *Epirus*. And lest *Demetrius* should disturb him in the Possession of it, he kept him out of *Greece*, which he had formerly saved for him; and persuaded the *Athenians* to enjoy their Liberty in Peace, and not suffer any King to pass through their Country. Nor was this all. *Pyrrhus* formed a Design of depriving his Brother-in-law of *Thessaly* too. He employed his *Macedonians* (who were more formidable to their Kings in time of Peace, than in time of War) in this fine Conquest; and would probably have added this Kingdom to his other Acquisitions, if a new Enemy had not stopped him in his Career. *Lyfimachus*, a Native of *Macedonia*, and one of those Generals, who had shared *Alexander's* Conquests amongst themselves after his Death, was ambitious of making himself King in his own Country, and dispossessing the *Epirote* of it: And he succeeded in his Design. He raised up all *Macedonia* against *Pyrrhus*, who thought proper to give way to the Storm, and return home to *Epirus*.

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ÆMILIUS PA-
PUS, Consuls.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Appian.

§. VIII. SUCH was the Enemy, the *Tarentini* had Thoughts of raising up against the *Romans*. Without much considering the Consequences, they dispatched Embassadors to him; but, as I imagine, rather to sound *Pyrrhus's* Disposition, and observe the Situation of his Affairs, than immediately to enter into any Engagements with him. They found, That he enjoyed a perfect Peace at Home: That he was almost the only Prince in the East, who was not engaged in dangerous Wars: That he naturally loved Action and Bustle; and That he had Ambition enough to be easily brought to attempt the Conquest of *Italy*, and begin it, by entering a new Career which the *Tarentini* should open for him. *Thuria* was a Place which the *Romans* had long obstinately defended against her Neighbours; and they, to amuse their implacable Enemies till *Pyrrhus* arrived, undertook the Siege of it again. They did not want Pretences for revenging themselves with the utmost Severity on the *Thurii*. These Greeks, said they, are Enemies to their own Nation, and have brought the Barbarians upon us. They chose rather to have recourse to the *Romans* in their Necessity, than to the Nations, who speak their own Language. The City was defended by a Roman Garrison; but it was so vigorously attacked, that it was taken, before it could be relieved. After the *Tarentini* had plundered it, they expelled the chief Magistrates from their City, and agreeably to one of the Articles of Capitulation, sent home the *Romans*, who defended it.

This melancholy News was brought to *Rome*, a little after the Return of *L. Posthumus*, and the other Embassadors who had been treated so ill at *Tarentum*. *L. Æmilius* surnamed

Year of *R O M E* *CCCLXXII.* furnished *Barbula*, and *Q. 44 Marcius* had then been very lately promoted to the *Consulship*, and made it their first Business to represent to the Senate, the Situation of the Affairs of *Rome*, on the one Hand, and the shameful Indignity which had been offered the Embassadors on the other. It was both dangerous to overburden the Republick with a new War, and shameful to overlook the Insults of the *Tarentini*. *Rome* had yet all her late Enemies upon her, except the *Gauls*. *Hetruria* was neither conquered nor quieted. The *Samnites* had perfidiously taken up Arms, without any Regard to the Faith of Treaties, or fear of being again punished for it. The *Lucani* and *Brutii* were grown more insolent than ever, since the taking of *Thuria*. And on the other hand, the sight of the defiled Robe of the Ambassador, which was brought into the Senate, to excite the Senators to revenge the Crime, made great Impressions upon them: And all agreed, that it was absolutely necessary, sooner or later, to revenge this monstrous Outrage. But whether it was adviseable for the Republick to shew her Resentment immediately, was doubted. Never perhaps was Debate more tedious, or more perplexing. The same Question was discussed, and warmly debated, from Sun-rising to Sun-set, for several Days together. At length the Votes were counted, and they being equal, one half of the Senators, declaring for a War immediately, and the other half being for postponing it till such time, as the neighbouring Provinces to *Tarentum* were subdued, or brought to a Peace, the Affair devolved upon the People: and they determined, that the *Roman* Arms should immediately be turned against *Tarentum*. The two *Consuls* were already upon their March, *Marcius* for *Hetruria*, and *Æmilius* for *Samnium*; and Orders were sent to the latter, to lay aside all other Expeditions, and march directly to *Tarentum*.

THEN doubtless the Terror of these Men must have been the greater, inasmuch as their Love of Pleasure had hitherto made them almost insensible of any thing else. The *Tarentini* assembled in their Theatre, and carried on their Deliberations with more Seriousness than formerly. A *Consular* Army was at their Gates, but before the *Consul* entered upon Action, he demanded Satisfaction for the Injuries they had done the *Romans*. The Question therefore was, whether they should embark in a dangerous War, or submit in the most shameful manner to make Satisfaction. The better Sort of Citizens, that is, the oldest and the richest, declared for Peace. *Æmilius* offered them moderate Terms, and after all, it was but equitable, that they should repair the Injuries, and wipe off the Reproach they had thrown on a considerable Republick, without any Provocation. Only the Populace who had nothing to lose, insisted upon a War; and the Clamours of these Wretches prevailed over the just Reasons of the wisest Men in *Tarentum*. In short, what determined them to choose the worst Part, was the Harangue of one of the common People, who revived the Proposal of bringing *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*. Words, says he, are unseasonable when the Danger is pressing. In times of Peace, the studied Harangues of our Orators, are an agreeable Entertainment, which we attend to with Pleasure. But at present, into what an Abyss of Misfortunes have our Pleasures, and our Sloth brought us? But why do I revive the Remembrance of what can only fill you with Remorse and Confusion? Our Faults are already committed, and not to be recalled; all we have now to do, is to endeavour to avoid the ill Consequences of them. We are invaded by a *Roman* Army. Our Estates and Lives are in immediate Danger; and which is worse, you are divided in Opinion, and your domestick Factions add Strength to your Enemies. What do the *Romans* demand? Such Satisfactions as will reduce *Tarentum* from the Condition of a free City, jealous of her Liberty, to the State of a City enslaved to imperious Masters. Will you, *Tarentini*, bear this, whilst there are People abroad who are ready to defend you? Our Ancestors formerly brought *Alexander* of *Epirus* to their Assistance; and though he was unfortunately killed, yet his Valour and his Arms were of great Service to us. His Nephew, the generous *Pyrrhus* now sits on the same Throne

44 The Family of the *Marcii* was divided into two Branches, one of which was *Patrician*, the other *Plebeian*. Among the Ancestors of the former were reckoned *Numa Pompilius* and *Ancus Marcius*. *Ovid* was of this Opinion, when he said, *Marcia Sacrifico deductum nomen ab Anco*. He gives King *Ancus Marcius* the Name of *Sacrificus*, because he ordered the *Pontifex Maximus* to revive the Ceremonies of Religion, and the Sacrifices,

which were almost grown out of use, since the Death of *Numa*, through the Negligence of the Priests, who had the Care of them. The *Plebeian* Family of the *Marcii*, was a Family of great distinction in *Rome*. Several Magistrates were of it; their Memory is transmitted down to us on Coins. They are distinguished by the Surnames *Censorinus*, *Philippus*, and *Libo*, as will appear hereafter.

has as much Ambition, and is as desirous of signalizing himself, as his Uncle. We have already discovered his Inclinations in a former Embassy; and what then may we not expect from him? What Chief have we among our selves, to make Head against the warlike Romans? Will the Tarentini suffer one of their fellow-Citizens to assume such a Superiority over them, as may one Day enable him to become a Tyrant in his Country? Pyrrhus only can save Tarentum. He is rich, disengaged, loves Glory, is Master of a great Kingdom, and will carry on the War at his own Expence: He will easily be prevailed on to leave his own Dominions: He will here have an Enemy to cope with, worthy of him; and he will bring us numerous Armies. As for our selves, we can come to such Terms with him, as shall secure our Country from being invaded by the Epirotæ; or the Romans will perhaps rather choose to abate of their Pretensions, than suffer a Foreigner to make a Descent in Italy.

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L. ÆMILIUS
BARBULA, Q.
MARCIVS,
Consuls.

THIS Discourse had an Appearance of Truth and just Reasoning; and the Multitude applauded it. A few wise Men indeed withdrew from the Assembly, and never returned to it more. In the mean time, a Report being spread in the City, That a new Embassy was going to be sent to *Epirus*, and That the Decree for it was minuted down; a prudent Citizen undertook to divert the People from this mad Design, whilst all the Advocates for the War were yet in the Theatre, concluding upon sending Embassadors to *Pyrrhus*. This Citizen's Name was *Meton*, who had always the Character of a Man of Sense, and had escaped the general Corruption, which prevailed in the City. He knew the Taste of his fellow-Citizens, and applied himself to them in a Way they liked, in order to bring them to act like Men of Sense. He invented a kind of Masquerade, which could not fail of attracting the Eyes, and engaging the Attention of this trifling People. He assumed the Dress and Air of a Debauchee coming out of a Brothel. He put a Garland of Flowers on his Head, and held a Flambeau in his Hand. A Woman playing upon a Flute was his Companion, and thus attended and equipped, he entered the Theatre. She played upon her Flute; he danced in a grotesque manner: and, which is scarce credible, this silly Sight diverted the *Tarentini* from their most important Deliberations. They made a Ring, and called out aloud to *Meton*, and his Companion, desiring them to come into the Circle, and entertain them with a Song and a Dance. The Song was a merry one, and raised a loud Laugh: And then the wise Citizen, assuming an Air of great Seriousness, said, *Courage, Tarentini, laugh on now; when Pyrrhus comes, your Mirth and Joy will be at an end.* All those who were not yet totally besotted with their Excesses, were pleased with the Insinuation; but the greatest part were enraged at it. Those especially, who were afraid of being delivered up to the *Romans*, as the principal Authors of the seizing and plundering of their Ships, and of the Insult offered to *Posthumus*, used him ill, and drove him out of the Theatre. And thus ended the Deliberation; it was immediately resolved to send an Embassy to invite *Pyrrhus* to *Tarentum*.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Plut. ib. 1.

Plut. ibid.

As soon therefore as the News of this Deputation was brought to the Roman Camp, *Æmilius* took other Measures. He had hitherto made War on the *Tarentini*, but faintly, for fear of irritating them. As long as there was any room to expect Success by way of Negotiation, he had restrained the Ardour of his Troops: But as soon as all Hopes of accommodating the Affair amicably, were lost, he committed all sorts of Hostilities: He burnt and destroyed every thing he met with; nothing was to be seen but Fire and Blood: He took Cities, stormed Castles, and laid all the flat Country waste. In the mean time, the weak *Tarentini* brought their Army into the Field, which *Æmilius* beat, and forced to take Refuge within their Walls. Nevertheless, the Consul used his Victory with Moderation; doubtless, for fear of reducing *Tarentum* to despair, and in order to prevail on the *Tarentini* to lay aside their Design of receiving *Pyrrhus*. He sent back the Prisoners he had taken in the Country; and all commended the Humanity and Generosity of the Consul. This gentle Treatment brought many over to the Roman Party; and indeed, the *Tarentini* general repented of having rejected a Peace, and condemned themselves for the step they had taken, in calling in the King of *Epirus* to their Assistance. They showed their Regret, by the Choice they made of a General to command their Troops, and an Head to govern the City. They placed *Agis* at the Helm, who was a sincere Friend to the *Romans*, and had all along pressed his Countrymen to make them satisfaction. So that there was Reason to hope, that through the Influence of a Governor

Orosius B. 4.
c. 1. and Zonaras B. 8.

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Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Aug. de Civit.
Dei B. 3. and
Cicero de Di-
vin. B. 2.

Plut. Life of
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vernor of so much Temper, the *Tarentini* would hearken to Reason; but Providence was determined to bring those heavy Punishments on *Tarentum*, which the Debauchery of its Inhabitants had justly deserved.

§. IX. THE Embassadors from *Tarentum* found *Pyrrhus* very ready to leave *Epirus* and come and try his Strength with the most formidable Nation in *Italy*. His Heart was turned with the Exploits of *Alexander the Great*; and he fancied ⁴⁵ he had appeared to him in the late Wars. The fresh Remembrance of this Conqueror there fore, and the Conversation he had had with the Companions of his Victories, had strongly inclined *Pyrrhus* to attempt the same thing in the West, and South, which *Alexander* had done in the East. He is said to have consulted the Oracle of *Delphos*, about the Success of his intended Enterprize; and the Priestess is said to have given him an ambiguous Answer, which his Desire of Conquest made him interpret in his own Favour. The Oracle was indeed uttered in such Terms as might equally signify, either that he should conquer the *Romans*, or the *Romans* him. As to the Embassadors, they had much swelled *Pyrrhus's* Hopes, by their Promises. *We are come*, said they, *to implore your Assistance, in the Name of all the Greeks in Italy. Many rich and populous Nations are weary, either of bearing the Roman Yoke, or of being in continual dread of it. Tarentum is not the only City, whose Forces will join those of Epirus. The Messapii, the Lucani, the Samnites, the Brutii, and many other Nations like us, want nothing but an Head, equal to the Roman Generals, in order to exterminate the haughty Republick. And all these will join, in lending you their Assistance to conquer the World. You may depend on being supplied with three hundred thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse, by Italy alone.*

PYRRHUS reflected with Pleasure on the advantageous Proposals of the Embassadors; and running over in his Imagination all those Countries, against which he had formed any Designs, fancied them already conquered. Then the King communicated his Thoughts to ⁴⁶ *Cyneas* his chief Minister, and Favourite, who was both a good Soldier, and a good Counsellor. He had been a great Orator in his Youth, and was a Disciple and constant Auditor of *Demosthenes*. At Court, *Cyneas* maintained the Character of a Philosopher, a Man of Virtue, and a Lover of Truth; who was not capable of deceiving by mean Flatteries, but who had Submission enough to execute without murmuring, the Orders which were given contrary to his Advice; and Complaisance enough, not to refuse to partake of moderate Pleasures. He was an *Epicurean*, but of the best sort; and at a time, when this Sect was not yet come into Disrepute, through the ill Use that corrupt Men afterwards made of the Principles they professed. So that *Pyrrhus* employed this wise Politician in the Cabinet; this able Orator, in his Negotiations; and this brave General in his military Expeditions. And now he entertained him with the vast Projects he was forming, *Italy, says he, opens to me a large Field of Glory. To subdue the Romans, is to conquer the West. And how easy is it to subdue them! He truria finds them Employment on one Hand; and all the Nations on this side the Tyber, quite to the Sea-shore, are ready to take up Arms under my Command, against this ambitious People. How rich a Harvest have I to gather, among these Barbarians! Thou knowest the Extent and Fruitfulness of their Territories, better than I do. Tell me, what you think of it.* *Cyneas* had never yet disapproved of the Design upon *Italy*; but he knew his Master's Impatience, and how much in Haste he was to leave

⁴⁵ *Plutarch* gives us this Account of this pretended Apparition. When *Pyrrhus* was ready to set out on his Expedition in *Macedonia*, against *Demetrius*, who was become his Enemy, he fancied he saw *Alexander the Great* in a Dream. The Conqueror seemed to invite him to come to him; upon which the King of *Epirus* immediately advanced towards him, and found him lying sick on a Bed. But nevertheless, the Conqueror of the *Persians* very tenderly caressed him, and promised him to assist him in the War he was going to undertake. Of what Assistance can you be to me, replied *Pyrrhus*, in the melancholy Condition you are in? My Name alone, replied *Alexander*, is sufficient; That shall make every thing give Way before you. And then, according to *Plutarch*, *Alexander* mounting a *Nisæan* Horse, marched before *Pyrrhus*, as it were

to make Way, and prepare new Conquests, for him.
⁴⁶ This *Cyneas* was a Native of *Thessaly*. The Art of Persuasion of which he was Master, and the Secret of those he had to do with, enabled him to conquer all Difficulties, in the Business he transacted for his Master: So that *Pyrrhus* entrusted him with the most secret Negotiations. This Prince himself used to say, that he had not established his Power so much by his own Valour, as by *Cyneas's* Eloquence and persuasive Discourses. He, according to *Plutarch*, gained so absolute an Authority over Men's Minds, by the Force of his Reasonings, and his insinuating Manner, that he verified the Saying of *Euripides*, *ὅτι πᾶν ἐκείνῳ λόγῳ, ὃ καὶ σιδερεὺς μάχεται*; that is, *that Eloquence is as sharp as the Edge of a Sword.*

from one Conquest to another, and therefore replied, *Very well, Sir, you will conquer Italy; and whither will you turn your Arms then? The Thing speaks itself,* rejoins *Pyrrhus; it will be but Play for us to go from Italy to Sicily, where we shall find the States in Confusion.* Agathocles 47, *who, by his Wisdom, kept the Sicilians in order, is dead. They are now all in a Flame, since Orators govern their Cities, according to their licentious Humour.* How many fruitful Provinces, and plentiful Countries, shall I here subject to my Law! And when Sicily shall have owned you for its Master, where will you make War next? replied Cyneas, interrupting him. *A fine Question!* answered Pyrrhus. *I will sail over into Africa. The Carthaginians are not invincible. Agathocles had like to have surprized their Ports, with only a few Ships, and made himself King of Carthage. And when I shall have taken that City, who will be able to resist me? Will Macedonia, which I formerly conquered, refuse to submit to me? Will Greece itself be able to hold out against my Forces? And after all these Victories,* said Cyneas again, *what will you do next? I will then,* answered Pyrrhus, *take some rest after all my Fatigues, and enjoy the Pleasures of Life with thee.* Ah, Sir, replied the wise Philosopher, *what hinders us from enjoying that Happiness now, which you propose to seek through so many Labours, and with the Hazard of being never able to find it?* These Words made some Impression upon the King; but they did not change his Heart. His Ambition prevailed, and he covered it under the Appearance of Virtue. *It is hereditary in my Family,* said he, *to assist the Miserable. We ought not to make War for our selves alone, but to relieve the Oppressed.* Nor was this all. In order to conceal his Design of invading *Tarentum*, as well as the rest of *Italy*, he ordered a very artful Clause to be inserted, in his Treaty with the *Tarentini*. It was this; That when he had once relieved *Tarentum*, he should not be detained in *Italy*, or hindered from returning to *Epirus*. He likewise farther insisted, that some of the Embassadors should continue in his Dominions, under Pretence of assisting him, in making Preparations for War; but in reality, that they might be as so many Hostages to him, to secure the Fidelity of the *Tarentini*.

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§. X. AFTER he had taken these prudent Precautions, *Pyrrhus* hastened *Cyneas's* Departure for *Tarentum*, with part of his Fleet, and a Detachment of his Troops. He knew the Power of his Minister's Eloquence, and had made many Conquests by it: He confessed, that *Cyneas* had reduced to his Obedience more Cities by Words, than he himself had done, by his Arms. *Cyneas* sailed for *Italy* with about three thousand Men, and this artful Negotiator soon changed the Dispositions of the *Tarentini*. *Agis*, who acted in concert with *Æmilius*, had begun to hope his Country would enjoy a Peace; but upon his Arrival, *Cyneas* dispersed his *Epirotæ* in

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

47 *Agathocles* raised himself by his Valour from being one of the lowest of the People, to the supreme Authority. He was born at *Rhegium*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, and was the Son of one *Carcinus*, a Potter. His Youth was spent in Robberies, and the most infamous Debaucheries. Nevertheless he professed Arms, and distinguished himself by his Valour. After having passed through all the Stations in the Army, the *Syracusans* chose him for their General against the *Ætini*. Afterwards he turned Pirate upon his own Countrymen. He twice endeavoured to make himself King of *Syracuse*, and was both times forced to desist from his Enterprise, and hide himself from his fellow-Citizens, who drove him out of their City. From this time, having born a part in all that Variety of Fortune which attended the *Carthaginians*, in their Attempts upon *Sicily*, he at length seized *Messina*, *Syracuse*, and the whole Island; and being now Master of so considerable a State, he passed over to *Africa*, with his Troops, and made *Carthage* tremble. The taking of *Utica* proved fatal to his Son *Archagates*, to whom he had given the Government of that City. The new Governor was besieged by his own Troops. The Father hastened to the Relief of the Son, but fell himself into the Hands of the Rebels. And then he had the Mortification to see his own Children murdered before his Face; and escaping the Fury of the Traitors himself, returned to *Sicily*, where he revenged the Murder of his Children, on the Wives and Chil-

dren of the Soldiers concerned in it. He spared neither Age nor Sex, but sacrificed them all to his Resentments. After this *Corfu* was besieged by *Cassander*; *Agathocles* fled to the Relief of the Island; forced the *Macedonian* to raise the Siege, and burnt all his Ships. And as he returned from this Expedition, he surprized the Troops which had rebelled against his Son *Archagates*, and put them all to the Sword. *Hipponium* in *Great Greece*, was one of his last Conquests; but the Inhabitants of this City cut the Garrison in pieces, which he left in it. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that this Prince died by Poison, which his Grandson caused to be given him, out of revenge for his having excluded him from the Succession to the Throne. Indeed, a little before his Death, he proposed making his own Son *Agathocles* his Heir in the Throne. He died, according to *Justin*, of a horrible kind of Disease, caused by a putrid Humour, which spread itself into all the Parts of his Body. But *Diodorus* differs from *Justin*, as to the Circumstances of his Death. It happened according to *Father Petau*, in the fourth Year of the 122^d Olympiad, the Year of the World, 3695, and of *Rome* 465. See *Justin*, B. 22, and 23. *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 19, and 20; and the Extracts of *Monsieur le Valois*. It is said, that *Agathocles* ordered himself to be served both in Gold-Plate, and Earthen-Ware, to remind him of his Birth, and excite others, to raise themselves after his Example.

* Hoffman.

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the City ; seized the Government, till *Pyrrhus* should arrive ; deposed *Agis* ; and for Form's sake only, placed one of the *Tarentine* Embassadors, whom he had brought back with him from *Epirus*, in his room. Nor did this satisfy him ; it was necessary that he should make himself Master of the Citadel, in order thereby to keep the *Tarentini* in awe, and steady. And one *Milo* an *Epirote*, coming up very seasonably with fresh Succours, and with an Account, that *Pyrrhus* would soon be there in Person, at the Head of a numerous Army ; the cowardly *Tarentini*, delivered up their Citadel into his Hands. The Citizens, which is scarce credible of any Nation, but these stupid *Tarentini*, all universally rejoiced to see the *Epirotæ* in Possession of their City. In what Quietness and Tranquillity, said they, shall we live ! Our Defenders will take all the Labour and Fatigue upon themselves, whilst we shall meet with no Interruption in our Pleasures. They were also impatient to see their Tyrant among them ; and therefore sent away their Galleys, and transport-Ships to *Epirus*, to convey *Pyrrhus* with his Troops and Elephants to *Tarentum*. With the Convoys, they also sent a large Sum of Money ; and then *Pyrrhus* immediately embarked. *Cyneas* and *Milo* had prepared the Way for him so well, that his Authority was already as well established in *Tarentum*, as in *Epirus*.

Frontin. in
Stratag.
Zonaras, B. 8.

IN the mean time, the Consul *Æmilius* plainly perceived, that nothing more was to be done against the *Tarentini*. The new Reinforcements they had received, secured them against a Siege ; and the Winter-Season approaching, he could not continue encamped any longer. So that he resolved to put his Troops into Winter-Quarters in *Apulia* ; which was not far from the Place, which would soon become the Seat of the War. But before he could arrive there, he must necessarily go through long and narrow Passes, and march by the Shore, on a Strand overlooked by Hills, from whence the *Tarentini*, assisted by the *Epirotæ*, might easily annoy his Men with their Darts, and kill them as they marched. And indeed, no sooner were the *Romans* decamped, but an Army marched out of *Tarentum*, to harass them in their Retreat. The Sea was immediately covered with their Barks, laden with 48 *Ballistæ*, and the Hills were seized by Men armed with Slings and Bows : And in order

48 The Ancients had their offensive Machines, which they used in Battels and Sieges. The Historians particularly mention the *Ballista* ; a Name taken from the *Greek*, to signify a sort of Engine for Stones, which by the help of its moving Powers, flung Stones of three and four hundred Pound weight. The common Stones thrown in them weighed about a hundred, or a hundred and twenty five Pounds. Hence the Names of *Ballista Centenaria*, and *Talentaria*, which we meet with in *Nonnius*. Sometimes the *Ballista* was loaded with a kind of Cartridge-shot ; that is, Baskets, or Sacks full of Stones, were thrown by them with Violence, among the Enemy's Army, which scattering abroad, broke the Ranks, and did great Execution. It was also sometimes used to throw the dead Carcasses of Men and Horses into besieged Places, in order to infect the Garison and Inhabitants. *Cæsar*, in his second Book Of the Civil War, speaks of a *Ballista*, which threw Beams of twelve Foot long, pointed with Iron. The Force of this Machine was so prodigious, that, according to *Josephus*, a Man, who stood by one at the Siege of *Jerusalem*, had his Head beaten off, and carried 375 Paces from his Body, by a Stone which came from it. To which he adds, that the next Day, a Woman big with Child was struck by one, with such Violence, that the Child was beaten out of her Body, and carried sixty two Paces from her.

What we say of the *Ballista*, may likewise be proportionably applied to another old Machine of War, which Authors call *Catapulta*, from two *Greek* Words *κατά* and *πύλη*. The latter not only signified a great Shield, or a kind of Buckler, such as the *Amazons* used,

But also a Dart or Lance, as *Hesychius* observes. The *Catapulta* threw Darts, some of which were three Cubits long ; and with such Force, as to carry them above a *Stadium*, or a hundred and twenty five geometrical Paces. *Athenæus* tells us, that *Agefistratus* built two of these Machines ; one three Hands breadth, that is, a little above two Foot long ; and the other four Hands long ; and that the former carried three *Stadia* ; the latter, four. Both *Greek* and *Latin* Authors agree, that no *Cuirasse* was Proof against these Darts, several of which were thrown at a time. They affirm, that sometimes a whole Rank of Soldiers drawn up in Battalia, were wounded all at once, by these murdering Machines.

But most Historians have confounded the *Ballista* with the *Catapulta* ; either because they were both used to throw Stones and Darts ; or because they were both called by both of these Names. And indeed *Athenæus* tells us, B. 5. that *Archimedes* built a *Ballista*, on one of King *Hieron's* Ships, which threw a Stone of three Talents (that is 375 Pounds weight, and a Dart twelve Cubits long, 125 geometrical Paces :

Appian, in *Iberic*. gives the *Catapulta* the Name of *Saxi-jaculas*, and *Hasti-jaculas*, *ἰχθυοβόλον* and *ἀνδροβόλον*. But *Polybius* distinguishes the *Ballista* from the *Catapulta*, when he speaks of the Preparation of *Philip of Macedon* made, for the Siege of *Thebes*. He had, says this Historian, a hundred and fifty *Catapultæ*, and twenty five Slings for Stones, and *Ballistæ*. *Josephus*, B. 5. speaking of the Siege of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, says, they had three hundred *Catapultæ*, and forty *Ballistæ*, in their Army. These Machines were moved by great Ropes fastened to Axle-trees, Rollers, and Capstanes. These Ropes were ordinarily made of Guts, Nerves twitted together ; and sometimes Horse

Ducis Amazonidum Lunatis agmina Peltis.

Virg. Æn. 1.

order to screen his Men from their Showers of Stones, and Arrows, *Æmilius* invented this Stratagem. He placed the many Prisoners he had taken in the Country about *Tarentum*, in the Wings, Front, and Rear of his Army, during its march; and by this means they alone were exposed to the Assaults of their Countrymen: Which the *Tarentini* perceiving, they soon left off pursuing the *Romans*, out of Compassion to their Brethren. So that the *Romans* arrived safe in *Apulia*, and there took up their Winter-Quarters. As for the *Consul*, he returned to *Rome*; but did not obtain the Honours of a Triumph there. The Republick was perhaps dissatisfied with his Dilatoriness before *Tarentum*, and disliked his Mildness, which gave room for the Descent of the *Epirotæ*; or perhaps, the Victory he had gained, was little valued. But his Colleague *Marcus* was received in a different manner. He had gained great Advantages in *Hetruria*, this Campaign, the Particulars of which the Historians have omitted. They were too much taken up with *Pyrrhus's* Descent, to attend to other Affairs; so that all we know of *Marcus* is, that he triumphed on *The Calends of April*, for having vanquished the *Hetrurians*.

§. XI. THE new *Consuls* the Republick had just chosen in the *Campus Martius*, were *P. Valerius*, surnamed 49 *Lævinus*, and *Tib. Coruncanius*, who had no Surname. This great Man was not so much as 50 a *Roman*. He was born in *Camerium*, a *Municipium*, whose Citizens had a right of Suffrage at *Rome*, in the *Comitia by Centuries*; and his Merit alone had raised him to the *Consulate*. His Birth and Fortune were very low; but his Virtue wiped off the Reproach of so mean a Descent; and his Frugality supplied the Place of Riches. He had more of that Valour, Conduct, and Genius for War, which are necessary to make a great Commander, than those noble *Patricians*, out of whom the Republick annually chose one of her *Consuls*. At this time, the *Plebeian Consul*, almost always outshone his *Patrician* Colleague; as particularly, *Curius Dentatus*, *Fabricius*, and *Coruncanius* did. And indeed, Virtue is better preserved in a moderate Fortune, than in great Riches, and in the midst of Honours. And as it was necessary that the Republick should now have more than two Armies on Foot to oppose so many Enemies at once; the same *Comitia* which had elected the *Consuls*, nominated likewise a *Proconsul*. The Man pitched on for this Post, was the same *Æmilius*, who had acted against the *Tarentini* the last Year; and who was continued in the Command of his old Troops, and ordered to make War with the 51 *Sallentini*, who had declared for *Tarentum*.

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TIB. CORUN-
CANIUS, Con-
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Tabulæ Clau-
dii Cæsaris
apud Lugdu-
nenses.

ir, or the Hair of any other strong Animal, was mixed with them. Nay, Womens Hair was sometimes used for this Purpose. The first trial of it was, when the *Capitol* was besieged by the *Gauls*. The *Romans* then wanted Ropes; and *Vegecius Capitolinus* both say, that the Hair of the *Roman Ladies* supplied that Defect. They voluntarily offered it, and the Trial then made of it, brought it into use for the future. To which the last Author adds, that in Gratitude for this voluntary Offering, there was a Temple in *Rome*, dedicated to *CAVÆ*, that is, *To Venus the Bald*. The *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ* were not only known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, other Nations used them in sieges and Sieges. *Pliny* ascribes the Invention of the *Catapultæ* to the *Syrians*. *Diodorus* says they were first invented in *Sicily*, in the time of *Dionysius the Tyrant*, when he was preparing to make War with the *Carthaginians*. And *Plutarch* affirms that this Prince was the Inventor of them; that *Archdamus*, upon seeing a Dart thrown from a *Catapultæ* cried out, *ἄρα εἶπα*; by which he meant, that Valour would for the future be of no use in War, against such dreadful Batteries. Whatever *Diodorus Siculus* and *Plutarch* may say of the Invention of these Machines, it must have been of a much earlier Date, than they make their Writings. In Proof of this, we need not read *Chron. xxvi. 15.* where the sacred Author tells us, that *Uzziah*, King of *Judah*, upon the Towers, and according to the *Pulchritude* of the Angles, of the Walls of *Jerusalem*, made sorts of Machines, some to throw Darts, which were *Catapultæ*; and some for Stones, which

were *Ballistæ*. The *Vulgate* runs thus, *Et fecit in Jerusalem diversi generis Machinas, quas in Turribus collocavit, & angulis murorum, ut mitterent Sagittas & saxa grandia.* The Words of the *English Translation* are these. And he (*Uzziah*) made in *Jerusalem Engines invented by cunning Men, to be on the Towers, and upon the Bulwarks, to shoot Arrows and great Stones withal.* Now there were near five hundred Years between the time of *Uzziah*, and that of the first *Dionysius*; so that it is not probable, as *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* say in another Place, that *Pericles*, who governed *Athens* about the Year of *Rome* 320, first invented Machines of War, with the Assistance of *Artemon of Clazomene*. We shall speak of the Make, and Manner of Building the *Catapultæ*, and *Ballistæ*, in another Place, and will there give the several Forms of them.

49 *Plutarch* is mistaken in giving *Valerius* the Surname of *Albinus*; as *Zonaras* is, in giving him that of *Lævinus*.

50 *Cicero* seems to say, in his *Oration for Plautius*, that *Coruncanius* was a Citizen of *Tusculum*. But the broken Sense, and Obscurity of the Text, have made the Critics, and Grammarians believe, that we have it not entire. So that the *Roman Orator's* Testimony in this Case, will not amount to a Proof against *Tacitus's* Authority, who says, that *Coruncanius* was of *Camerium*.

51 The Country of the *Sallentini*, contained that little Southern Canton, which reached from the Territory of *Tarentum*, to the Cape of *Japygia*, or *Promontorium Salenticum*, now *Capo di S. Maria di Lenta*. This with *Calabria*, properly so called,

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As for the *Consuls*, they chose their Provinces by Lot; and it fell to *Coruncanius* to march into *Hetruria*, and to *Lævinus*, to carry on the War with *Tarentum*. And it was probably now, and not the Year before, that the Number of the *Legions* in the *Consular* Armies, was encreased. The present Exigencies, obliged the *Romans* to make extraordinary Levies. There was a sort of Men at *Rome*, who, being the vilest of the People, were called by way of Contempt, *Proletarii*; and as they were thought capable of doing the State no other Service, than that of peopling the City, and stocking the Republick with Subjects, they had hitherto never been enlisted in the Troops, but were suffered to continue idle, whilst others took the Field. A wise piece of Policy, to make it matter of Shame, not to serve their Country in Arms! *Rome* thereby excited an Emulation among her Citizens, and made them ambitious of the Honour of being admitted among the Soldiery, and desirous of making themselves worthy of it. But now, these *Proletarii* had the Pleasure, to see themselves enrolled as well as others. They also were ordered to take the Field, and three *Roman* Armies advanced towards their respective Posts.

Justin, B. 17,
and 18.

§. XII. *PYRRHUS* was then arrived at *Tarentum*: But before he left *Epirus*, he settled the Government of his Dominions during his Absence. His Wife *Antigone* had brought him a Son named *Ptolomy*, who was then fifteen Years of Age; and he left him Regent in *Epirus*. He took his two younger Sons, ⁵² *Alexander* and *Helenus*, with him, into *Italy*, to amuse and entertain him, in this long Expedition. Before his Departure, he had also borrowed Ships, Men, and Money, of the Kings his Friends; and brought with him, besides his *Epirotæ*, a good Number of *Thessalians*, and about seven thousand of those brave *Macedonians*, who had conquered *Asia*, under the Command of *Alexander the Great*. A more magnificent Armament had scarce ever been seen in the *Levant*. *Pyrrhus's* Fleet consisted of the Ships



made up that Province of *Great Greece*, which was anciently called *Messapia*. I say *Calabria* properly so called, because some ancient Authors give the Name of *Calabria* to *La Pouille*, or *Apulia*, as far as to Mount *Garganus*. *Strabo*, B. 6. says, that the *Salentini*, were originally *Cretans*. *Festus* says, that the *Illyrians* and People of *Candia* having joined the *Lœri*, they wandered some time about the *Italian* Seas, and landed at last on the South Coast of *Messapia*, and settled in that part of this *Peninsula*, which is nearest the *Sicilian* Sea. To which he adds, that the Name of *Salentini*, was taken from the *Latin* Word *Salum*, because these People were surrounded by the Sea, to the East, West, and South; so that their Country, was the most maritime part of *Italy*. For this Reason, it is emblematically represented on Medals, by a *Neptune*, armed with his Trident; the usual Symbol of Sea-Ports. The ancient Historians and Geographers boast much, of the famous Temple of *Minerva*, which was built here, by *Idomeneus* the Chief of the *Cretans*, who settled in this Province. Here is likewise the *Cape of Minerva*, which the *Latin* Authors call, sometimes *Arx Minerva*, sometimes *Castrum Minerva*, and sometimes *Minervium*. It is at present the City of *Castro*. The Head of a *Minerva*, which we find on the Medal above, with this Inscription, *ΣΑΛΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ*, shews the Veneration this People had for that Goddess. *Dion.*

Hal. speaks also of a famous Temple, near the *Cape of Minerva*, consecrated to *Juno*, which was in being in *Aeneas's* time; who, according to this Author, offered a Brass Cup to the Goddess, in Memory of his passing by this Place, and had his own Name engraved in old Characters upon it.

⁵² After the Death of *Antigone*, the Daughter of *Berenice*, whose second Husband was *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, *Pyrrhus* married several Wives. The first was the Daughter of *Antoleon* King of the *Paeoni*. The Name of the second was *Bircenna*, who was the Daughter of *Bardullis*, King of the *Illyrians*. The third was *Lanassa* the Daughter of *Agathocles* of *Syracuse*. The latter brought him the Island of *Coreyra*, which her Father had seized, for her Portion. He had a Son by her named *Alexander*; and by *Bircenna* he had *Helenus*, the youngest of all his Children. The warlike Genius these Princes derived from their Father, was improved by their Education. *Plutarch* says, that when one of them asked his Father, one Day, to which of his Children he would give the Crown of *Epirus*, the King answered, To him who has the sharpest Sword. *Pyrrhus* intended likewise, to enlarge his Power and extend his Empire, by the great Alliances made by these new Matches. Nevertheless, he quarrelled with *Lanassa*. She grew jealous, upon his preferring his other Wives to her, and retired to *Coreyra*, and married *Demetrius*.

of *Epirus*, and those which King ⁵³ *Antigonus* had sent him, and the Gallies of *Tarentum*. His Army consisted ⁵⁴ of twenty two thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, five hundred Slingers, and twenty Elephants, which ⁵⁶ *Ptolomy*, then King of *Macedon* had lent him, only for ⁵⁷ two Years. But as prudent as *Pyrrhus* was, his Impatience of getting to *Italy* immediately, made him guilty of an Error in Conduct, which had like to have cost him dear. He would not tarry for the fine Weather of the Spring-Season, but set Sail towards the end of the Winter, when violent Storms are most frequent. And he was scarce got out into the main Sea, before it began to swell at a great Rate, and a violent North-wind, dispersed his Fleet, and drove it different Ways. Indeed the Ship on board which he was, being large and high built, resisted the Waves, and by the Skill of her Pilots, continued her Course, and arrived on the Coasts of *Italy*. There the few Ships which followed her ran a-ground on the Rocks, upon the *Messapian* Shore; and a fresh Accident had like to have destroyed his own Vessel. A Land-wind arose all on a sudden, and drove *Pyrrhus* out to Sea again. Just as he was ready to reach the Shore, the Sea grew so exceeding boisterous, that his Ship could scarce live in it. This new Danger was greater than any the King had met with, in his Passage; but nevertheless, as the Land was not far off, and might be gained by swimming, the intrepid *Pyrrhus* did not deliberate what to do. He threw himself into the Water. His Guards, and those Friends he had on board, followed his Example, without doubt, in order to take care of his Person, and save him; but it was not without great Difficulty that he struggled against the Waves. In short, he did not reach the Land, till Day-break, when the Wind ceased; and then, not without the Assistance of the *Messapians*, who stood upon the Shore, and who likewise saved those Vessels belonging to his Fleet, which the Tempest had driven on their Coast. So that *Pyrrhus* found his Army, at his Arrival, to be only two thousand Men, a few Horse, and two Elephants; Animals which had never been seen in *Italy* before. The rest of the Fleet was dispersed and exposed to the Mercy of the Waves.

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Zon. B. 8. c. 2.
Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

AFTER this, the King of *Epirus* crossed *Messapia*, and went by Land towards *Tarentum*. As soon as what had happened to him was known there, *Cyneas* came to meet him with a Guard. And at length, *Pyrrhus* entered *Tarentum*, with the Acclamations of all the People. There was something great and majestick in his Air; yet he had rather a forbidding, than an encouraging Aspect. He equalled *Alexander the Great* (whom the Kings of the East were so fond of imitating) in Activity of Body; and was the only Prince who could copy him in his finest Exploits. In a Battel, the King of *Epirus*, might have been taken for the King of *Macedon*. *Pyrrhus* had a Mark of his Strength of Body in his Mouth: Instead of distinct Teeth in his upper ⁵⁸ Jaw, he had one continued semicircular Bone, which had no Division, but was only marked with small Lines, where the Divisions of his Teeth should have been. He had a fine Understanding ⁵⁹, well-improved, and great Sagacity. Contrary

Plut. ibid.

⁵³ *Antigonus* surnamed *Gonata*, from the Name of the City of *Goneis* in *Thessaly*, was King of a little Country in *Greece*; which he had saved out of the Ruins of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, after the Death of his Father *Demetrius Poliorcetes*.

⁵⁴ *Plutarch* makes 2000 of these 22000 Foot to have been Archers.

⁵⁵ *Justin* says, B. 17. that *Pyrrhus's* Cavalry consisted of four thousand Men; which *Ptolomy* sent him, with five thousand Foot, and fifty Elephants, which *Plutarch* reduces to twenty. *Pyrrhus*, in order to corroborate his Alliance with *Ptolomy*, had married his Daughter, and put his Kingdom under that Prince's Protection, during his Absence; in case of an Invasion from the neighbouring Kings.

⁵⁶ This *Ptolomy* is the same who was surnamed *Ceraunus*, or *The Thunderbolt*. He was the Son of *Ptolomy Lagus*, by *Euridice* his first Wife. He was then in Possession of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, of which he had deprived *Selencus Nicator*, or *Nicator*, together with his Life; in the same manner as *Nicator* had treated *Lysimachus*.

⁵⁷ *Justin* adds, B. 17. that *Pyrrhus* had borrow-

ed a Sum of Money for this Expedition, of King *Antiochus the First*, surnamed *Soter*, or *Saviour*. This Prince had assisted his Father *Selencus Nicator*, in the famous Battel of *Issus*, against *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*; and he was now become King of *Syria*, since his Father's Death.

⁵⁸ This is not the only singular thing *Plutarch* says of *Pyrrhus*. Both he, and *Pliny*, B. 7. c. 2. relate Tales of him, which have not a Shadow of Probability in them. They tell us, that *Pyrrhus* had the Gift of healing the Spleen; and that he prepared himself for this Operation, by sacrificing a white Cock. After which, he made the sick Person lie down on his Back, and gently touched the Part affected with his right Foot. The meanest and most contemptible of the People, were, according to them, never denied this Favour; and all the King asked in return, was the Cock which had been sacrificed. What they likewise add, of the divine Virtue, which came from his great Toe, is much of the same Stamp.

⁵⁹ It is therefore surprising, that *Tully*, should (*De Divin.* l. 2.) think *Pyrrhus* himself included in these Verses of *Ennius*, wherein (the Poet says, the

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Contrary to the Custom of the Kings of Greece, he was pleased with those Sciences alone, which were useful, and despised those, which served only for Amusements. When two excellent Musicians, were commended before him, and the King was asked, which he liked best, without giving any Answer to the Question, he run out into an Encomium, upon a good Soldier. And indeed, no Body understood the Art of War better than himself. He learnt it by Principles and Rules, as well as by Use and Practice. He is said to have written ⁶⁰ several Volumes, on Encampments, and the different Ways of drawing ⁶¹ up, and exercising, an Army. So that it is not to be wondered at, that *Hannibal*, when asked, whom he esteemed to be the greatest Generals in the World, should name *Alexander* ⁶² as the first, *Pyrrhus* as the second, *Scipio* as the third, and himself last. *Pyrrhus* had a great ⁶³ deal of Magnanimity, much Compassion for the Unhappy, and more Gratitude ⁶⁴ for those who had obliged him. He was one Day seen to weep, not so much, as he himself confessed, for the Loss of his Friend, as for not having had Time and Opportunity to acknowledge his Services. His only Faults were Ambition and Inconstancy. But it may be observed of his Ambition, that it did not so much proceed from an avaritious Desire of enriching himself and possessing vast Dominions, as from a Love of the Glory of Conquering. Had the *Romans* been less renowned for their Valour, I question, whether *Pyrrhus* would have entered the Lists with them. His Inconstancy was very

the whole Race of the *Æacide*, were naturally stupid, and had only a brutal Courage,

*Semper fuit stolidum genus Æacidarum
Belli potentes magis quam sapienti potentes.*

Plutarch judged quite otherwise of this Prince.

⁶⁰ *Tully* mentions these Books, which *Pyrrhus* wrote on the Art of War, in his 25th Epistle to *Patus*, in these Words, B. 9. *Summum me ducem littera tua reddidere. Plane nesciebam te tam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros, & Cincea video lectitasse.* This Declaration of *Cicero* is in some measure, a disavowing of what he had said of *Pyrrhus*, in his second Book *De Divinatione*.

⁶¹ *Donatus*, in his Commentary on Terence's *Eunuch*, tells us, that *Pyrrhus* invented a sort of Game at Chess, to represent the different Ways of making Attacks, and drawing up Armies in Battalia. *Pyrrhus peritissimus stratagematum fuit; primusque quemadmodum ea disciplina per calculos, in tabula, traderetur, ostendit.* And *Livy*, B. 35, gives us the same Account of *Pyrrhus*, or rather he makes *Hannibal* say as much of this King. He was the first, says he, who perfectly understood how to encamp, and choose his Ground, and post his Men to Advantage. *Castra metari primum docuisse, ad hoc neminem elegantius loca cepisse, praesidia disposuisse, &c.*

⁶² *Plutarch* relates this Matter somewhat differently in his *Life of Pyrrhus*. His Words are these: *Hannibal said, that of all the great Officers in the World, Pyrrhus was the first for Experience and Capacity. The second Place he gave to Scipio; and reserved the third for himself; as we have observed in The Life of Scipio.* Now, we don't dispute what *Plutarch* says in this last Work which is now lost; but only observe, that in his *Life of Flaminius* he contradicts himself. He there relates *Hannibal's* Opinion otherwise than he does in his *Life of Pyrrhus*. This General, says he, and *Scipio Africanus* had an Interview at *Ephesus*. The Conversation turned upon this Question, who were the greatest Generals; and *Hannibal* gave *Alexander* the first Place, *Pyrrhus* the second, and himself the third. So that *Scipio* is here excluded, whereas he is second, in the *Life of Pyrrhus*; and there, no mention is made of *Alexander the Great*. Had then *Plutarch* contradicted himself in these two Places? Or did *Hannibal* judge differently at different times? *Livy* likewise mentions this Story, B. 35, but he does not agree with the former Passage of *Plutarch*. According to him, *Hannibal* gave *Alexander* the first Place, *Pyrrhus* the second, and himself

the third. Upon which *Scipio* seeing himself excluded said, with a Smile, *And what would you say, Hannibal, if you had overcome me? I would,* replied the *Carthaginian*, *reckon my self superior to Alexander, Pyrrhus, and the greatest Generals in the World.* Which saying was, that *Scipio* had not his Equal, and ought not to be brought into Competition with the other Generals. Who then shall we believe, *Livy*, or *Plutarch*? We have taken the most natural Method, which is that, of joining the two Passages of *Plutarch* together: So that we leave *Alexander* in the first Place which *Hannibal* gives him, in the *Life of Flaminius*; and have placed *Scipio* after *Pyrrhus*, as *Hannibal* also does, in the *Life of Pyrrhus*. To which we shall here add, that when *Antigonus* was asked, who was the greatest Commander in the World, he answered, *Pyrrhus, if he was but old.*

⁶³ *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Pyrrhus*, mentions one Particular, which is a remarkable Proof of the Greatness of that Prince's Soul. Whilst he was in *Ambracia*, he was informed, that there was an abusive Fellow there, who ran out into most virulent Declamations against him; and his Favourites represented to him, that he could not in Honour do less, than destroy this avowed Enemy, or at least banish him, with Disgrace. But *Pyrrhus* answered, that it was better to let the Wretch rail at him there among a few People, than to drive him into foreign Countries, where he would revile him to a great many. The most lovely part of *Pyrrhus's* Character, continues *Plutarch*, was his Sweetness of Temper, and Beneficence to those who had any Share in his Favour. He was, adds this Historian, exceedingly affected at the Loss of *Æropus*, who had done him considerable Service; and said, *It is not his Death that most afflicts me: He has paid the Debt he owed to Nature. My Concern is this, that I so long delayed making him a return for his Services; and that by means of these Delays, I am now utterly deprived of the Pleasure, of shewing my Gratitude, by bestowing Favours upon him.*

⁶⁴ *Cicero* gives *Pyrrhus* this remarkable Encomium. Two Generals, says he, in his Book Of Friendship, disputed the Empire of Italy with the *Romans*, *Pyrrhus*, and *Hannibal*. The Probity of the former is still remembered, with Respect, in Rome; the Cruelty of the latter, has made his Name and Memory odious to the People. *Cum duobus ducibus de Imperio in Italia decertatum, Pyrrho, & Annibale. Ab altero propterea probitatem ejus, non nimis alienos animos habemus. Alterum, propter crudelitatem, semper hæc civitas odet.* remarkable.

remarkable. He begun ⁶⁵ many Projects, and then left them unfinished ; as soon as he had tried one Enemy, he loved to make Trial of another.

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§. XIII. THIS active and virtuous Prince, in *Tarentum*, was the Admiration of a slothful and incontinent People; they expected that he should take all the Fatigues of the War on himself alone, and expose his *Epirotæ* only to Danger. And indeed, for some Days, *Pyrrhus* at first dissembled his Designs, and let the *Tarentini* enjoy their Pleasures. Though the *Consul Lævinus* appeared in *Lucania* with a great Army, and did some Mischief there; the King took no Notice of it. He waited for his scattered Ships, which were dispersed all over the *Ionian* Sea, and had gone into several Ports for Shelter; and at length they all arrived, one after another, and the Army he had embarked in them, was found complete. It fell little short of thirty thousand Men, and twenty Elephants. During his Inaction, *Pyrrhus* had time to reflect on the Manners of the *Tarentini*: And he found their Minds full of Levity, and their Hearts furiously bent upon Pleasure. Dispositions, which, he was sensible, could scarce fail of bringing them to ruin, and involving their Defenders in the same Fate; and therefore, immediately after all his Forces were come to *Tarentum*, he undertook to reform these Disorders. The Theatre was the Place where these idle Wretches lost their time, and where Incendiaries stirred up the People to Sedition, by their Harangues: And he therefore ordered it to be shut up. The *Tarentini* also assembled every Day in the Parks, and under the Portico's, where they walked, and talked of Peace and War, and settled the Government as they pleased; and they were therefore forbidden to come into these Places any more. These idle, and voluptuous Men spent all their Days and Nights, in Feastings, Masquerades, and Plays; which were now absolutely prohibited. The *Tarentini* were almost utter Strangers to military Exercises, and the Art of handling Arms: And these were now revived. Levies were regularly made; an exact Register was kept of all the Youth who were able to bear Arms, and the best were chosen for the Service. *Pyrrhus* ordered those who had the Care of the Levies to pick out the tallest and best-built Men. *I will undertake*, says he, *to give them Courage*. And he therefore did not form them into separate Bodies; but incorporated them in his ⁶⁶ *Phalanxes*, and made use of them, only

Frontin. in
Stratag.

⁶⁵ Justin has given us an exact Description of *Pyrrhus's* Temper, B. 25. *Ut ad devincenda regna invictus habebatur, ita devictis, acquisitisque, celeriter carebat. Tanto melius studebat acquirere imperia, quam retinere.* And therefore *Antigonus*, as *Plutarch* tells us, compared the King of *Epirus*, to a good Gamester, who is very fortunate, but does not know how to make a good Use of his good Fortune.

⁶⁶ We have already given the Reader a general Idea of the *Phalanx*. But as we are now entering upon the Wars the *Greeks* had with the *Romans*, it is necessary that we should give him here a more full and exact Account of their ancient Way of Fighting.

Polyænus, B. 1. of *Stratagems of War*, carries up the Origin of the *Phalanx* as high as to the Heroic Age. He says, that *Pan*, who accompanied *Bacchus* in his Exploits, was the first who drew up his Infantry in the Form of a *Phalanx*. His Cavalry he posted in the two Wings, *ad cornu dextrum* & *sinistrum*; and from hence, says he, the Poets represent this pretended Demi-God with two Horns on his Head. Others think that the Honour of this Invention belongs to *Menestheus*, the eleventh King of *Athens*. But *Diodorus Siculus*, and most Authors say, that *Philip of Macedon*, was the Inventor of the *Phalanx*, or at least, that he perfected it. This Prince found the Model of one in *Homer*; who resembles the Union of the Heads of the Greek Army, to a Battalion of Soldiers, who, by joining their Bucklers close together, form a Body, not to be penetrated by the Darts of the Enemy:

"ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἀκροῖα ἱερῶν, κόρυς κόρυι, ἀσπίς δ' ἀσπίδι. *Iliad* 5.

The *Macedonian Phalanx*, says *Quintus Curtius*, is a Body of Infantry, who stand their Ground firm, and keep their Ranks so well closed, dur-

ing an Engagement, that the Men and their Arms are an inaccessible Barrier against the Enemy. They are so well disciplined, and so ready to obey the Word of Command given them by their Heads, that upon the least Signal, they immediately follow their Colours, keep their Ranks, and perform all the Motions, of their military Exercise. *Polybius*, B. 17. speaking of the *Phalanx*, says, nothing could make Head against it, or withstand its Shocks. It is a Body of Men, continues he, who keep their Ranks so close, that each Man is allowed but three Foot Space, for himself, and his Arms. Those who composed this formidable Body of Men, were armed with *Sarissæ*; Pikes, which when they first came in Use, were sixteen Cubits, that is, twenty four Foot long. But afterwards they were reduced to fourteen Cubits, that is, twenty one Feet, that they might be the more manageable: When therefore, those of the first Line, were presented, they stood out at least ten Cubits towards the Enemy; allowing four Cubits for the Soldiers, to hold by. And consequently, the Pikes of the second, third, fourth, and fifth Ranks, were all long enough to reach before the first Rank, some farther, some shorter, according to the Distance of the Ranks. From all which, it is easy to conceive, adds *Polybius*, what the Force of the *Phalanx* must have been, when it gave an Assault upon the Enemy. Indeed, the Soldiers of the fifth Rank could not fight with their Pikes, but nevertheless they couched them under the Shoulders of those before them, and locked them together in file, thereby helping to preserve the Closeness of the Body, in which its main Strength consisted. Besides, this Collection of Pikes, which stuck so thick in the Front of the *Phalanx*, did not a little help to ward against the Darts of the Enemy, by their continual Motion. Was it to make an Attack? This terrible Body of Pikemen, advanced

Potter, Vol. 2.
p. 58.

Year of only as Recruits. By this Means, he both prevented any Seditions among the *Tarentine* Troops, and inured them to military Discipline. And above all, they were forbidden to desert, or absent themselves from the common Musters, upon pain of Death.

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all together, like a movable Rampart, without wavering about, or disuniting themselves in their March: And the Parts of this vast Body, being thus mutually united to, and supporting each other, it fell on a Battalion with such Cohesion and Violence, that it infallibly broke into it; nothing being able to resist the *Phalanx*, or make it give way. It is easy to conceive, that the first Rank being supported by the second, the second by the third, and so on, they must beat down every thing that stood in their Way. And indeed, as long as the *Phalanx* continued thus united, those behind, who continually pressed forward, bore so strongly upon those before them, that they could not give way. And this Disposition of an Army was still more formidable to the Romans. Polybius tells us, that in the *Legions*, every Soldier was not only allowed the Space of three Foot for himself and his Arms, but there was also an empty Space of three Foot more, left between every Soldier. And consequently, every Roman Foot Soldier had two *Phalangites* to engage with, and ten Iron-pikes to break through; for as we have before observed, the Pikes of the second, third, fourth, and fifth Ranks, reached before the first. But that the Order of the *Phalanx* may be the better understood, it is necessary to observe,

1st, That the *Greeks*, when they drew up their Army in Battalia, generally placed their Cavalry in the two Wings, and their Infantry in the Center.

2^{dly}, That they had three sorts of Men among their Foot. One, who were called *Oplitæ*, or *Catapraeti*, because they wore heavy Armour. They fought with long Pikes, and great round Bucklers. The *Peltistæ*, were a middle sort between the other two; they bore short Lances, and little Shields, which the Ancients called *Pelte*. The third sort were light-armed Men, who had neither Buckler, nor Breast-Plate. They attacked the Enemy at a Distance, with Stones and Darts.

3^{dly}, That there was the same Distinction among the Horse. Some of these were heavy-armed, and their Horses covered with Armour on all sides. Others were light-armed, who engaged closely, with Lances. And lastly, the third sort, whom *Ælian*, in his Treatise Of the Greek Soldiery, calls *Tarentini*, had missile Weapons; and they generally wheeled round the Enemy, and skirmished with them. Among the latter, this Author includes, that Squadron of Horse, who after the second and third Discharge of their missile Weapons, attacked the Enemy near, and came to a close Fight.

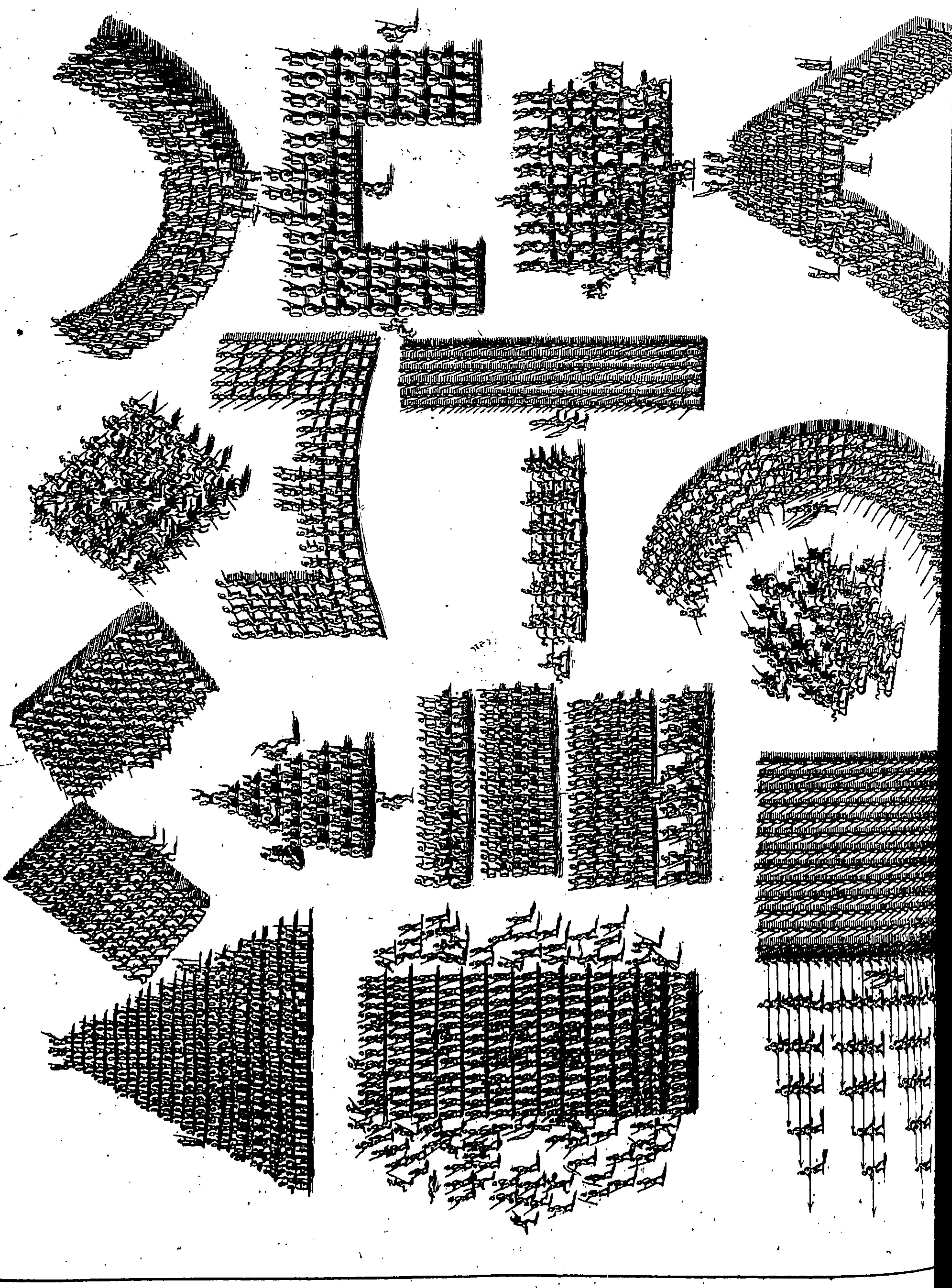
4^{thly}, That the whole Strength of the *Phalanx* consisted in the heavy-armed Infantry. The Soldiers in it, were drawn up Rank and File. The Ranks made its Length or Breadth; the Files its Thickness or Depth. The Files were longer or shorter, as there was Occasion. Sometimes there were sixteen Men in a File, sometimes thirty two, and sometimes more. These Files were sometimes no less than two hundred fifty six in Number, standing side by side; so that the *Phalanx* had two hundred and fifty six Men in Front, and sixteen, or thirty two in Depth; but sometimes, though very rarely, only eight. Each File had three Officers, one at the Head, another at the End, and a third in the Middle of it. The first was called *Lochagos*, or The Head of the File; the second *Uragos*, or The Closer of the File; the third, *Dimocrises*, or, The Chief of the half-File. And *Ælian* mentions a Chief of a Quarter of a File, whom he calls, *Enomotarches*.

5^{thly}, That the Body of the *Phalanx* consisted

of several parts; to which *Ælian* gives different Names. The first Division of it consisted of two Files, called *Dilochia*; the second of four Files, called *Tetrarchia*; the third called *Taxis*, of eight Files; and the fourth called *Syntagma*, or as others *Xenagia*, of sixteen Files. These four Divisions had each its Commander. That of the first was called *Dilochites*, that of the second *Tetrarches*, that of the third *Taxiarchos*, and that of the fourth *Syntagmatarches*, who commanded two *Taxis*. In the last Division were two hundred and fifty six Soldiers, supposing the *Phalanx* to be but sixteen Men deep, exclusive of the Officers belonging to this Company, which stood out of their Ranks; as for Instance, the Ensign, the Serjeant, the Trumpet, the Man who carried the Tickets for the Watch-word, and the Camp-herald. These two hundred and fifty six Men made a square Battalion, of sixteen Men in Front, and as many in Depth. The fifth Division called *Pentacosiaarchia*, and its Commander *Pentacosiarches*, consisted of double the fourth, that is of thirty two Files, and five hundred and twelve Men. The sixth Division called *Chiliarchia*, and its Commander *Chiliarches*, consisted of double the fifth, that is of sixty four Files, and a thousand and twenty four Men. The seventh called *Merarchia*, and its Commander *Merarches*, consisted of double the sixth, that is of a hundred and twenty eight Files, and two thousand and forty eight Men; and lastly, the whole *Phalanx* called *Phalangarchia*, and its Colonel *Phalangarches*, or *Strategos*, consisted of double the seventh Division; that is, of two hundred and fifty six Files, and consequently of four thousand and ninety six Men, since it was two hundred and fifty six in Front, and sixteen in Depth. But it was not always so strictly confined to this Number, but that it was often encreased, in Proportion to the Forces of the Enemy. Inasmuch, that the Authors of the *Tactics*, make the *Phalanx* to have consisted of 16384 Men. *Arrian* says, *Alexander's Phalanx* was a hundred and twenty Men deep. *Appian*, in *Syriacis*, fixes the Number of Men in a *Phalanx* at 16000, agreeably to the Orders settled by *Philip of Macedon*; and says, that it was divided into ten Parts, each of which had fifty two Men in Front, and thirty two in Depth. *Livy* B. 33. makes the *Phalanx* of *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius*, to have consisted of the same Number, and *Caracalla*, as *Xiphilin* tells us, in his Life of that Emperor, formed his upon the same Plan. But others say, the *Phalanx* consisted of eight thousand Men. And from this Disagreement among Authors, it appears, that the *Phalanx* contained a greater or less Number of Men, according as the Time, Place, Ground, and the Enemy the *Greeks* were to engage with, required. And the same may be said of the different Forms in which their Generals drew up the *Phalanx*. Sometimes, they lessened it in Front, and encreased it in Depth: Sometimes they lessened it in Depth, to widen the Front. Sometimes it was drawn up in the Form of a Square, sometimes of a Wedge, sometimes of a Circle, at others, of a Semicircle, sometimes of a Triangle, and sometimes of a Crescent; and lastly, it faced both ways, when it was attacked both before and behind. These Dispositions, which varied according to the present Exigency, imply the different Views of the General at those times.

6^{thly}, That *Ælian* considers the *Phalanx* in three different Situations, before a Battel, when it made an Attack, and when it stood on its own Defence. Before a Battel, the Ranks

BUT



BUT Men accustomed to live in Pleasure and Effeminacy, thought these excellent Regulations intolerable. The *Tarentini* were now sensible, that by calling in a Protector, they had made themselves a Master. One of the greatest Inconveniencies they had, was to find Lodgings among them, for so great a Number of Foreigners; and their chief Complaints were against the King's Guards. They chose their Quarters where they pleased, and took all Liberties, with the Wives and Children of those,

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Files were so wide, that every Soldier had the Space of six Foot of Ground every Way; and the empty Spaces were often filled with Elephants, carrying Towers upon their Backs full of armed Men. When the *Phalanx* was to make an Attack, the Ranks and Files of it were so closed, that each Man had but three Foot of Ground; which it was necessary he should have for handling his Arms, and turning to the right or left: And this was what the Greeks called *Pycnosis Phalangos*, or the *Closing* the *Phalanx*. When the *Phalanx* stood on its own Defence, in order to sustain the Attacks of the Enemy, the Ranks and Files were still more closed; inasmuch, that each Soldier was allowed but one Cubit of Ground: And this was called *Synaspismos*. The Soldiers joined their Bucklers together in such a manner, as to make a sort of Parapet, which hindered the Assailants from seeing how deep they were; and their Pikes, being levelled against the Enemy, made a sort of Barricade or Rampart, which it was dangerous to force.

7thly, That when there was Occasion, the *Phalanx* changed its Situation, all on a sudden, by turning from right to left, or from left to right, and facing about, from the Front to the Rear. The Soldiers of the *Phalanx* were, for this Purpose, taught several Motions, in their Exercise; which *Ælian* calls the *Macedonian*, *Laconic*, *Cretan*, the *Perispasmos*, and *Eesperispasmos*. The three former were invented by the *Macedonians*, *Lacedæmonians* and *Cretans*. The *Perispasmos* consisted of two Motions, from the right to the left; the *Eesperispasmos* of three.

8thly, That the *Phalanx* was called by different Names, according to its Form. *Plagia Phalanx* was that which had a large Front, and little Depth: *Oribia Phalanx*, that which had more Depth than Front; *Antistomos Phalanx*, that which was drawn up in two Lines, Length-ways, so that the Men faced towards the two Flanks; and *Amphistomos Phalanx*, was that which faced every Way, so as to be ready to attack the Enemy on any side.

9thly, That *Ælian* and *Arrian* say, it was common to divide the *Phalanx* into two Bodies; one to the right, which was taken for the Advance-guard, and one to the left, which was taken for the Rear-guard.

10thly, That to these *Phalanxes*, consisting of Men completely armed, the Greeks added a Body of light-armed Infantry; which consisted only of Slingers and Archers. They generally drew up in Battalia behind the *Phalanx*, and made exactly the same Front; but their Files, which directly answered those of the *Phalanx*, were only half its Depth. When the Armies were ready to engage, these Skirmishers advanced through Spaces, left in the *Phalanx*, for that Purpose; and after they had thrown their missile Weapons, retired back through the same Spaces; and so returned to their Charge twice or thrice, till such time as the Action was begun. And during the Heat of the Action, the Arrows they continually shot over the *Phalanx*, contributed not a little to put the Enemy into Disorder. On some Occasions, they engaged the Cavalry; and, in a Word, were of great Service, in all Engagements. It sometimes happened, that this light-armed Body of Infantry was posted in the Wings, or in the Front of the Battel, or in the Spaces between the Ranks of the *Phalanx*, or some-

times singly, Man by Man, in the Spaces between the Soldiers of every File of the *Phalanx*.

11thly, That as for the Cavalry, the Greeks divided them into Squadrons, and drew them up in Rank and File. They were generally posted in the Wings; but sometimes at the Head, or in the Rear, of the *Phalanx*. It were needless to enlarge on the several Methods of drawing up the Greek Cavalry in Battalia, since it is easy to apprehend, that they were capable of assuming any Form, according to the Design the General had in view.

12thly, That *Livy* says, B. 7. the Romans learnt this Method of drawing up their Infantry from the Greeks. They at first, says he, drew up their Legions in the Form of a *Phalanx*, much like the *Macedonians*. *Et quod antea Phalanges similes Macedonicis, hoc postea manipulatim structa acies capite esse*. It is very true, that the Legions were in the first Age of Rome divided into *Manipuli*; but there was very little Space left between these *Manipuli*, when they were drawn up, so that their Ranks were close, like those of the *Phalanx*. *Athenæus* says, B. 6. that the Romans learnt this way of Fighting *φаланγγισμὸν*, of the *Hetrurians*. But in all Probability, the Romans, who learnt the Art of War by long Experience, did not change their Method till they themselves found out the Fault of it. And indeed, the *Phalanx* was subject to many Inconveniencies. We have already observed, that it was almost impossible to break it, as long as the Soldiers kept themselves so closely united, as not to leave the least Space between their Ranks, and Files; but it is easy to see, that this Union could not be preserved, in uneven Ground, which was full of Hills, and Hedges, and Ditches, and Brooks. Besides, of what Use could their long Pikes be, if they engaged in a Field covered with Wood, or Thickets? It is most certain, a Greek Army could not engage to Advantage any where but in an open Country, or smooth Plain. In any other Place, the *Phalanx* could not possibly keep itself in close Order, which was necessary; and in which all its Strength consisted. Besides, the Enemy had an easy Conquest of a broken Body of Infantry, which had not been trained up to fight Hand to Hand, and hindered itself in its Flight. It is very certain, that when the *Phalanx* was once put into Disorder, it had no Refuge but in flight; and at the same time, the Soldiers were so much overburdened with their Arms, that it was difficult for them to make their Escape. And therefore the Romans, when at War with the Greeks, made it their chief Business, to bring them to Engagements, in rough Places, or narrow Passes, by well-concerted Motions, or feigned Retreats. If the Greek *Phalanxes* were at any time posted in an advantageous Ground, it was in the Enemy's choice, whether he would hazard a Battel there. It was in his Power to plunder and burn up the Fields, without fear, to make Incursions into the Country, intercept Provisions, and pursue his Inroads still farther and farther, in order to force the *Phalanx* to follow him, and reduce it to a Necessity of engaging with him, in difficult and disadvantageous Places. Nor was this all. When the *Phalanx* had the Advantage, it could not pursue the Enemy, without quitting its Ground, and breaking the Order and Union of its Files. So that if the Enemy's General took any Precaution, to seize the Post the *Phalanx* left in

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Extern.

Zon. B. 8. c. 2.

Dion. apud
Fulv. Ursinum.

those, with whom they lived. So that all these Grievances tired out the *Tarentini*. The honestest Men among them left the City, and retired into the Country: Those that were left behind, endeavoured to ease themselves by Murmurs and Complaints. A poor Comfort, indeed! but *Pyrrhus* envied them even that. He had his Spies every where, who insinuated themselves in all Companies, and informed him of the Discourses of the Malecontents. One Day among the rest, some young Rakes were got together, and in the Heat of their Wine, exclaimed very indiscreetly against *Pyrrhus's* Tyranny: And they were accused, and brought before the King. When they came into his Presence, he said, *Is it true, that you have carried your Insolence so far, as to revile me in your Cups?* And one of them answering, *It is indeed but too true, and if we had not wanted Wine, we had said more;* this open Confession and Excuse, so little studied, appeased the King, who was fond of an Opportunity of exercising his Clemency towards them.

BUT *Pyrrhus* did not treat some other dangerous Citizens, whose Intrigues he knew, or suspected, with the same Gentleness. Nevertheless his Fear, lest his Severity should incline them to come to a Reconciliation with the *Romans*, made him take such Precautions, as he thought necessary. He privately dispatched the most Factious, by Assassinations; and sent those whom he suspected, under various Pretences, to his Son's Court at *Epirus*. Of which Number was *Aristarchus*; a famous Orator, whose Eloquence *Pyrrhus* dreaded. It is well known how great an Influence these Orators had, especially, in the Greek Cities, where popular Governments were established. They were the Soul of all publick Councils, and absolute Masters of all Deliberations in them. And at *Tarentum*, the persuasive Arts of the celebrated *Aristarchus*, gained him an absolute Authority. *Pyrrhus* therefore made it his Business, to lessen him in the Esteem of his fellow-Citizens; and in order to ruin his Credit with them, pretended a strict Friendship for the Orator, who was represented as having an equal Attachment for him. But *Aristarchus's* Discourses to the *Tarentini* undeceived them; and made it known, that he entertained the same Thoughts of the Tyrant, as the Multitude. It was therefore necessary to remove him farther off. *Pyrrhus* sent him to his Son (whom he had left in *Epirus*) on an Embassy, which he declared was of great Importance. *Aristarchus* saw through the Artifice, but pretended not to know it. He accepted the Deputation, chose out a Vessel in the Port, the Master of which was at his Devotion, and embarked. And he had no sooner lost sight of the Land, but he ordered the Pilot to return to *Italy*, and put in at a Port, from whence he might with Safety make his way to *Rome*; where, on his Arrival, he represented to the Senate, the Condition of *Tarentum*, and the Designs of *Pyrrhus*. What Advice he gave the *Romans* is not known: But it is certain that the Republick dispatched away *Fabrizius*, to visit her Colonies, and Allies. *Fabrizius* fortified the Places, and exhorted the Cities to continue in their Fidelity; and he had good Reasons so to do. The Arrival of a King, famous for his great Exploits in the *Levant*, had staggered many Provinces; and the *Tarentini* were not the only People to whom *Pyrrhus* promised a happy Deliverance from Subjection. In these suspicious Times therefore *Rome* kept her self continually upon her Guard. It accidentally happened, that some of the chief Inhabitants of *Præneste*, were in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, towards the Close of an Evening; and it being known, that *Pyrrhus*, in order to draw them from their Alliance with *Rome*, had spread a Report among them, that a certain Oracle had declared, *That they should one Day become possessed of the Treasures of Rome*, they were brought into

in the Heat of the Battel, with fresh Troops, or a Corps-de-reserve, there was an end of the *Greek* Infantry. When thus attacked in Front, Flank, and Rear, it gave Way on all sides, and necessarily sunk under the Force of the Assailants. And lastly, the greatest Defect of all in the *Phalanx* was this; that the Men in the third, fourth, and fifth Ranks, could not see what was done in the first, in the Heat of the Battel; and consequently, as they thrust their Pikes at Enemies, which they could not see, it was a great Chance whether they wounded any of them. So that, if a *Roman* Soldier, for Instance, had once turned aside the Pikes, which were farthest advanced towards him, it was

easy for him to defend himself against the rest with his Buckler, and his Sword. Certainly, a Company of resolute and well-disciplined Men, might find Means, after they had withstood the Attacks of the Pikes of the first Line, to slip between those of the third and fourth Lines, to reach the Pike-men, attack them, break through the *Phalanx*, throw it into Confusion, and cut it in pieces. But there were none of these Inconveniencies in the *Roman* Armies. As there were Spaces left between the *Manipuli* of each *Legion*, the Soldiers were more ready and active, and had the more room, to make their Motions, easily and suddenly.

the City, to shew them how little Strefs they ought to lay on such an ambiguous Prediction; were shut up in the publick Treasury; and then were pleasantly told, *You see the Oracle is accomplished: You are possessed of the Treasures of the Romans already.*

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§. XIV. AFTER all, it was but too true, that in many Places, the Allies of the Republick were inclined to desert her. A People, who are not named, detained *Fabricius* among them as an Hostage, in order to secure themselves by so great a Pledge; and by this were emboldened, to endeavour to raise the *Hetrurians*, *Umbri* and *Gauls*, against the *Romans*. However, their Attempts failed of Success, and *Fabricius* returned to *Rome*. But this at least is certain, that a very extraordinary Event gave the Senate much Uneasiness, and greatly discredited the *Romans* in their Colonies. Whilst *Pyrrhus* was at Sea, coming to *Tarentum*, and the *Carthaginians* infested all the Coasts of the *Ionian* Sea, with their Fleet, ⁶⁷ *Rhegium* applied to the Republick for its Assistance. This City standing upon the farthest point of Land in *Italy*, next to *Sicily*, its Inhabitants were afraid of being invaded by the *Greeks*, or *Africans*: And *Rome*, though already engaged with more Enemies than she well knew what to do with, did not refuse sending some Troops to a maritime City, which might be of Service to her in the present Wars. A Legion was raised in *Campania* by order of the Senate; the Command of it given to a Native of *Campania*, named *Decius Jubellus*; and he conducted it to *Rhegium*, to be a Garrison for the City. At first the Behaviour of the New-comers was tolerable to the Inhabitants: But afterwards the Pleasures of a *Greek* City, greatly enriched by Commerce, corrupted the Hearts of the Soldiers. They compared their present Happiness with the laborious Life of *Roman* Troops, and desired to change Conditions with the Inhabitants of *Rhegium*. This was their ordinary Topick in Conversation; and *Decius*, who had the same Inclinations as his Soldiers, heard these Discourses with Pleasure. He remembered

Dion. apud.
Fulv. Ursin.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 7.

Florus in Epi-
tome 12.



Obv.



Rev.

⁶⁷ *Ptolomy* is the only Author, who gives the ancient City of *Rhegium*, the Epithet of *Julium*, *Ῥηγίον Ἰούλιον*: And as to the Origin of this City, the Commentators give a fabulous Account of it, as they do of that of the other Cities in *Greece*, and *Italy*. *Solinus*, c. 8. and *Strabo*, B. 6. make *Rhegium* to have been founded by a Colony of the Citizens of *Chalcis*, and another of the *Messenians*, who came into this Country by order of *Apollo*, about the second Year of the 28th *Olympiad*: And *Begerus*, in his *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus*, supposes that the Union of these two Colonies is pointed out by the double Head, on the Medal above. The reverse, on which we see the *Tripod* of *Apollo*, and a *Jupiter* sitting, alludes to the Worship, which, according to *Strabo*, the *Chalcidians* and *Messenians* particularly paid to these two Gods. Not only this maritime City, which was formerly the most considerable one in *Brutium*, but the neighbouring Promontory also bore the Name of *Rhegium*; which the Etymologists derive from the *Greek* Verb, *ῥηγνύναι*; because, say they, this City was formerly joined to *Sicily* by

a Neck of Land, till it was broken off from it, by the Violence of the Sea; whose Ravages, at that time, *Virgil* describes in these Lines:

*Hæc Loca, vi quondam, & vasta convulsa ruina,
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
Diffuisse ferunt; quum protinus utraque tellus
Una foret, venit medio vi Pontus, & undis
Hesperium Sculo latus abscidit, arvaque, & urbes
Littore diductas, angusto interluit æstu.*

Strabo, says the *Samnites*, who then spoke the same Language with the *Romans*, and enjoyed the Right of *Citizenship*, gave *Rhegium*, the Name of *Regium*, to shew that it was the Capital of *Brutium*. This City maintained many Wars with *Dionysius the Tyrant*, who at last made himself Master of it, and razed it. But it was rebuilt by *Dionysius the Younger*, who gave it the Name of *Phæbia*. The Lion on the reverse of the Medal above, shews the Valour of its Inhabitants.

Year of the late Instance of the ⁶⁸ *Mamertini*, who came from *Campania* as well as he; and *ROME* who going into *Sicily*, to assist *Agathocles*, and being received into their City by

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68 Some have thought that *Mamertum* formerly stood near the Place where *Martorano* now stands in *Calabria*, between the *Savato*, and *The Gulf of St. Euphemia*. But this does not agree with the Situation *Strabo* gives it, B. 5. He, as well as *Pliny*, places the City of *Mamertum* in *Brutium*, above *Locris* and *Rhegium*, near a Forest, which he calls *Sila Sylva*, or *The Forest of Sila*, near Cape *Leucopetra*, now *Capo dell' Armi*, according to *Cluverius*; or *Punta della Saetta*, according to *Father Brier*. Whence it is inferred, that *Mamertum* stood in the Territory, in which the City of *Oppido* now stands. The Name of *Mamertum* was taken, according to some Etymologists, from the Word *Mamers*, which in the Language of the *Osci* signified the God *Mars*. *Mamers Mamertis facit*, says *Festus*, *id est lingua Osa, Mars Martis: Unde & Mamertini in Sicilia dicti, qui Messanae habitant*. And indeed we find the Figure of this Military God on several Medals, which bear the Name of the *Mamertini*. In one of those above, we have this Inscription, *APEQS*; which is the Name the *Greeks* gave this God. By the Pine-apple on it, the Coiner designed to shew, that there was a great Number of Pines, in the Neighbourhood of *Mamertum*. And in this the Medal agrees with *Strabo*, who boasts of the Pitch, which a neighbouring Forest yields. *Mediterranea loca Brutii tenent, ibique est Urbs Mamertium, & saltus picem ferens optimam*.

If, as all Authors agree, *Mamertum* belonged to *Brutium*, it is hard to guess why its Inhabitants were called *Mamertini Campani*. Perhaps they came originally from *Campania*: Or perhaps this Province comprehended all the South-part of *Italy*, which was anciently called *Great Greece*. But it appears, by the Relations of most ancient Authors, that the *Mamertini*, who seized *Messana*, were not the same with those who inhabited *Mamertum*, a City of *Brutium*. *Festus* is clear in this. Some of the *Samnites*, says he, were called *Mamertini*, from this Accident. The Plague spreading in *Samnium*, *Stenius Metius*, the most considerable Man in the Country, assembled the Inhabitants of it, and assured them, that *Apollo* had appeared to him in a Dream; and told him, that in order to put a Stop to the Contagion, it was necessary that they should make a solemn Vow, to sacrifice to him, all that should be born the next Spring. Accordingly the Condition was accepted, and the Plague ceased. But it returned again twenty Years after; and recourse being had to *Apollo* in this Extremity, the God answered, that they had not discharged their Vow, in its full Latitude, since they had spared the Children which had been born within the Time limited. And to repair this Defect, *Apollo* ordered them to drive all those out of the Country, who were born in the Spring twenty Years before;

which was done accordingly. This Multitude of young Men, were forced to leave their native Country; and they crossed over into *Sicily*, and settled in that part of the Island, in which Mount *Taurus*, and the City of *Tauromenium* lay. Afterwards, they joined the *Messanians*, who had a difficult War to maintain; and by their Assistance, the latter were delivered from a formidable Enemy. Upon which, the Citizens of *Messana*, in Gratitude for their late Services, admitted them into their own Body, and gave them some Lands in fee, for their Subsistence. Nor was this all. It was ordered, that the united Nations, should lay aside their old Names, and choose a new one by Lot. In order to which the Names of the twelve Gods of the first Rank, were thrown into an Urn; and that of *Mars*, whom the *Osci* call *Mamers*, coming out first, the two Nations were from thence called *Mamertini*. In proof of this, *Festus* quotes one *Alfius*, the Author of a Book entitled, *The History of the Carthaginian Wars*. But *Diodorus Siculus* gives us a different Account of this Matter. He says, that *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, had taken some *Hetrurians*, *Gauls*, and *Samnites* into his Army; and that when these foreign Troops were dismissed, and preparing to leave *Sicily*, the *Messanians* offered them an honourable Settlement in *Messana*, and admitted them to be their fellow-Citizens. But these treacherous Allies soon forgot how much they were indebted to their Benefactors, and the sacred Laws of Hospitality. They resolved to seize *Messana*, and in order to this, to cut the Throats of all their Hosts; and they executed this barbarous Plot in the Night. They spared not one of the Citizens; the Murderers saved only their Wives and Daughters for themselves. After this, they made themselves Masters of *Messana*; and, as *Diodorus Siculus* adds, changed the Name of the City to that of *Mamertina*, which answers to that of *Mamers*; a Word, which in the *Oscian* Language, spoken by the *Samnites* and *Campani*, had the same Signification as *Mars*. Though after all, *Polybius's* Account, who brings the *Mamertini* from *Campania*, is most universally received. The Beauty and Riches of *Messana*, says he, tempted a Company of covetous *Campani*, who had served under *Agathocles*; and they, to make sure of the City, found Means to insinuate themselves into the good Opinion of the Inhabitants, by a false Pretence of Friendship. But as soon as they were introduced among the *Messanians*, they cut the Throats of all the Citizens, and saved only their Wives and Children. Then, after they had seized the Spoils, and the Lands of those they had murdered, they settled themselves in *Messana*; and from that time, the Inhabitants of that City were called *Mamertini*.

the ⁶⁹ *Messanians*, had seized it, and were still Masters of it. He hoped that the *Messanians* would be very ready to support him in his Invasion, in case it succeeded. And what had he to fear from the *Romans*, who were embarrassed with the War *Pyrrhus* was bringing upon them? These Considerations, excited by a Desire of growing rich at the Expence of a People, who wallowed in Wealth, induced *Decius* to comply with the Desires of his Soldiers. And as Lies cost great Rogues nothing, he forged Letters, which he said were written to *Pyrrhus*, by the Inhabitants of *Rhegium*, offering to deliver up the City to him. These Letters he pretended to have intercepted, and after he had assembled the People, ordered them to be read. Upon this, some Soldiers of his *Legion*, suborned for that Purpose, cried out, That the Traitors, who were convicted of an Attempt to deliver up *Romans* to be slain, ought to be cut in pieces: And to the former, they added a second Calumny. Whilst this innocent People were kept in Suspence, and Terror, one of *Campania*, who was in the Plot, brought *Decius* an Information, That he had seen some Vessels of *Tarentum*, in the Port of *Rhegium*, and That the Commanders of them had had a private Conference with the Inhabitants. Then a Resolution was instantly taken, and all these unhappy People condemned to lose both their Lives and Fortunes. *Decius* invited the chief Inhabitants of the City to sup with him, violated the sacred Laws of Hospitality, and murdered them at a Banquet. In the mean time his Soldiers entered all the Houses, and killed all they found in them, without Mercy. Those whose Lives were spared, were thrust out of their City; and only their Wives and Daughters exempted from the common Slaughter, to undergo a much greater Punishment. They were forced to marry the Murderers of their Fathers, and of their Husbands. In short, the Usurpers shared the Estates of the Dead and Banished, among them; and new modelled the Republick.

THE Report of this Violence, and Cruelty, was brought to the Senate, at a time when *Rome* was most busy, in confirming her Allies in their Fidelity, and in preparing to oppose *Pyrrhus*; And the Unfitness of the present Season, made her suspend that Vengeance, which she reserved for the perfidious *Legion*. But the Massacre of the *Rhegians*, made many Nations very much dissatisfied with their Alliances with *Rome*. These barbarous Usurpers were *Campani* indeed; but they were in *Roman* Pay; and the *Romans* were answerable for their Conduct. What Shame does it reflect on *Rome*, that a whole Army of *Epirotæ* should not do so much Mischief in *Tarentum*, as one single *Legion* of *Romans* did, in *Rhegium*!

§.XV. IN the mean time *Lævinus* continued his Hostilities in *Lucania*. It cannot be denied, that this *Consul* had sufficient Talents for War, to have made him an able General; and *Pyrrhus* did him Justice. But *Lævinus* was the first Man of his Nation, who tried a new way of Fighting, and had Foreigners for his Enemies, who engaged in a very different manner, from what any People had hitherto done, in Italy. He was keeping his Troops on free Quarter, in a Nation in Alliance with the *Tarentini*, had taken a Castle, and fortified it; and there he waited for *Pyrrhus*'s Appearance in the Field. The King of *Epirus* had not yet assembled the Troops of the *Samnites*, *Messapians*, and other Allies of the *Tarentini*. His Army then consisted only, of the Troops he had brought from beyond Sea, some Recruits of *Tarentum*, and as is probable, a small Number of *Italians*. But nevertheless, he thought it shameful for him to continue shut up in a City, whilst the *Romans* were ravaging the Province of an Ally: And to give his Attempt an Air of Equity, before he left *Tarentum*, he wrote the *Consul* the following Letter. *Pyrrhus* to *Lævinus*. I am informed that you command an Army, which is to make War with the *Tarentini*. Disband it without Delay, and then come and lay your Pretensions before me. After I have heard both Parties, I will give Judgment in the Case; and can by my Arms, compel those whom I condemn, to obey my Sentence. *Lævinus* answered the King with all the Haughtiness of a *Roman*. Know, *Pyrrhus*, that we neither admit you as a Judge, or fear you, as an Enemy. Does it become you to take upon you to judge us, who have your self injured us, by landing in Italy without the Consent of the *Romans*? We will have no Arbitrator but Mars, the Author of our Race, and the Protector of our Arms. Then the King, who expected such an Answer from the *Consul*, immediately marched his Army towards those Parts where *Lævinus* was waiting for him.

⁶⁹ The Wars of the *Romans* in *Sicily*, will give us Occasion to speak of *Messana* in another Place.

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CANIUS, Con-
suls.

*Polyb. and
Dion.*

*Zonaras B. 8.
c. 3.*

*Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.*

*Zonar. B. 8.
c. 3.*

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The Romans were encamped on the farther side of the River ⁷⁰ *Siris*, which runs between *Pandosia* and *Heraclea*, and discharges itself into *The Gulph of Tarentum*: And when *Pyrrhus's* Army appeared on the hither side of the same River, not far from *Heraclea*; the King of *Epirus* made it his first Business to go and reconnoitre the Enemy's Camp himself, and see what Appearance they made. To this end, he passed the River, attended by *Megacles*, one of his Officers, and greatest Favourites; and when he had considered the Consul's Entrenchments, the manner in which he had posted his advanced Guards, and the good Order of his Camp; He said, *Megacles, these People are not so barbarous ⁷¹ as we think them. Let us try them, before we condemn them.* It therefore cannot be true, that the Romans, as is often said, did not understand the Art of War before *Pyrrhus's* time; or wanted *Greeks* to teach them how to form ⁷² a Camp.

THE

⁷⁰ The River *Siris*, now the *Sinno*, or *Senno*, watered the Country, which was formerly called *Lucania*.

⁷¹ The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, makes *Pyrrhus* talk in a very different manner, on this Occasion. But what he makes the Prince say, is entirely foreign to his Purpose, and not at all agreeable to the present State of his Affairs. The Historian's Words are these. *Viso Lævini exercitu, eandem sibi ait adversus Romanos quam Herculi, adversus Hydram fuisse fortunam.* That is, *Pyrrhus*, at the sight of the Roman Army, cried out, that his Fortune was like that of *Hercules*, and that he also had a *Hydra* to encounter. But, according to *Plutarch*, it was *Cyneas*, and not his Master, who made this Comparison, after he had observed what great Numbers of Romans, enlisted themselves in *Lævinus's* Troops, after he had lost his first Battel with *Pyrrhus*. And his Astonishment was much encreased, when he saw, what a prodigious Multitude of Inhabitants there still were at *Rome*, ready to take Arms, after these new Levies were made. Upon this Occasion *Cyneas's* Reflection was a very sensible one, and the Remembrance of the new Heads of the *Hydra* very natural. But the Comparison is absurd, in the Circumstances in which *Aurelius Victor* supposes *Pyrrhus* to have made it. He had not yet engaged the Romans, or gained any Victory over them. How then could he compare them to the *Hydra*, whose Heads grew up again, as fast as *Hercules* cut them off? And yet *Florus* makes the King of *Epirus* say the same thing. *Video me plane Herculis fidere procreatum, cui quasi ab angue Lerna, tot casa hostium capita de sanguine suo renascentur.* I fancy my self born, says he, under the Constellation of *Hercules*, when I see so many thousand Enemies starting up out of their own Blood, as the Heads of the *Hydra* of *Lerna* did. His meaning was, that the Romans acquired new Strength, even by their Defeats: Which is the Encomium *Hannibal* afterwards gave them, according to these Lines of *Horace*, *Od. 4. B. 4.*

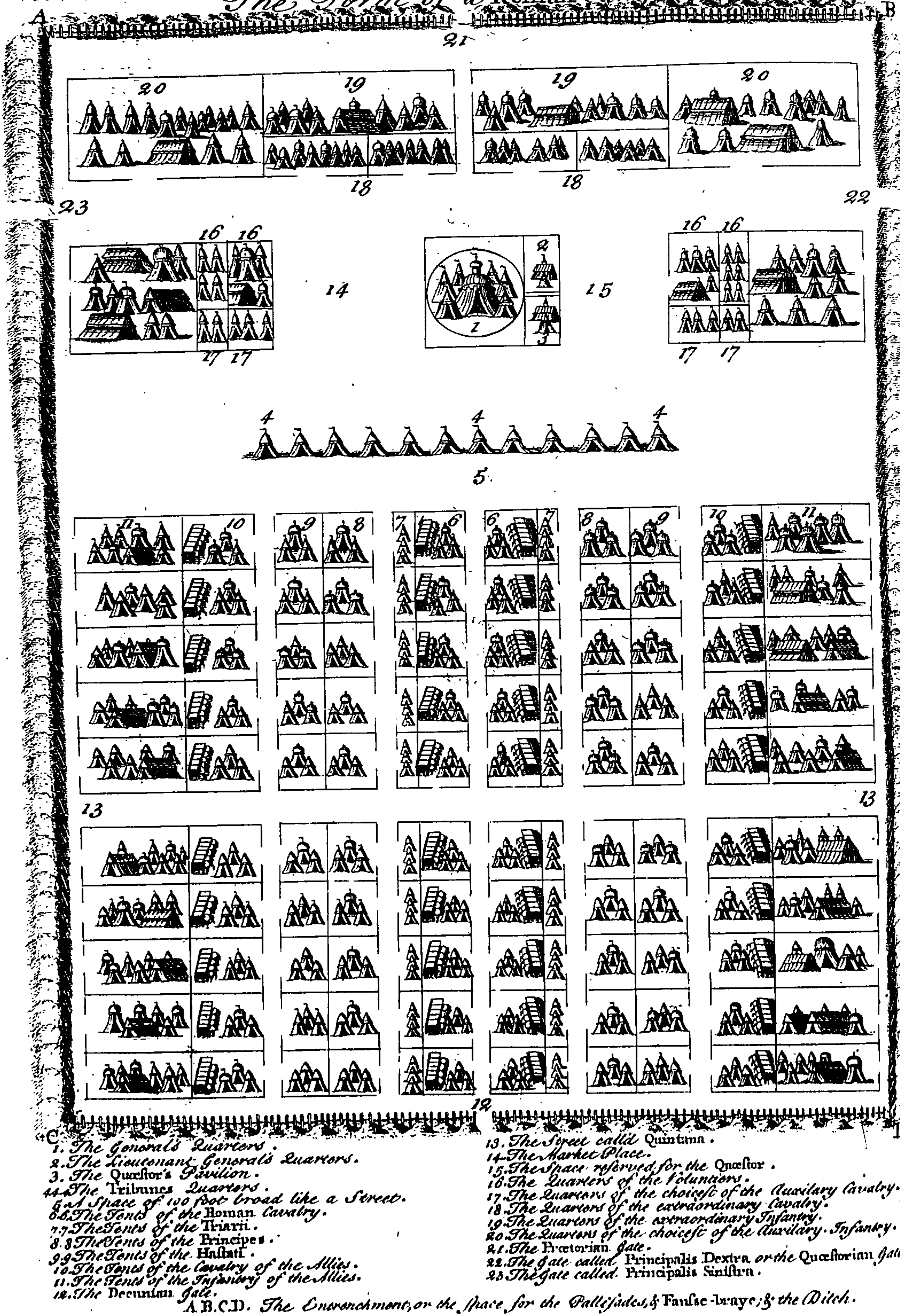
*Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso,
Ducit opes animumque, ferro.*

The Poet agrees with the Historians, in this particular.

⁷² Ancient Authors acknowledge that the Romans understood the Art of encamping long before their Wars with *Pyrrhus*. Indeed they made no great use of it in the first Ages of *Rome*. Their Territory was then very narrow. The Wars they had with their Neighbours, were, in a manner, carried on, under the Walls of their City, which afforded a sure Retreat, whenever they wanted one. But nevertheless, it is certain, that they knew how to form a Camp, lay out the Ground, and guard the Avenues of it, in the earliest Infancy of *Rome*.

Livy and *Dion. Hal.* give us several Instances of it, in the first Books of their History. *Frontinus* is therefore mistaken, notwithstanding his Confidence in saying that the Romans learnt the Art of encamping from *Pyrrhus*. *Plutarch* says, on the contrary, that *Pyrrhus* admired the Strength, Form and Order of their Camp. Afterwards indeed, they improved this Art of encamping, by following the Plan of *Pyrrhus's* Camp, which they forced. Before that time, their Tents were pitched confusedly in Clusters, and without any Design: But they afterwards corrected this Defect, and observed a just Proportion, in ranging the Tents, laying out the Ground, distributing the Quarters and Pavilions and lastly, in the empty Spaces of Ground they left at certain Distances. These empty Spaces were like many Streets, which led to all the Parts of the Camp. Thus the Romans, after *Pyrrhus's* Example, made their Camps more convenient, for the easy Passage of Carriages, the Conveyance of Provisions, and to facilitate the Motions of the Troops, who were continually succeeding one another, in their different military Offices. The best Account we have of the Roman Camps, is that of *Polybius* a Soldier, who served under *Scipio*, had the Honour of his Confidence, and was an Eye-witness of what he relates. His Description of the Roman Camps, *B. 6.* of his History, is, in Substance this.

In the first Place, a piece of Ground was pitched upon, which was advantageously situated, and be suited to promote the Designs of the General. After this, a Standard was pitched in the Place, where the Consul, or Proconsul's Pavilion was to be erected: which was generally an Eminence, which commanded the whole Camp, and from whence he might the more easily see, what was doing within, and without it. This Spot of Ground was called the *Prætorium*; and was what we now call the General's Quarters. It was a perfect Square each side of which was two hundred Feet. Fifty Foot distance from it, in a parallel Line, were the Tents of the *Legionary Tribunes*. Each of these had fifty Foot square of Ground, which was room enough for his Horses, Beasts of Burden, and baggage. An hundred Foot lower, a Line was drawn parallel to the *Prætorium*, and divided into ten equal Parts. Over against the middle of it was a Way fifty Foot wide; and on each side of this Way, the *Legions*, first the Cavalry, and then the Infantry, that is, the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, were placed, according to the Order of the *Manipuli*. The Troops of the Allies, both Horse and Foot, were quartered by themselves: Which the Reader will better understand, by the adjoining Plate, than by any thing we can add. We need only observe, that the several Quarters of the Camp were divided by five straight Streets, and a sixth, which ran parallel to the *Prætorium*, and



THE Historians have not told us indeed, that the view *Pyrrhus* took of the Roman Camp, made him alter the Resolution he had taken, of attacking the Consul immediately. But so in fact it was, that he shut himself up in his Entrenchments, and tarried for the Arrival of the Confederate Troops, which the *Tarentini* had promised him. However, he covered his Dilatoriness with a specious Pretence, saying; *The Romans are making War in an Enemy's Country, and will soon be distressed for want*

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crossed the other five, exactly in the middle. This Street bounded the fifth Division of each Quarter, and therefore the Historians call it *Via Quintana*. But several Authors seem to call another part of the Camp by this Name, which was the Place where the Suttlers used to come to sell their Provisions. As to the two Spaces, one on the right, the other on the left, of the *Prætorium*; one was reserved for the *Quæstor*, and the other was a sort of Market-place, to which the Purveyors brought all their Victuals. On this side were quartered a chosen Body of the extraordinary Cavalry, and the Volunteers, a chosen Corps of Foot and Horse, was also quartered there. When all things were ordered in this manner, the Camp was in the Form of an exact Square; unless the two Consuls joined their Armies, and then the Camp, which was twice as big as usual, was made an oblong Square. Add to this, that there was a Space of two hundred Foot broad, left between the Tents, and the Entrenchments: and it was usual to lodge the Cattle there, and the Booty which the Foragers brought out of the Country. Besides, this Distance was necessary to secure the Tents, and put them out of the reach of the Darts and Fire, which the Enemy might throw into the Camp.

After the Quarters were distributed, the Tribunes were assembled to administer the Oaths to the Soldiers. All, without Distinction, swore by all that was most sacred in their Religion, that they would take nothing in the Camp, but deliver into their Officers Hands, whatever they accidentally found in it. Then the Troops were ordered to raise the Outworks which were to surround the Camp: and in this they made use of all sorts of Fortification then known, wide and deep Ditches, Banks of Earth, Pallisades, Parapets stuck thick with Stakes and broken Branches of Trees, Ramparts flanked with Towers, at certain Distances: and lastly, the Army, by the Direction of the General and *Legionary Tribunes*, took all possible care, to guard themselves against any Insults from an Enemy, by good Entrenchments. So that a Roman Camp looked like a walled City. And for the greater Safety, Towers were placed on the Towers, to give the Alarm in all Parts, in case of an Attack.

Every part of the Legion had its own Offices to charge, Day and Night. Two *Manipuli* of the *Hastati* and *Principes*, were ordered to mount the Guard, before the Quarters of the *Legionary Tribunes*. Each of these chose three *Manipuli* by Lot, whose Business it was to pitch his Tent, take care of his Baggage, level the Ground, and watch in Turns. The General's Quarters were guarded by the *Triarii*. They regularly succeeded one another, by Fours, and took care, that no Disorder crept on that side. Every Morning, at Sun-rise, the Horse, and the Officers, came to the *Triarii* Quarters, and they to those of the *Consuls*, to receive the Orders, they were to give, in the Army. At Sun-set, the Tribune gave one of the Soldiers of the Legion, whose Office it was to distribute it, a wooden Tablet, on which was written the Watch-Word. The Soldier gave it to the first Centinel, he to the second, and so on, till it had passed from Hand to Hand through the whole Army, and returned again to the Tribune. Each Company sent a certain Number of Centinels out of its own Rank to keep Guard, in its Quarters. All other Mat-

ters were ordered by the Consul. The *Quæstor* had a Centinel to attend at his Quarters; and the same Honour was paid to those, who were sent from Rome to be of the General's Council.

The Entrenchments of the Camp were guarded by the *Velites*, or light-armed Troops. Ten of them were posted at each Gate, and four others of them took the Rounds. Those who mounted the Guard, came to the Quarters of the Tribune upon Duty; and he gave them little Tablets, which had each a different Mark. A Horseman, with a Witness attending him, was ordered to observe, if the Centinels did their Duty in the Night; and in that case, he took away the Tablet each Soldier had, and brought them all to the Tribune, except those which belonged to any Soldiers, who had left their Posts, or fallen Asleep. These he accused before the Tribune, who condemned the Guilty to be bastinadoed; a Punishment which was inflicted with the utmost Rigour. The Tribune, at the Head of the Legion, gave the Person condemned a gentle Stroke, with a Wand; and then the Soldiers of the Legion fell upon the Wretch, with Sticks and Stones, and beat him so, that he often died under their Hands; or if he survived it, he was accounted infamous, and could never return into his native Country again. Nay even his Relations and Friends would not receive him into their Houses: This would have been bringing a Disgrace upon themselves by their good Nature, for they would have shared his Infamy. By the rigorous Execution of these severe Laws, good Order and military Discipline were kept up in the Camp, and the Armies. That there might be no Interruption of Watch, the Centinels had Notice to relieve one another by Sound of Trumpet; and every one was punished, who did not immediately repair to his Post.

As to the Number and Situation of the Gates, that were generally made to the Roman Camps, *Polybius* says nothing of it; and the Moderns have had recourse to Conjectures, to supply what is wanting in the Historian. Some say the Gates were three, the *Prætorian*, the *Quæstorian*, and the *Decuman*: The first to the left, the second to the right, and the third, at the Head of the Camp, over against the *Prætorium*. Others reckon four, The *Prætorian*, The *Quintan*, The *Principal*, and The *Decuman* Gate. The first before the *Prætorium*, and over against it; the second, on the right; the third on the left; and the fourth, behind the *Prætorium*. And *Livy* also says there were four, in the tenth Book of the fourth Decad, viz. The Extraordinary Gate, the two *Principal* Gates, and the *Quæstorian*. But he mentions neither the *Prætorian* nor the *Decuman* Gate; though he still confines the Number to four. Which makes it somewhat probable, that he by the Extraordinary Gate means the *Prætorian*; because the extraordinary Troops were quartered by it. And it is likely, that the *Quæstorian* Gate he speaks of, is the same with the *Decuman*. It had this latter Name, either because the nearest Quarters to it, were those which were assigned to the tenth Division of the *Legionary* Troops, or because, it was the largest Gate of the four. It is not to be doubted, but that the Names and Positions of these Gates were changed, according to the different Forms, and Situations of the Roman Camps. It ought not to be imagined, that the

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want of Provisions. And in the mean time he lined the River with his Troops, to prevent the Enemy's passing it, and continually sent out Spies to discover the Motions and Designs of the *Consul*, whose Constancy and Intrepidity surprized him. But what most raised the Admiration of the King, was the Nobleness of Spirit, which he discovered in his Conduct. Some of *Pyrrhus's* Spies having been taken patrolling round the *Roman* Entrenchments, the *Consul* gave himself the Trouble of leading them through all his Camp, and shewing them his Army, and when he had done, sent them back to the King, telling them, that he had many other Troops, which he would shew them in due time. This polite Conduct, worthy of *Greece* itself, increased the Esteem *Pyrrhus* already had for the *Romans*; whose General had the same Reasons to hasten a Battel, which his Enemy had to postpone it. It was the Interest of *Rome*, to give Battel, before *Pyrrhus* had received the Reinforcements he expected; and *Lævinus* therefore made it his Business, to find means to bring him to an Engagement. He assembled his Troops before his Tent, and in order to raise their Courage, and prevent their Fears, addressed himself to them thus. *The Glory Pyrrhus has acquired among cowardly Nations, ought not to intimidate you. The Reputation of the Romans, has reached even the Regions from whence he came. He is more afraid of us, than we imagine. His Delays are an evident Proof of the high Opinion he has of our Valour; and it is your Business to confirm him in those Prejudices. As if he did not think his Epirotæ sufficient, he arms great, bulky, and unshapely Animals against us, and brings them with him, to strike us with Terror. But let us not suffer our selves to be deceived by them. Reason and Industry will always give Men a Superiority over the most monstrous Beasts. We often fear what we have not experienced, and after the Trial, laugh at our causeless Apprehensions. Don't let the bare Name of 73 Elephants disturb you. The Victory is certain.* This said, *Lævinus* marched his

the *Romans* confined themselves so strictly to the square, or oblong Figure, as never to pitch a Camp in any other. The General had regard in this, to the present Circumstances of Things, the Situation of the Ground, and the Number of his Troops. Hence the seeming Contradictions of the Historians, who sometimes place the *Prætorium* in the middle of the Camp, sometimes at one end, and sometimes at the other. Nor are they better agreed, as to the Situation of the *Quæstor's* Tent.

But nevertheless it is certain, that the four Gates beforementioned, were placed in the four sides of the Camp; and that the *Decuman*, *Prætorian*, and two *Principal* Gates, were generally so placed as they are represented in the Plate. As for the *Quintana*, it is no where to be met with, but in a Passage of *Festus*, where we read *Porta Quintana*, instead of *Via*, or *Pars Quintana*. *Du Ciose* and *Lævinus* have followed the Text too servilely. What we have hitherto said, may easily be reconciled with *Polybius's* Account, only making Allowance, for the different Proportions. He says, that the *Consuls* sometimes pitched their Camps so near one another, that the *Prætorium*, and *Quæstor's* Tents were placed in the middle of the two Armies. But it is certain, these two Camps must have been both included within one Entrenchment; otherwise the General and his Officers had been exposed to the Mercy of the Enemy, as may easily be seen in the Plate. We shall have Occasion to treat more particularly of the Order, Distinction, and Polity, the *Romans* observed, in their Encampments hereafter. Authors differ so much about these Particulars, that we shall often find it necessary to reconcile them, or prefer some to others.

73 The *Romans* had never seen any Elephants before; and because they saw them first in *Lucania*, they called them *Boves Luca*. Thus *Ennius*, in *Varro*, B. 6. de Ling. Latina,

Atque locusta Bovem Lucam periiit prius.

And thus *Lucretius*;

Inde Boves Lucas turrito corpore tetros.

With regard to the Etymology of this Name, *Varro* quotes two ancient Authors, one of whom he calls *Caius Ælius*, and the other *Virginus*; and says, That the former derives *Bos Lucas* from the People of *Libya*, (a *Libycis*, *Lucas*) because *Libya* abounded with Elephants; and that the second pretends, that the Term, *Bos Lucas*, alludes to the Country of the *Lucani*, where the *Roman* Army was frightened the first time they saw *Pyrrhus's* Elephants. Cardinal *Baronius* honestly believed, according to his *Annals*, under the Year of *Christ* 58, That the *Italians* intended to signify by the Words *Bos Lucas*, the Ox, that is generally made the Symbol of the Evangelist *St. Luke*. But it is nevertheless certain, that this Expression was used several Ages before, to signify an Elephant only, and not an Ox; as this celebrated Annalist, falsely supposed, perhaps upon the Credit of some incorrect Memoirs. *Pliny the Naturalist* says, B. 8. that Elephants were not known in *Italy*, till about the Year of *Rome* 472, when the Wars between the *Romans* and *Pyrrhus* began. *Elephantos Italia primum vidit, Pyrrhi regis bello, & Boves Lucas appellavit, in Lucanis visas, Anno Urbis conditæ, 472.* But this Date which *Pliny* gives to the beginning of *Pyrrhus's* Wars, agrees neither with *Calvisius's* Calculation, nor *Father Labbe's* Chronology. The latter places *Pyrrhus's* Entrance into *Italy*, in the Year 474; the former in the Year 473. This Uncertainty and Inconsistency, in Chronology, is owing to the Historians not having been exact in setting down the Order of the *Consulships*. Those ancient *Roman* Historians, who have mentioned the Quarrels between the *Tarentini* and the *Romans*, don't fix the beginning of this War to any particular time. Nor do they mention the Names of the *Consuls* at that time; and it happens unfortunately, that they are not to be found in the *Fasti Capitolini*. Some later Authors would have been of great Service to us, if the Cyphers had not been altered, by the Error or Negligence of the Copyists. But this Alteration is evident, especially in c. 1. B. 4. of *Orsini's* History. We are there told, that the *Tarentini* plundered the *Roman* Fleet, in 474; and that this

his Troops to the Banks of the *Siris*, and drew up his Army in Battalia there, resolving, if possible, to force the Enemy to fight. To this end, he ordered his Cavalry to file off, by the side of the River, and march a great Way about, in order to find a Passage over it, at some Place, which was not defended. Accordingly, the Roman Squadrons passed the River, without Opposition, and came and fell upon some Battalions, which *Pyrrhus* had posted on the Banks of it. And whilst they were fighting on the opposite side, *Lævinus* made all haste to pass the River with all his Troops, doubtless on Bridges which he had prepared for that Purpose. Whilst they were passing, *Pyrrhus* heard the Sound of a Battel; fled to the Place where the Sound of the Arms called him; and his Cavalry, with his Elephants, followed him. He expected to have made an easy Conquest of the *Consular* Army, when disordered with the Difficulties of passing the River, and climbing up the steep Banks, which surrounded it. And he would perhaps have found the *Roman* Infantry in Confusion, had not *Lævinus's* Cavalry covered them, and stood their Ground, between the *Legions* and the *Epirotæ*. But the Cavalry engaged there, and gave the *Roman* Infantry time to form themselves. On the other hand, *Pyrrhus* drew up his Men, as fast as they came from the Camp; and returning to the Battel, performed wonderful Feats of Valour. He was known by the Richness of his Dress, and of his Arms; but more, by his Courage and Presence of Mind. He fought like a Soldier, and directed every thing like a great General, at the same time. When the Action grew warm, he minded nothing but fighting; then grew cool all on a sudden, and gave his Orders, with great Composure. He was always Master of himself, and with an Air of Confidence in his Countenance, not to be described, seemed to make both acting and commanding, but a Diversion. In one Word, *Pyrrhus* appeared to the *Romans*, in this first Action, to deserve all the Reputation he had acquired; and his Valour raised their Emulation. Among the rest, one of the *Tarentini* who commanded a Body of his Countrymen, seemed to be desperately bent against *Pyrrhus* himself. He followed him wherever he went, and regulated his Motions by the King's, in order to come up with him and engage him. *Leonatus* the *Epirot* perceived this, and informed the King of it; who answered, *We cannot resist our Fate; but no Man shall attack me to Day with Impunity.* This said, *Oplacus* (which was the Officer's Name) immediately came up to him, and run the King's Horse through with his Lance. *Leonatus*, in his Turn, stabbed *Oplacus's* Horse with a Javelin, and both the King and *Roman* Officer fell. But *Oplacus* was immediately covered with Wounds, and left dead upon the Place; whilst *Pyrrhus* was soon taken up by his Troops, and remounted.

THEN, this Battel between the Cavalry only, brought on a general Action. *Pyrrhus* hastened to his Infantry, to bring them to the Engagement; but took two Precautions, before he begun it. He first shewed himself to his Army, who thought

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Pyrrhus.

this Robbery gave Birth to the War the Republick had with them and *Pyrrhus*. Nor does *Eutropius* inform us better, when he fixes the Rupture with the *Tarentini*, to the time that the *Gauls* were defeated by the *Consul Cornelius Dolabella*. Nevertheless, he seems to agree with *Zonaras*, who tells us, that the *Tarentini* then entered into a League with the *Gauls*, *Hetrurians*, and other Enemies of the *Romans*. *Aulus Gellius*, B. 17. fixes the War with *Pyrrhus* to the Year 470; which agrees with *Eutropius*, if we suppose, that by the War with *Tarentum*, and that with *Pyrrhus*, they meant the same thing. And *Pliny* seems to be of the same Opinion, when he says, after *Cornelius Nepos*, that the Houses in *Rome* were covered with Shingles, till the Year 470; when the Republick was at War with the King of *Epirus*. But besides, that the *Fassi Capitolini*, date Facts a Year earlier, than *Pliny* does; it is certain, the *Tarentini* declared War against *Rome*, before they had recourse to *Pyrrhus*. And consequently, we cannot confound the beginning of the *Roman* War with *Tarentum*, and of that with *Pyrrhus*; without destroying the Order of the *Consular* Years. Besides, we have *Pausanias's* Authority for us. He says, in his *At-ticks*, that *Pyrrhus* transported his Army into *Italy*

in the second Year of the War with *Tarentum*, Nay *Pliny* himself declares for this Opinion, B. 8. c. 6. where he says, that Elephants were first seen in *Italy*, in the War the *Romans* had with *Pyrrhus*; in the Year 472. The War with *Tarentum* had therefore preceded that with *Pyrrhus*, at least one Year. In order to reconcile the Historians, it must be said, That the *Roman* Fleet was plundered by the *Tarentini*, about the Year of *Rome* 470: That the next Year, the *Roman* Ambassadors were insulted at *Tarentum*: That in the Year 472, *Lucius Æmilius* the *Consul* had the Command of the *Roman* Army, which acted against the *Tarentini*; and consequently, That *Pyrrhus* begun his War in *Italy*, in the Year 473.

74 We cannot help observing *Florus's* Mistake, here. He says, that the King of *Epirus* fought the *Romans* near *Heraclea*, on the Banks of the *Liris*, a River in *Campania*. *Apud Heracleam, & Campaniæ Fluviū Lirim, Lævino Consule prima pugna.* l. 1. c. 8. It is certain, as *Salmatus* has very well observed, in his Notes on this Author, That *Heraclea* was not in *Campania*; and That *Florus* confounded the *Liris*, with the *Siris*. The former was in the Country of the *Volsi*; the latter in *Lucania*.

him

Year of his Habit and Helmet, with *Megacles*. Thus disguised he marched towards the *Romans*, who came to meet him. *Lævinus* did not indeed shine like *Pyrrhus*; but he was a General of solid Merit, and a Man of true *Roman* Valour. He led up his *Legions* against the *Phalanx* of the *Epirotæ*. The Onset was vigorous, and the Victory warmly disputed. The *Romans* gave Way to their Enemies seven times; and as oft saw the *Epirotæ* turn their Backs. Yet still the Generals rallied them, and brought them again to the Charge. *Megacles*, who was in *Pyrrhus's* Dress and Helmet, was in all Places, and very well supported the Character he had assumed. But his Disguise proved fatal to him. Some brave *Romans* taking him for the King, made it their chief Business to watch his Motions, and waited an Opportunity to engage him; and at length he fell by the Hands of a *Roman Knight*, named *Dexter*, who struck him dead at one Blow. The Knight immediately stripped him of his Helmet and Arms, which he carried in Triumph to the *Consul*; and this odd Adventure, had like to have lost *Pyrrhus* the Battel. The *Romans* shewed the *Epirotæ* the Spoils of their King, which was enough to discourage them. They were already thinking of a Retreat, when *Pyrrhus* appeared, in the first Files of the *Phalanx*. He ran through all the Lines bare-headed, and put a Stop to the Fright of his Troops. The sight of their King, revived their Hopes of Victory; and they fought with more Resolution than ever. Nevertheless, the Advantage seemed to be pretty equal on both sides, when *Lævinus* thought fit to order his Horse to advance. They had begun the Battel, and were to end it. Whilst the *Roman* Infantry only engaged, the *Roman* Squadrons did not continue posted in the two Wings, as usual. *Lævinus* had ordered them to conceal themselves under Cover; and upon the first Signal, come and fall upon the Enemy in the Rear. This was the only imprudent Step that can be laid to the *Consul's* Charge. But how could he imagine, that the Elephants, whose Use and Qualities he did not understand, would put his Horse to the Rout?

Solinus, l. 24.

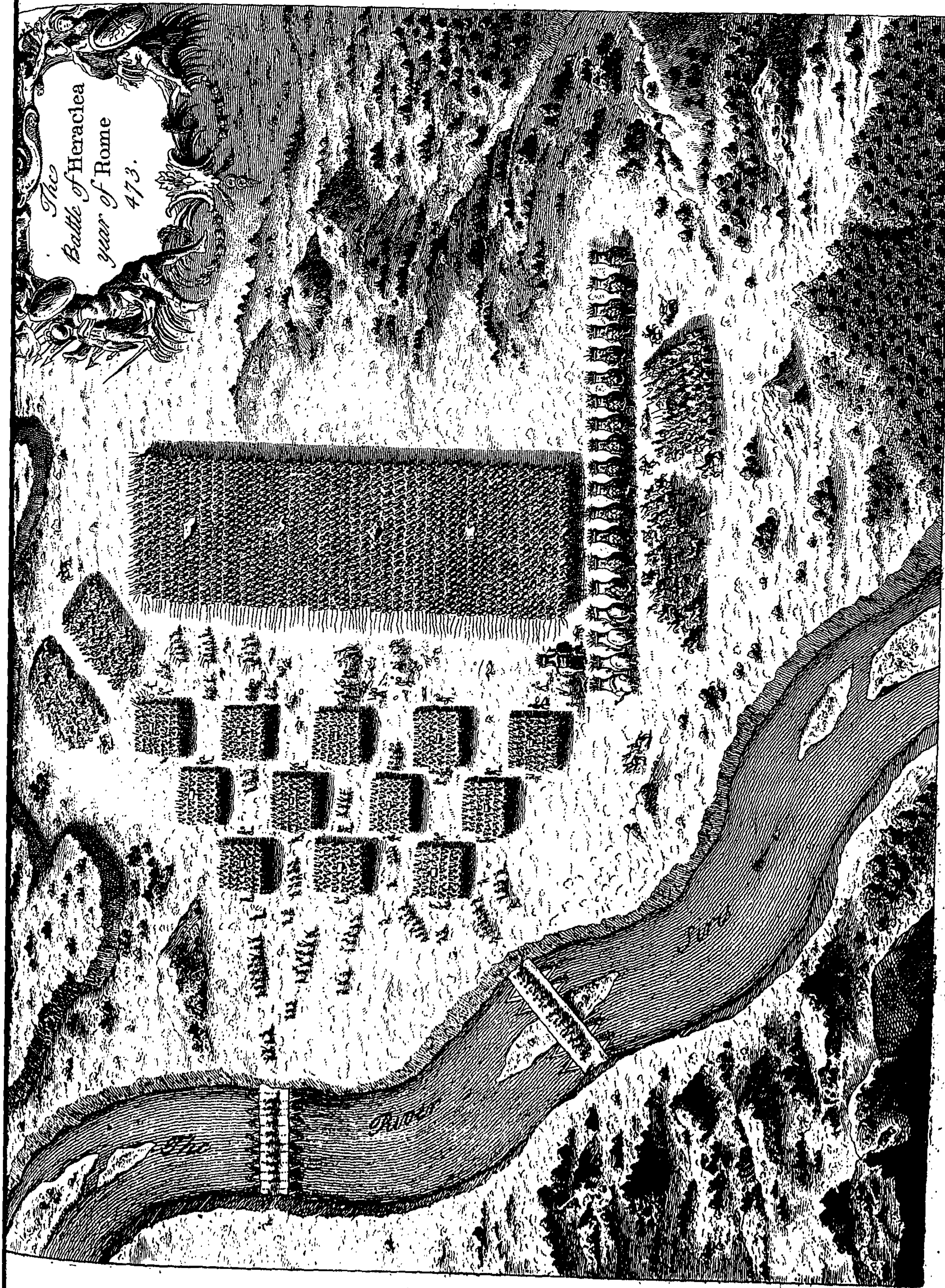
Eutropius
B. 2. and *Orosius*
B. 4. c. 2.

As soon as the *Roman* Cavalry appeared, *Pyrrhus* ordered his Elephants to advance, which he had reserved for his last Resource. The huge Creatures moved forward against the *Roman* Squadrons, and sheltered the *Epirot* Army with their great Bodies. They carried Towers on their Backs, which were full of Bow-men; twenty of these Creatures, well disciplined, made a large Front; and the Sight was inexpressibly terrifying. It must be owned, that the sight of these terrible Monsters, which they had never before seen, chilled the Bravery of the *Romans*. And what was still worse, the Horses could not bear the Smell of them, and were frightened with their strange Noises. They took Head, threw their Riders, ran away full Stretch, and carried some of their Riders to a great Distance. The Archers wounded some of the fugitive *Romans* with their Darts, from the Towers, which these Beasts carried: And others were trodden to pieces under their Feet. Yet still *Lævinus's* Infantry made a pretty good Appearance, and the *Legionaries* kept their Ranks. Till at length, *Pyrrhus*, in order to break them, marched a Body of *Thessalian* Horse against them, which was his last Stroke, and it was decisive. The *Romans* gave Way, and retired in Disorder: And their Defeat had been entire, had not *Pyrrhus* restrained the Ardour of his Troops. It was his Maxim not to push Enemies to Extremity; knowing that they often find Remedies in a Rout, which do the Conquerors great Mischief. Besides, an Accident which intervened, checked the *Epirotæ*. A *Roman* Soldier, named *Minucius*, wounded one of their Elephants, and cut off his Trunk, with his Sword. The furious Beast made a great roaring, and running about, in spite of his Guide, caused a great Disorder in the *Epirot* Army. This unforeseen Accident favoured the Retreat of the *Romans*, and gave them time to repass the River, in order to take Refuge in *Apulia*. A City, whose Name the Historians have not given us, opened its Gates, and afforded them a Retreat. It is not exactly known, what the Number of the Dead was on either side; the Historians giving us very different Computations. But it seems most probable, 75 that the *Romans* lost 14880 Men, upon the Spot; and *Pyrrhus* little less than 13000. It must be granted, that the

75 According to *Plutarch*, *Dion. Hal.* made the Loss of the *Romans* in this first Battel to amount to near fifteen thousand Men; but *Hieronymus* quoted by the same Historian, reduced it to seven thousand.

The former makes *Pyrrhus's* Loss to have been thirteen thousand Men, killed upon the Spot; the latter, but four thousand.

The
Battle of Heraclea
year of Rome
473.



Honour of the Day was wholly gained by the brave King of *Epirus*. He was Master of the Field of Battel, and had the Pleasure to see the *Romans* fly before him. But after all, his Victory cost him dear. He had the Mortification to find that a great Number of his best Friends, and best Troops, were lost in the Battel; and he did not dissemble it. He was heard to say, after the Action was over, *That he was both Conqueror, and conquered. Why conquered*, replied his Soldiers? *Because*, said he, *if I gain 76 such another Victory, I must return to Epirus, almost alone.* And therefore, when he came to hang up the Spoils he had taken from the Enemy, in the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Tarentum*, he ordered this memorable Inscription to be put upon them, in Verse: *Great God! I have conquered an unconquerable People, but vanquished as they are, I acknowledge they are Victors!* Indeed, the *Romans* had an inexhaustible Fund of Soldiers in their City, and among their Allies, wherewith to repair their Losses; but *Pyrrhus* was far from *Epirus*, and the Transportation of Troops over Seas, is always difficult.

HOWEVER, the *Epirot* understood the Art of War too well, not to make Advantage of his Victory. His first Care was to bury the Dead, with which the Plain was covered: And he made no Difference in the Funeral Honours he paid his own Men, and those he gave the *Romans*. Inspecting the Bodies of the latter, he found, That none of them had received any dishonourable Wounds: That they all fell in the Posts assigned them: That they still held their Swords in their Hands, though they were dead; and That Fury was painted upon their Faces. And then he uttered those famous Words: *O that Pyrrhus had Romans for his Soldiers; or the Romans Pyrrhus for their Leader! Together we should subdue the whole World.* This great General had taken the *Roman* Camp, and made about 1800 Prisoners of War. He spared no Motive to engage them to serve in his Troops; but gave them no ill Treatment for their Refusal. He esteemed them for their Constancy, and lessened the Hardships of their Captivity, as much as he could. But at the same time, he broke into all the Countries in Alliance with the *Romans*, like a Torrent. Many Cities surrendered to the Conqueror, and the Dominion of the *Romans* tottered, after this single Defeat. The Lands of the Republick were pillaged, and the *Epirot* made Incursions even into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*.

§. XVI. *LÆVINUS*, on the other hand, did not tarry long in *Apulia*. The Anger of Heaven seemed to pursue him, even to the Place of his Retreat. A Company of Soldiers went out to forrage, and were suddenly overtaken by a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightning. Four and thirty of them were killed upon the Spot, and two and twenty left half dead. Many of the Horses likewise were struck dead with the Lightning; and the greatest part of them were dispersed, or carried away. Nevertheless, all these seeming Signs of the Anger of the Gods, against this wise General, made no Alteration in the *Romans* with Regard to him, as superstitious as they were. They might have recalled him, or obliged him to nominate a Dictator. But the Republick knew how to do him Justice, and make a Difference between Generals, conquered through their own Faults, and one whom unexpected Accidents had forced to submit to the Fortune of War. *Lævinus* was pitied at *Rome*; and his Losses were repaired with new Levies. The Senate had no Regard to the Sarcasm of the wise *Fabricius*, *That the King of Epirus had conquered Lævinus; but the Epirotæ had not conquered the Romans.* This seemed to be demanding a new General; but the Republick would not cast a Blemish upon a brave Man, for no other Reason, but because he had been unsuccessful. And indeed *Lævinus* plainly shewed, during the rest of the Campaign, that true Merit can furnish Expedients in Distress. The Consul took great Care to dress his Wounded, assembled his scattered Troops in a Camp, and as soon as he had received the Reinforcement of two Legions, which were sent him from *Rome*, he began to move. His Design was to stop *Pyrrhus* in his Career; to follow close after him wherever he went; to harass, fight, and conquer him in his Turn; or at least to force him to leave the Centre of *Italy*, and retire to *Tarentum*; and he partly succeeded in it.

PYRRHUS was posted in *Campania*, and subsisted his Troops at the Expence of the *Romans*, in one of the most fruitful Provinces in their Dominions. There,

76 *Plutarch* applies *Pyrrhus's* Saying, *Such another Victory will undo us*, to his second Battel with the *Romans*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXXIII.
P. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
TIB. CORUN-
CANIUS, Con-
sul.
Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.
Orosius B. 4.
c. 1.

Eutropius and
Florus.

*Dio. apud
Vales.*

Orosius B. 4.
c. 1.

*Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.*

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLXXIII.
P. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
TIB. CORUN-
CANIUS, Con-
suls.
Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Zen. B. 8. c. 4.

Florus B. 8.

Zonaras and
Florus, &c.

Zon. B. 8. c. 4.

near *Heraclea*, he received the Reinforcements he had so long expected from his Allies; and which had born no part in the Battel he had gained. In short, the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Messapians* joined him. They had perhaps prolonged their Departure till after *Pyrrhus's* first Victory, as thinking that they might then enter into Engagements with him, with the more Safety. The King received them graciously. The slight manner in which he reproached them for their Delays, plainly shewed them the secret Pleasure he had, that he had conquered without them. He even gave the New-comers their Share of the Spoils he had taken from the Enemy. This engaging and polite Behaviour of *Pyrrhus*, was partly the Effect of his natural Disposition and Education, and partly flowed from an Ambition, conducted by Prudence. His Design was to gain their Hearts, in order to conquer their Country. His immediate view was to take *Naples* and *Capua*, before he besieged *Rome*. But *Lævinus's* sudden Appearance somewhat disconcerted his Measures. Just as he was ready to make himself Master of *Capua*, that General prevented him. *Lævinus* marched thither, left some Troops in it, and thereby guarded it against a Siege. From thence *Pyrrhus* turned to *Naples*; but the *Neapolitans* were upon their Guard; and the Nearness of the *Roman* Army, kept up their Courage. Then *Pyrrhus* marched away, all on a sudden, towards *Rome*, by 77 *The Latin Way*. He took *Fregellæ*, as he passed; and keeping along by the Borders of 78 *Anagnia*, he marched through the Country of the *Hernici*, and came and fate down before *Præneste*, a fortified City, guarded by a flourishing Youth. There, from the Top of a Mountain, *Pyrrhus* had a sight of *Rome*; and as he was very near it, he in his march drove a Cloud of Dust to the Capital, which was all the Harm he did it. Indeed, upon barely seeing *Rome*, *Pyrrhus* despaired of taking it. The Consul *Coruncanius* had then just passed the *Tyber*, after having subdued *Hetruria*, and forced it into an Alliance with *Rome*; and he came to meet the *Epirot*, whilst *Lævinus* followed them in the Rear. Being therefore deprived of all Hopes of bringing the *Hetrurians* into his Interest, and being invested by two Consular Armies, the King had nothing to do, but to return into *Campania*; and how great must his Surprise have been to find *Lævinus* there, with a more numerous Army, than that which he had vanquished, on the Banks of the *Siris*. He cried out, *I was born under the same Constellation as Hercules. I here have to do with an Hydra, whose Heads grow up again, as fast as I cut them off.* This *Pyrrhus* said, at the sight of the *Roman* Army, which the Consul had drawn up in Battalia to try the Fate of another Battel; which the King, on his part, would not decline. All Things were ready, and the Armies drawn up, and waiting only for the Signal when *Pyrrhus*, to strike Terror into the *Roman* Legions, ordered his Soldiers to beat their Bucklers with their Lances, and the Conductors of his Elephants to make them cry out. But this Noise of the *Epirotæ* was returned with so terrible and unanimous a Shout, by the *Romans*, that *Pyrrhus* himself was affrighted at it. He thought of much Alacrity on the part of the Vanquished, too sure a Prognostick of Victory to them; and being an excellent Judge of the proper Seasons for Action, thought it not adviseable to give Battel. He pretended, That the *Auguries* were not favourable, and That it was dangerous, to undertake any Thing, against the Will of the Gods. In all Probability, *Pyrrhus* then lost all Hopes of subduing the *Romans*. But be that as it will, he now made no farther Attempts, but put an end to the Campaign, and returned to *Tarentum*. As for *Lævinus*, he did not persist in forcing the King to give him Battel; it was enough for him, that he had with a good Grace offered to fight, which he might have been necessarily obliged to do.

PYRRHUS was no sooner arrived at *Tarentum*, but *Lævinus* and *Coruncanius* returned to *Rome*. The ill Success *Lævinus* had had in the Battel of *Heraclea*, would not suffer the People and Senate to decree him a Triumph; but they were not

77 *The Latin Way* began at *Rome*, near *The Latin Gate*, led to *Lutium*, ran South-East, almost to the City of *Cassinum*, nineteen *Stadia* from *Capua*. There it joined *The Appian Way*, as we learn from *Strabo*. *Martial* calls this Road the *Latin Way*, and *The Ausonian Way*. See *Epigr.* 65, and 108, of B. 9.
78 *Anagnia* was the Capital of the Territory of the *Hernici*, which is now a part of the *Compagna di Roma*. *Virgil* speaks of it, *Aeneid* 7. as a City famous for its Riches. *Quos dives Anagnia pascit.*

Strabo says, it was a considerable City, in *Latium*. *Cicero*, *pro Domo sua*, ranks among the *Municipia*; and *Frontinus* tells us, it became a *Roman Colony*; whilst *Festus* gives it the Title of a *Præfectura*. That is, to say, it underwent several Changes at different times. In the ancient *Itineraries*, that part of *The Latin Way* which led to *Anagnia*, is called *Compitum Anagninum*; where the little City of *Castel-Matiseo* now stands.

unjust to him, as to treat him like a contemptible Officer. As for *Coruncanius*, he entered *Rome* ⁷⁹ in Triumph, on *The Calends of February*. How great must have been the Satisfaction of the *Romans*, to have had so noble a Victory to reward, in such perillous Times ! That of *Coruncanius* was an important, and a complete one; his Campaign may be said to have been decisive. The greatest Nation in *Italy*, those formidable *Hetrurians*; who had declared themselves Rivals to the *Romans*, from the very Foundation of their City, had at last submitted. They had absolutely given themselves to the *Romans*, at a time when most of their Allies were inclined to desert them. This is a memorable Event, which the Historians pass slightly over; but we have an unanswerable Proof of the Surrendry of *Hetruria*; which is the Oblivion into which the *Hetrurians* sunk, after *Coruncanius* had given them this Blow. Nothing more is said of their Wars with *Rome*, in a national Capacity; when they were once subdued, they very seldom swerved from their Fidelity. Another Triumph also, gave *Rome* great Joy, and; in some measure, repaired her Losses. *Æmilius*, surnamed *Barbula*, a *Proconsul*, had reduced the ⁸⁰ *Salentini*, a People of *Messapia*, in Alliance with the *Tarentini*, with the same Army, he had successfully led against the *Samnites* and *Tarentini*, in his *Consulship*, the Year before. He had beaten the *Salentini*, and prevented their going over to *Pyrrhus*, and the *Romans* joined the Exploits of both Years together, to reward him for them, with one ⁸¹ Triumph. Or perhaps, it was the Policy of *Rome*, to let all *Italy* see that she had maintained her Ground; and that her Generals had, in several Places, merited Triumphs, since the Arrival of the *Epirotæ*.

§. XVII. *PYRRHUS*, continuing quiet at *Tarentum*, had time to reflect on the Valour and Conduct of the *Romans*; and these doubtless made him sensible, that the War in which he was embarked might end in his Ruin or Disgrace. He, from that time, was desirous of finishing it; but in an honourable manner: And it was therefore very acceptable News to him, that the *Romans* had determined in their Senate, to send an honourable Embassy to him. The *Conscrip*t Fathers had at last resolved, though not without some Difficulty, to demand of *Pyrrhus*, the Prisoners he had taken, in the Battel. The greatest part of them were *Roman Knights*, Men of Distinction in the Republick; and the Motive which induced the Senate to take this Step, was, that these brave Men had begun the Battel like Heroes, and when they were ready to put an end to it, to the Honour of *Rome*, strange Animals had affrighted their Horses. So that these valiant Men were unfortunate, but not blameable. Besides, they did not send their Deputation to the *Tarentini*, but to King *Pyrrhus*; from whom the *Romans* expected a civil Reception, and were no longer apprehensive of the Insults of a mad Populace. Three ⁸² Men of distinguished Merit were pitched upon for the Embassy. The first was, that *Cornelius Dolabella*, who was famous for his Defeat of the *Senones*; and the other two, the virtuous *Fabricius*, and his old Colleague, *Æmilius Papus*, who had been *Consuls* together, two Years before. The King of *Epirus* heard the News of this solemn Deputation with Pleasure. As he loved to flatter himself, and our Imaginations readily incline us to believe what we wish, *Pyrrhus* took it for granted, that the true Intent of this Deputation was to desire a Peace of him. He would have been transported beyond Measure, to have seen

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLXXIII.
P. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
TIB. CORUN-
CANIUS, Con-
suls.

Tab. Trium-
phal.

Zonaras, and
Val. Max.
B. 5. c. 1.
Euter. 3.

⁷⁹ *Coruncanius's* Triumph is no where recorded, in the *Capitoline Marbles*. On them we find an Inscription, TI. CORUNCANIUS TI. T. N. AN. CDLXXIII. DE VVLSINENBUS ET VVLCIENTIB. K. FEB. That is, *Tiberius Coruncanius, the Son of Tiberius, and grandson of Tiberius, triumphed over the Volsinenses, and Volscentes, on the Kalends of February, the Year of Rome 473. We have already spoken of the Volsinenses, whose Territory was one of the twelve Cantons of Hetruria; and as for the Volscentes, who were also a People of Tuscany, Ptolemy, B. 2. p. 514. Of Ancient Italy, places in a Canton, in which stood an ancient City, which Ptolemy calls Oulx, VOLCI; beyond the River Umbro, now the Ombrone, near the Volturne, which belonged to the Volscentes, according to Pliny, B. 3. c. 5. Cosa, a Populus Romano deducta. This was the City which gave them the Name of Volscentes,*

seems to be the same which the *Abridger of Strabo* calls *Olcium*, "Ουλκίον πόλις τυρρηνίας.

⁸⁰ See what we have already said of the *Salentini*, and of *Messapia*.

⁸¹ They fix the *Proconsul Æmilius's* Triumph to *The Sixth of the Ides of July*; that is, the tenth of that Month. *Zonaras* does not mention the Honours *Rome* did this General; but at the same time confesses, that this great Man, filled the whole Country with Terror and Desolation, quite to the Gates of *Tarentum*.

⁸² Authors differ about the Time when this Embassy was sent. Some say *Fabricius* was sent to *Pyrrhus*, before *Cynear* came to *Rome*. Others postpone this Deputation, till after the latter returned to the King of *Epirus*. *Pliny*, B. 34. c. 6. declares for the former Opinion: *Plutarch* for the latter. And it is not easy to determine which is right, when the Authorities on which both are built are so equal.

Rome

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLXXIII.

P. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
TIB. CORUN-
CANIUS, Con-
suls.
Dion. Hal.
in Legat.

Rome at his Feet, in a suppliant manner; and his Ambition would have been fully satisfied, could he have said to these haughty Republicans, *I grant you Peace*. In full Expectation of this, he gave the Ambassadors a magnificent Reception. In order to do them Honour, he sent *Lycon the Molossian* to wait for them on the Frontiers of *Tarentum*, with a Guard. The King himself went without the Gates of the City, to meet them, received them with singular Demonstrations of Good-will, and appointed them stately Lodgings, with all the Accommodations of an agreeable Hospitality. When they were admitted to Audience, they made a Speech to the King, which chiefly turned, on the Vicissitude of human Affairs, and the Distrust we ought always to have in times of Prosperity. In this they had a double Meaning; and gave the King to understand, not only that they had experienced the Capriciousness of Fortune, but that he had Reason to fear it. The proper Business of their Embassy, was only, *To demand a Surrender of the Prisoners, either by way of Exchange, or for such a Ransom per Head, as should be agreed on*. *Pyrrhus* expected something more; but did not discover his Thoughts. He only answered, that he would consider of it, and let them know his Pleasure.

ACCORDINGLY, he assembled his Council; and his chief Confidants were divided in Opinion. *Milo*, who commanded in the Citadel of *Tarentum*, was for coming to no Composition with the Romans, but was for pushing them to Extremity, till they were utterly reduced. *Cyneas* was of a contrary Opinion. *It is no easy Matter*, said he, *to subdue, or so much as to intimidate the Roman Republick. Her late Misfortunes furnish Proofs of her Constancy, under the greatest Afflictions. Any other Enemy would have given us some Advantage over them, either by a Dissolution of Manners, or want of Bravery. Rome alone is not to be biassed by Interest, or subdued by Arms. The safest Way is to bring her to a Peace, not very disadvantageous to her, or dishonourable to our selves. Our proper Method of reconciling her to us, with Honour, is to send back her Captives without a Ransom, and immediately to dispatch an Embassy to the Republick, to treat with the Senate, about a lasting Peace, on just Terms. This will convince all Mankind, that our Generosity was our only Motive, to lay down our Arms, and that we did not leave off fighting, till we had conquered*. *Cyneas* had discovered *Pyrrhus's* Inclinations; and his Opinion was suitable to the natural Inconstancy of this Prince. His Advice was therefore approved; and he himself appointed to undertake the Embassy. After these Resolutions, the King ordered the Ambassadors to be brought into his Presence, and addressed himself to them in this manner. *The Money you offer for the Ransom of the Prisoners, is no manner of Temptation to me. I have Riches enough, to spare you some of them; and desire nothing of you but your Friendship. Would it not then be the highest Ingratitude in you, to employ those Soldiers against me, which I freely restore you? Can you so far abuse my Favours, as to make them the Means of my Destruction? Let them rather put an end to our Enmity, and be a means to settle a firm Union between us; and let it not be said that *Pyrrhus* furnished you with Hands to fight against himself; but with Mouths to declare, that he prefers Peace to Victory!*

§. XVIII. THE King of *Epirus* pronounced these Words with a gracious Air; and then desired a private Conference with *Fabricius*. The Reputation of this great Man had even reached the Enemy; and *Pyrrhus* was resolved to know his Virtue, first thoroughly, and put it to all Trials. We have collected this Conversation, from the several Authors, who have recorded some one part of it, and some another; according as they learnt it from Tradition. *I have declared to your Collegues*, says the King to *Fabricius*, *the Regard I have for the Romans in general, and my Inclinations to become their Friend. But I must confess to you, that I have more Respect for *Fabricius*, than for the rest of his fellow-Citizens. Is it possible, that a wealthy Republick should suffer you to drag on an unhappy Life, in Poverty? I will never suffer Virtue to be obscure and despised, for its Indigence. It is an Act worthy of my Station, to rescue great Men from the Reproaches and Contempt of Poverty. I offer you any Money that is necessary to give your Philosophy all the Lustre it deserves. I shall hereby make a Present to the Gods, more acceptable than those with which their Sanctuaries are adorned. Do you imagine it to be a dishonourable thing, to receive from the Hands of a Friend some slight Proofs of a sincere Affection. I don't pretend to corrupt your Fidelity, draw you off from your Country's Interest by my Presents. All the return I expect from you is, that you would consult the Welfare of Rome, by engaging her to conclude*

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

a perpetual Peace with me. I cannot be satisfied to continue at Enmity with a People whom I esteem. I know that you Republicans are brought up with a Hatred to Kings. But if the bad Conduct of some Princes have given you a dislike to Monarchy; yet at least have so much Moderation, as not to extend your Hatred to all Monarchs. They are not all so perfidious, as to have no Regard to the Faith of Treaties; or so blindly devoted to their Interest, as to forego all Regard to Honour and Honesty for the sake of a present Advantage. Indeed I frankly own to you, I have a farther Design upon you, which is, when a Peace is once concluded, to prevail on you, to go with me to Epirus. You shall there be my first Minister, and share my Riches with me, and the Command of my Armies. What greater Happiness can a King desire, than to be sure that he has found a wise Minister, who is at the same time a sincere and generous Friend!

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXXIII.

P. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
TIB. CORUN-
CANIUS, Con-
suls.
Appian and
Dionys.

Thus spake the Epirot; whom Fabricius heard without interrupting him, and then replied thus. What, Pyrrhus, do you esteem my Virtue, and yet think your self able to corrupt it? If I am so great a Philosopher as you suppose, can I accept of your Presents? Or if I were base enough to accept them, could I then deserve them? You say you have nothing in view, but a Peace: and herein I commend your Wisdom. And if your Proposals be at all advantageous to us, I promise you my Interest and Protection, to get them accepted. But why do you cast it as a Reproach on my Republick, that I am suffered to continue poor? Rome knows that it is what I like, and what I chuse. I enjoy more Happiness in cultivating my little Patrimony with my own Hands, than Pyrrhus does in the midst of all his Treasures. My Frugality, and the Moderation of my Desires, make my Wants fewer than yours. A little Nook of Land is sufficient, both to support and satisfy me. Whilst all Epirus is not enough to content Pyrrhus. Your boundless Desires fill you with endless Disquietudes; I enjoy the most perfect Tranquillity, in the meanest Circumstances. Ambition makes you always poor; and Poverty itself makes me rich. My Appetite is quickened by the Frugality of my Table. But what am I saying? What an abundant Amends has Rome made me, for my Neglect of Wealth and Plenty? How has she loaded me with Honours, even to Profuseness, Consulships, Embassies, important Negotiations, and the Command of Armies? I am well heard in the Senate; and my Advice is taken. I am honoured in the City, and am every where mentioned, as a Pattern for Modesty and Temperance. In publick Employments, I have enough to support my Character and Dignity; not indeed out of my own private Purse, but out of the publick Treasury. Our Laws are not like yours. With you; no Riches, no Honours. With us; Wealth is very rarely a Step to great Dignities. Being therefore, as a private Man, content with the little I possess; and having the Bounties of the State, to support me in publick Stations, have I any Reason to complain? The Gods have frequently put it in my Power to become rich. I have taken Cities, won Battels, laid Countries waste, and taken Spoils from the Enemy: and have given all the Advantages of these Things to the Republick. I have paid no less than four hundred Talents into the Treasury, which were the Fruits of my own Labours and Victories. And can I after this find it any difficult Matter to refuse your Presents? Shall I put my self under Engagements to you, which common Gratitude will oblige me to perform? If my Probity did not restrain my Avarice, yet at least, the Fear of our Censors would deter me from indulging it. Rome never suffers her Subjects to enter into Engagements with her Enemies, with Impunity.

Zonar. B. 8.

Dion. Hal. in
Legationibus.

PYRRHUS still pressed the Roman, and offered him a fourth part of his Dominions; but he answered, You don't consider, Sir, what you offer. Should I share your Crown with you, my Sincerity would never suffer you to be at rest, even upon your Throne; and the Severity of my Manners, would make my Court more numerous than yours. A Subject, who is revered and loved by the People, often gives the Sovereign himself Uneasiness.

PYRRHUS was surprized at this first Conference, but not wholly discouraged. He invited Fabricius to a second Interview, the next Day, and then changed his Conduct. He had at first endeavoured to tempt him with Promises; and now tried to intimidate him with his Threatnings. And in order to know whether he was susceptible of Fear, he made use of this Stratagem to frighten him. The Hall where they met was so contrived, that an Elephant was placed in one part of it, behind a Curtain, which hid him. Fabricius had never seen one; and as the King was taking a turn or two in the Hall with him, when the Roman came within the Elephant's reach, the Curtain was drawn all on a sudden. The Elephant was at the same time made

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made to cry out very loud, and the monstrous Beast laid his Trunk on *Fabricius's* Head. But the *Roman* calmly said, without any Concern; *Does the Great King, who could not stagger me Yesterday with his Presents, think to frighten me to Day, with the Cry of a Beast?* And the intrepid Philosopher continued his Discourse, without vouchsafing to take any Notice of the frightful Object before him. *Pyrrhus* was astonished at his immoveable Constancy, and obliged *Fabricius* to stay, and sit down at his Table with him. The Conversation turned upon serious Subjects, particularly the *Epicurean* Philosophy; and then it was that *Fabricius* gave the King the Answer beforementioned: *O that Pyrrhus, had placed his Happiness in the boasted Indolence of Epicurus, both for Rome's sake, and his own!*

§. XIX. EVERY thing that *Pyrrhus* heard and saw of the *Romans*, increased his Earnestness for Peace. And it must be granted, that the Republick then abounded with Men, whose Virtue was superior to that of the seven Sages, whom the *Greeks* had so much admired. There seemed to be an Emulation between the Great Men in *Rome*, who should excel in Magnanimity, Disinterestedness, Constancy, Moderation, and in short, in all military and civil Virtues. But though Rivals in Wisdom, they lived in perfect Concord among one another; the Love of their Country, was the common Tie which united all their Hearts. *Curius, Fabricius, Coruncanius*, and *Æmilius Papus*, were all intimate. So that *Pyrrhus* plainly saw, he could neither corrupt nor disunite these steady Men; and perhaps he thought it of little Consequence to conquer them once or twice. *At the long run*, said he, *their Perseverance will get the better of my Skill.* And the *Epirot* even promised himself too much, in imagining, that he should preserve the Advantage he had over the *Romans*, in all his future Battels. All these Considerations therefore made him resolve to treat this venerable Republick with Respect. He sent for the three Ambassadors, released to them two hundred Prisoners without Ransom; and to crown all, suffered the rest of the

83 *Epicurus* founded all Morality on Pain and Pleasure. He contended that the Avoidance of the one, or Pursuit of the other, were the only Motives of all human Actions. He made all the Views of Men to terminate in these, as the Foundations of their Happiness. For according to this Philosopher, the Absence of Pain, is a part of the *summum bonum*, or chief Good. It was natural enough for an impious Man to reason thus, who made the Soul to be a Composition of material Atoms, and consequently ranked it among mortal and perishable Substances. *Cicero* undertakes to prove the Falseness of this Opinion, in his Dialogues *Of Good and Evil*. *Torquatus*, one of the Speakers, a zealous *Epicurean*, is introduced to defend *Epicurus's* Doctrine; and he affirms, That all Animals ardently pursue Pleasure from the Moment they are born; and That they avoid Pain, and all Objects that produce it, with equal Earnestness. Whence he infers, that Nature her self, without the Assistance of Reason, plainly teaches us, that Pleasure is a Good, which we ought to seek to enjoy, and Pain an Evil, which we ought to avoid. Our Senses, continues he, as plainly prove this, as they do, that Fire is hot, Snow white, or Honey sweet. There are indeed some Circumstances in which a Man ought to renounce Pleasure, and think it his Duty to pursue a painful and laborious Life. But then his Motive, even to this, is the Pleasure which flows from it. We shun Pleasure, only on Account of the Pain it will produce; and we willingly suffer Pain and Fatigues, for the Pleasures which will result from them. A wise Man's Rule, in the Case, is this; to reject little Enjoyments, for the sake of greater; and to endure less acute Pains, in order to avoid those which are more intense and grievous. From all which *Torquatus* draws this Inference, That Virtue is the only desirable thing, because we cannot live happily without it; and That Vice ought to be abhorred by Men, because it is the Cause of the greatest Evil, that is, Pain. For, as he adds, *Epicurus*, who is reproached with making Pleasure the chief Good, always contended, That true Happiness is only to be found, in living con-

formably to the Laws of Wisdom and Equity.

This is the Substance of *Torquatus's* Reasoning in the first Book, *De finibus Bonorum & Malorum*. And though *Cicero* makes use of all the Subtleties of Logick to confute him; yet *Epicurus's* System remains unshaken. The Word Pleasure, together with the ill use Libertines made of a Principle which they did not understand, gave Offence to good Men, especially the Stoicks, who value themselves upon their Austerities; but nevertheless the Doctrine, if rightly understood, is not at all hurt by it. And *Gassendi*, and a later Author, have well explained it in our Days; that their Adversaries have written as much in *French* to no Purpose, in endeavouring to confute it, as *Cicero* did in *Latin*. The Question is not, as we have observed above, Page 416. Note 24. What is the Cause of our Happiness, but what is the Form of it? Not what the Object is, which will make happy, but wherein the Essence of true Happiness consists? And let Men reason as long as they please, it will still be evident, that we are only so happy, as we taste Pleasure; and so far miserable as we suffer Pain. If you ask *Epicurus*, what is the Cause of the truest Pleasure? he will answer, is Virtue: And in this, *Zeno* and the Stoicks agree with him. And they are both in the right; or with this Difference, That the Stoicks seem to have confounded the Cause of Happiness with its Essence; or to have sought for its Cause, rather than its Essence. Whereas *Epicurus* came nearer to the Point, by clearly distinguishing the *formal Cause* of Happiness, which is Pleasure, and *Instrumental Causes*, which are the Means to it, as *Efficiency*, or a Privation of Pain; from its *efficient* and *instrumental Causes*; the former of which is God, the latter Virtue. He made the Virtue, the *Goods* peculiar to Mankind, the *instrumental Causes* of Happiness, as all other Philosophers did; but he was guilty of notorious Impiety, in denying God to be the *efficient Cause* of all Good. It was this part of his System, which was indeed upon too lax a Term, *Pleasure*, which wicked Men occasioned, to abuse what was reasonable in it.

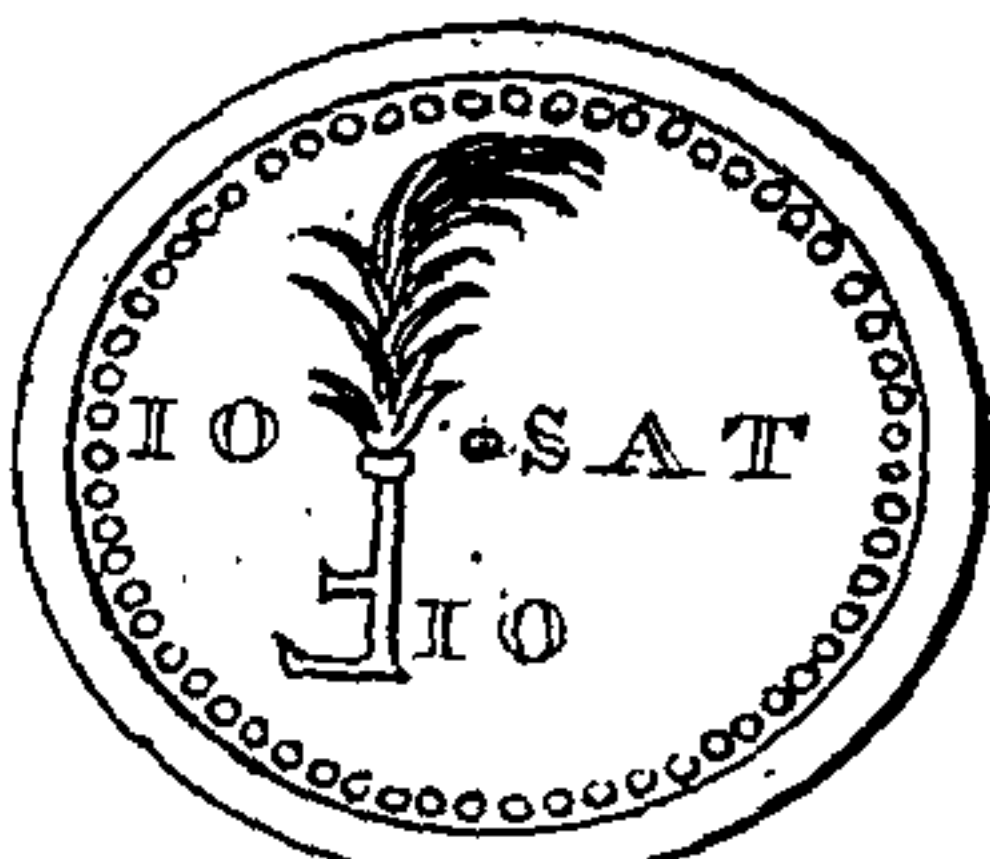
Prison

Prisoners to go to *Rome*, barely upon their Parole, to celebrate the ⁸⁴ *Saturnalia* Year of there, in their own Families. This Feast of *Saturn*, was annually solemnized in December, *ROM E* CCCCLXXIII.

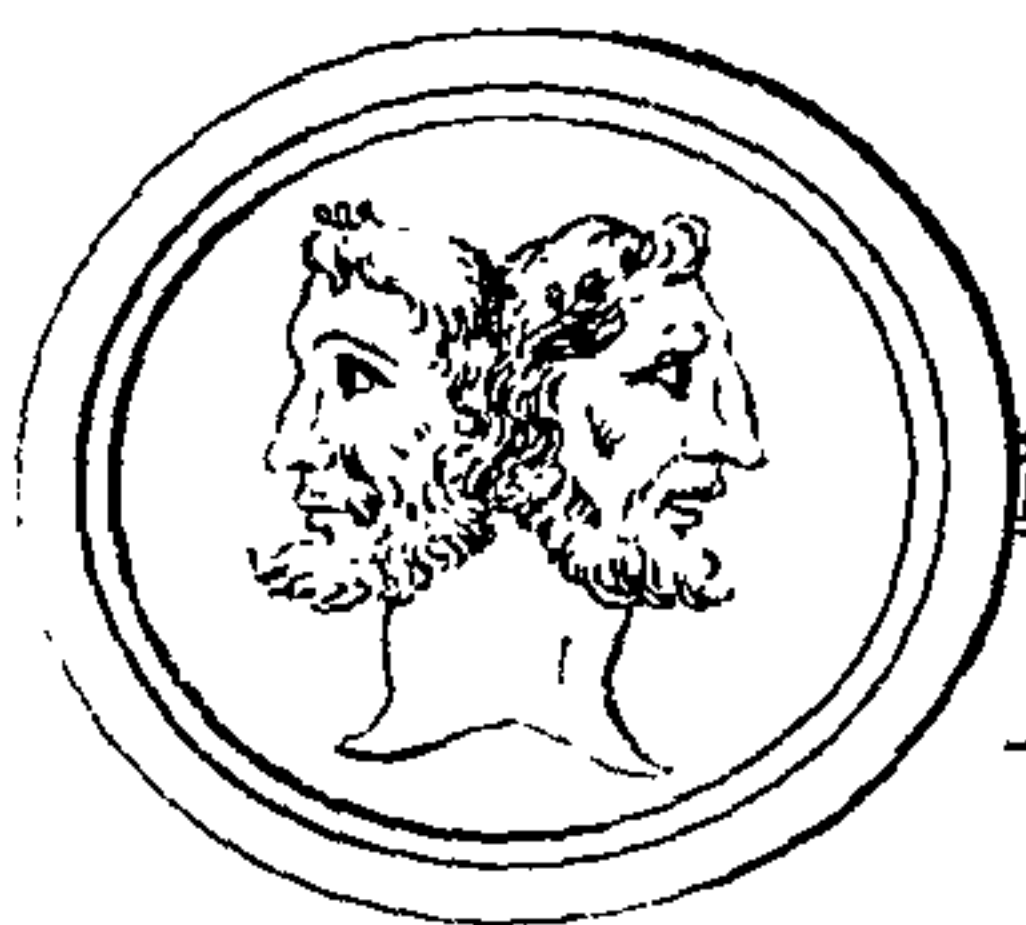
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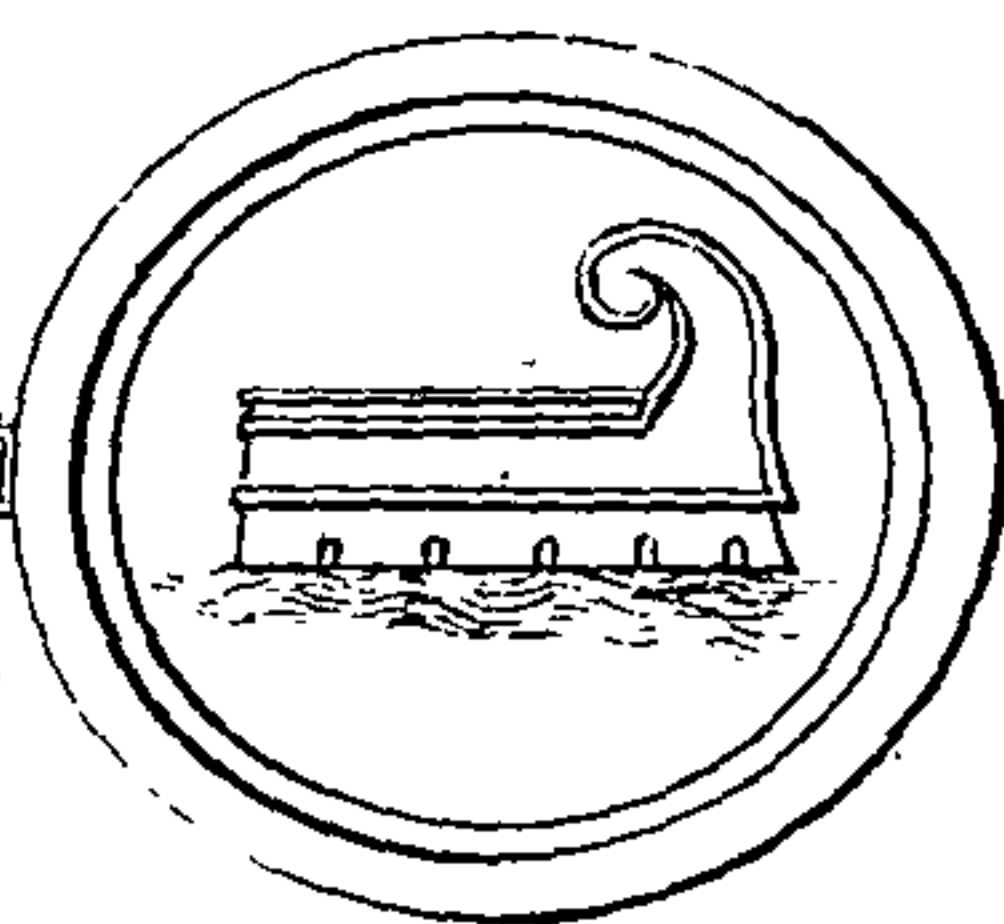
Silver.



Lead



Brass



⁸⁴ The Feast of the *Saturnalia* was instituted in Honour of *Saturn*. This pretended God, of whom the Mythologists have told us so many idle Tales, was, it seems, driven out of his Kingdom by his Son *Jupiter*, and came into *Italy*, where he found a safe Retreat, in the Dominions of *Janus* King of the *Aborigines*. This Prince was so charmed with the great Qualities he discovered in his Guest, that he shared his Government with him: And this Nation, which before was savage, was made more tractable, by *Saturn's* Administration. He assembled the Inhabitants of the Country, polished their Manners, and lessened their Barbarity, by wise Laws. He taught them Agriculture, and all the Arts which contribute to the Conveniencies of social Life. He is said to have been the Inventor of the Reap-Hook and Sythe, which are Symbols of him in some ancient Monuments, and particularly on the first Medal above. He reigned in Plenty, Concord, and Peace: And for this Reason, the Poets call this happy time *The Golden Age*. *Numa Pompilius*, according to some, first proposed to revive the Remembrance of it, in the *Saturnalia*: but most Writers agree, that this Festival was instituted by *Tullus Hostilius*, or at least, that he expressly vowed to do it, when he was engaged in a battle with the *Sabines*; as we have already observed, Page 93. of the first Volume. *Livy* fixes the Institution of this Festival to the Year of *Rome* 100, when *Anulus Sempronius*, and *Marcus Minucius* were Consuls. His Consulibus (A. Sempronio Marco Minucio) *Ædes Saturno dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies*. And lastly, others pretend, That *Tarquin the Proud* first formed the design of it; and That it was not put in Execution till the time of *Titus Lartius*. But *Macrobius* carries up the Origin of this Festival to *Janus*; who revived *Saturn*, and in Gratitude for the Benefits he had received from him, paid him great Honours, and ranked him among the Gods. In order to perpetuate the Remembrance of his Arrival in *Latium*, he gave it the Name of *Saturnia Tellus*. He erected an Altar to him, and instituted a Festival to his Honour, which is called *Saturnalia*. To which *Macrobius* adds, That *Janus* at the same time struck some Copper Money, on the Face of which was the double Head of this first King of *Latium*; on the reverse, a Prow of a Ship, in Memory of that which brought *Saturn* into *Italy*. *Varro* said the same things before *Macrobius*, and as-

cribed the first Invention of Money to *Janus*. But be that as it will (for we do not pretend to pronounce concerning a Fact, which lies hid in the Darkness of the fabulous Ages) it is certain these two Impressions are yet to be seen on some Medals. But to return to the Festival of the *Saturnalia*.

It was spent in Feasting and Rejoicings. The *Romans* then appeared in their Eating-dress, and mutually made Presents to one another, as is now done at New-Year's-Tide. The Courts of Justice were shut up. The Senate did not assemble. The Schools were shut up, and those Sports which were forbidden at other times, were allowed at this joyful Season. The *Romans* were scrupulous of going upon any military Expedition, or leading a Criminal to Execution, at this time, when all Men were wholly given up to Joy, and minded nothing but Diversions. The chief Design of this Ceremony, was to represent that Equality of Condition, and Community of Goods, which *Saturn* introduced among Mankind; when they lived according to the Laws of Nature, and knew not so much as the Names of Tyranny, and Slavery. For this Reason the Slaves were, if I may so speak, restored to the Privileges of their first Parents. As long as the Festival lasted, they wore a kind of Bonnet called *Pileus*, which at other times was allowed to be worn only by *Freedmen*. They appeared in publick in the *Toga*, according to *Dio Cassius*. *Saturnaliis servi, habitum herilem sumentes, festive agent*. Their Masters made it Matter of Duty to treat them, eat with them, and even serve them at Table. *Athenæus* tells us this, B. 14. *Saturnaliis diebus, mos Romanis præbere servis convivium, sic ut ipsi officia servorum obirent*. And *Seneca* speaks of this Custom, *Epist. 47. Instituerunt diem festum, non quo solum cum servis Domini vescerentur, sed quo utique honores illis in domo gerere, jus dicere, permiserunt, et domum, pusillam rempublicam esse judicaverunt*. So that, according to the latter, the Slaves were then the greatest Persons in the Family, and ordered every thing with the Authority of Masters. The King of the Feast was chosen out of the Masters and Servants promiscuously, and it belonged to him, to preside at the common Feasts which were then made.

The *Saturnalia* were at first celebrated on The fourteenth of the Calends of January, that is the seventeenth Day of December. And the Festival lasted at

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December, on The fourteenth of the Calends of January. It was a Day of publick Rejoicing among the Romans. They mutually made Presents, and invited one another to Entertainments. The Festival was often continued for several Days; during which a reasonable Liberty was given to all sorts of People, the Slaves not excepted. Pyrrhus therefore consented, that the Romans taken in the Battel of Heraclea, should go Home and enjoy the Pleasures of the Season; and the Romans on the other hand, were true to their Promises, and returned to Tarentum, on the Day appointed. But the wise Epirot was not without his own private Views, in being thus indulgent to his Captives. He imagined, that they would dispose the People, during their Abode at Rome, to accept of the Conditions he was going to offer them.

§. XXII. IV

at first but one Day. After the Calendar was reformed by Julius Caesar, who added two Days to December, this Festival was fixed to another Day, viz. The sixteenth of the Calends of the next Month. But as the Romans had long been used to reckon by the Day of Numa's Year; some still kept to his Calendar, and continued to celebrate this Festival on The fourteenth of the Calends of January. And in order to remedy this Disorder, Augustus published an Edict, expressly commanding, that for the future, the Feast should not be confined to one Day only, but last likewise the two new Days Julius Caesar had added to the Calendar. So that the Saturnalia then continued three Days, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth of December inclusive: and to these the same Emperor afterwards added a fourth Day. After him Caligula added a fifth Day, called Juvenalia, according to Suetonius, in his Life of that Prince. *Ut latitiam publicam in perpetuum augetet, diem adjecit Saturnalibus, appellavitque Juvenalem.* Which is confirmed by Dio Cassius B. 59. *Saturnalia per dies quinque celebrari jussit.* This fifth Day was indeed retrenched soon after the Death of Caligula; but Claudius restored it, as the last mentioned Author assures us. *Saturnalibus quintum diem, a Caio institutum, posteaque omisum, restituit.* Nor must we forget, that in these five Days, was comprehended that which was particularly appropriated to the Worship of Ops or Rhea, the supposed Wife of Saturn. At first these two Festivals were both celebrated on the same Day, which was the 17th of December, not to separate the two Divinities, who were supposed united by Marriage. But after the Addition was made to the Calendar, the Festival of Ops, or the Opalia, fell on the 19th of that Month.

These five Days were immediately followed by another Festival called Sigillaria; which lasted two Days, and depended on the Saturnalia. The Name of Sigillaria was taken from the little Figures in Gold, Silver, or Brass, which the Romans mutually gave each other, and dedicated, according to some, to Saturn; or, as others, to Pluto. Every one hung them up on the Altar of one of these Gods, in order to render them propitious, and induce them to take care of his Family. At the same time, the Artificers, sold little Statues made of baked Earth, at Rome, for Toys for Children. Macrobius gives us a full Account of this Solemnity, *Saturnal. B. 1. Saturnalia uno tantum die, id est, quarto decimo Calendarum solita celebrari; sed post in triduum propagata, primum ex adjectis a Cesare huic mensi diebus. Deinde ex edicto Augusti, quo trium dierum ferias Saturnalibus addixit, Sigillarium adjuncta celebritas, in septem dies discursum publicum et latitiam religionis exendit.*

Some Moderns pretend, that the Saturnalia were celebrated for a certain Number of Days, even before the Dictatorship of Julius Caesar; and quote Cicero's fifth Book of Letters to Atticus, in Proof of it. He there mentions the third Day of the Sa-

turnalia. Macrobius on this Occasion, quotes a Passage of Novius, and another of Mummius, who lived several Years before Julius Caesar, and yet both make the Saturnalia to have lasted seven Days. Justus Lipsius honestly confesses, that the Difficulty is great, and that he can give no solid Answer to it, unless it be this, That the Festival of the Saturnalia and the Sacrifices peculiar to it, ended the first Day, which was the 17th of December; though the Rejoicings continued to the seventh Day; and That the Festival lasted seven Days, in this Sense. Festus authorizes this Distinction, under the Word *quatuor*.

Plutarch observes, that during this Festival, the People sacrificed to Saturn bare-headed; and gives a Reason for this Singularity. It was, says he, because the Custom of Sacrificing covered, was of later Date than the Worship Men paid to Saturn. But it seems more natural to say, that it was a constant Custom among the Pagans to be covered when they sacrificed to The Celestial Gods; and uncovered, when they sacrificed to The Infernal; of which latter sort Saturn was.

On the Eve of the Saturnalia, the Children ran about all the Streets of Rome, proclaiming the Festival of the Saturnalia, by these Words, IO SATURNALIA, which they repeated as loud as they could. Arrian puts this equivalent Expression in the Mouths, *Σήμερον Σατυρνάλια ἄγαθα*, i. e. This is a Good Saturnalia. Which Custom was the Foundation of a satirical Reflection, which the Roman Troops made upon the famous Narcissus, the Freeman of the Emperor Claudius. This Prince sent him into Gaul to appease a Mutiny among Soldiers: and he had no sooner ascended the General's Tribune to harangue the Army, but they cried out, IO SATURNALIA! that is, The time of the Saturnalia is come; meaning, that Narcissus was renewing the Festival, in which Slaves took their Masters Places.

And this City, and the Story we have mentioned, are the Foundation of an Interpretation, Monsieur Seguin has given us of a lead Medal in his Work, entituled, *Selecta Numismata*. It has this Inscription, IO SAT, which this Antiquary makes to be IO SATURNALIA. He imagines it was struck by the Troops themselves, who, at the Affront given to Narcissus, went over into Gaul, and subdued it, under the Command of Aulus Plautius, first, and then of Claudius himself. This Emperor being informed of the Progress the Army had made in the Island, went over thither to reap the Honour of so successful an Expedition. Upon his Arrival, he found almost all the People in the Country subdued; but nevertheless assisted to himself all the Honour of the Conquest. A Triumph was decreed him for it at Rome. Monsieur Seguin, I say, supposes that the lead Medal bearing p. 451. was struck by the Roman Army. By the Word IO SATURNALIA, it perpetuated the Memo-

§. XX. IN short, *Pyrrhus* determined to send the famous *Cyneas* to *Rome*, almost at the same time that the *Roman* Ambassadors left *Tarentum*. The Instructions he gave this faithful Minister, were, to bring the *Romans* to grant these three Articles.

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*Appian. apud
Fule.*

the Insult offered to *Narcissus*, and indeed to *Claudius* himself, in the Person of his Minister. We have already observed, that the Soldiers were allowed all Liberties on the Day of a Triumph, and that they often made severe jests on the triumphant Victor: and we have given the Reason for this Custom, B. 9. p. 416. of the first Volume, Note 53. The *Digamma* Δ , in which the Branch of Laurel on the Medal terminates, is almost a convincing Proof of this new Interpretation, and gives us Reason to believe, that the Medal was struck under the Emperor *Claudius*. *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* tell us, that this Emperor added three Letters to the Alphabet: And *Quintilian* in particular assures us, that he would have the *Aelick Digamma* used in Orthography. And indeed we actually find it, on some of *Claudius's* Medals. *Torrentius*, and *Jus-Lipius* bring these two Inscriptions in proof of it. POMARIUM TERMINAQITQUE AMPLIAJITQUE—OCTAJIA DIJIA AUGUSTI XV-JIR. I know *Fulvius Ursinus* ascribes the Medal we are speaking of to one *Sentius Saturninus*; but *Montfaucon Seguin's* Conjecture is more probable, and better founded.

The Festival we are treating of, was not peculiar to the *Romans*. The *Greeks* had their *Saturnalia*, which they called $\kappa\rho\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$. Their Slaves then enjoyed the same Privileges, and the same Liberty as those of *Rome* did, on this Festival. But by the *Greeks*, I particularly mean, the *Athenians*; for at *Lacedaemon*, and in *Thessaly*, the Slaves were treated so severely, that they were always ready to rebel. The Spartans are all upon Extremes, says *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Lycurgus*; no Freeman have Liberty, no Slaves are so much Slaves, as theirs. *Macrobius* says, this Festival was instituted in Greece before the Foundation of *Rome*; and the Lines of the Poet *Attius*, are a Proof of it.

*Maxima pars Graiorum & maximae Athenae
Cusciunt sacra, quae Cronia esse iterantur ab illis.
Eamque diem celebrant per agros,urbesque ferconnes,
Exercere epulis leti, famulosque procurant
Quisque suos; nostrisque itidem Mos traditus illinc
Iste, ut cum dominis famuli epulemur ibidem.*

The *Cretans* celebrated a Festival like this, in honour to *Mercury*, and called it *Hermæa*. Masters waited on their Servants at Table. *Athenaeus* serves, that at *Troezene*, the Citizens, on one day in the Year, mixed with their Slaves, and publicly played with them, after which they served them at Supper. And the same Author says, upon the Credit of *Berosus*, L. 1. *Rerum Babylonice*, and *Ctesias*, L. 2. *Annal. Persic*, That the *Babylonians* had five Days in the Year, which were very merry among them. During that time, the Masters obeyed their Slaves, and one of the latter was dressed in a Royal Mantle, and had an absolute Authority in the House. In *Thessaly* a Festival was annually celebrated, which much resembled the *Saturnalia*. The *Roman* Historians give us this Account of it. The *Pelasgi*, who were newly transplanted into *Hæmonia*, offered a Sacrifice to *Jupiter* the Name of their Nation, upon being informed by *Pelorus*, that the neighbouring Hills, having been shaken by an Earthquake, had opened: That the Waters of the vast large Marsh of *Tempe* ran towards the River *Peneus*; and That they had that delicious Country in their Place. Upon News of this happy Discovery, *Pelorus* was invited to a solemn Feast; all the People pressed to him, and even the Slaves were admitted to Entertainment. After this the *Pelasgi* went to

the Place, found there the beautiful Plains of *Tempe*, which the Stranger had informed them of, and settled themselves there. From that time, they thought it Matter of Religion, to entertain Strangers, and their own Slaves every Year, and give the latter all the Enjoyments of free Men. They then sacrificed to *Jupiter Pelorius*, so called, in honour to the Memory of *Pelorus*. Afterwards, these People being forced to quit *Hæmonia*, they consulted the Oracle of *Dodona*; and by its Order, came into *Italy*, and settled there. The Oracle had commanded them to offer Sacrifices to *Saturn* and *Pluto*; and as the Answer of the God was expressed in an ambiguous and dark manner, they thought themselves obliged to offer human Sacrifices, in order to obey it. And under this Persuasion, they introduced the barbarous Custom of sacrificing Men to *Saturn*; which was continued till *Hercules* set these People right, as he was passing through *Italy*. He was surprized at so inhuman a Custom, and shewed them that they misunderstood the Words of the Oracle of *Dodona*.

He explained to them the two Greek Words $\kappa\iota\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota$ and $\phi\omega\tau\alpha$, which they had misinterpreted: and convinced them, that the Oracle did not, by the former Word, demand living Men for *Pluto*, but their Statues, or the Figures of their Heads. And he shewed them, that they had not understood the Word $\phi\omega\tau\alpha$ in the Sense of the Oracle, which only required, that they should offer Lights, or lighted Candles, at *Saturn's* Altar. This Tradition, fabulous as it appears to be, was believed at *Rome*, and was the Foundation of the Custom received among the Citizens, of lighting Wax-Candles and Tapers, during the *Saturnalia*, and of presenting one another with the little Images of Men beforementioned. In these first Ages of *Rome*, which were Times of Simplicity and Moderation, the *Romans* made only these small Presents, which were looked on, as Testimonies of Friendship, which maintained Union in Families. But what was at first a religious Custom, became afterwards a kind of Traffick of Vanity and Luxury. Every Man valued himself upon the Richness and Elegance of his Presents. They rivalled one another, in sending the most costly Habits, scarce Jewels, and valuable Vases. Even the Clients, to satisfy the Avarice of their Patrons, run themselves to profuse Expences, which were very burdensome to them. The Poor were oppressed by this Means, because they could not get access to the Rich, but in Proportion to what they had offered them. *Macrobius* tells us, that one *Publicius*, a Tribune of the People, rectified this Abuse. He made a Law, requiring the Nobility to accept of nothing from the common People, but Wax-tapers, agreeably to an ancient Custom, which *Festus* mentions in these Words. *Cereos Saturnalibus muneribus dabant humiliores potentioribus, quia candelis pauperes, locupletes Cereis utebantur.*

Before we finish this Description, it is proper to mention a mysterious Ceremony practised in the *Saturnalia*. On these solemn Days, the *Romans* took off from *Saturn's* Statue, the woollen Strings, with which it was tied fast, all the rest of the Year. By this, they pretended to allude, to the fabulous Story of the hard Fate of this God, who was driven into Captivity by *Jupiter*. But they perhaps thereby pointed out by it, the Golden Age, wherein all Men enjoyed a perfect Liberty: whilst on the contrary, the Strings with which the Statue was tied at other times, shewed, that that happy time was now no more.

Year of Epirus. 2dly, That all the Greek Cities in Italy, should enjoy their Laws, and Liberty. 3dly, That the Republick should restore the *Lucani, Samnites, and Brutii* all that she had conquered from them. Upon these Conditions, *Pyrrhus* offered to cease all Hostilities against *Rome*, and restore her Captives. And with these Instructions *Pyrrhus* gave his Minister magnificent Presents, not only for the Republick, but also for particular Persons, without whose Interposal, he could not hope to succeed in his Negotiation. Nor did he forget to send rare and valuable Jewels to the *Roman Ladies* that, if the Men were untractable, the Women at least might soften their haughty Husbands. Thus instructed and provided, *Cyneas* came to *Rome*, where he found in his Reception, his Master's Politeness elegantly returned. He did not desire an Audience of the Senate immediately; but took some time to carry on his Intrigues. He paid Visits to the chief Senators, and offered both them and their Wives Presents. And if I could believe some Historians, I should with Pleasure adopt their Account, which is, that the Ambassador could not corrupt so much as one *Roman*, of either Sex. My Esteem for the virtuous Republick, naturally inclines me to be too credulous of every thing, that tends to her Honour. But the Force of Truth obliges me to adhere to the more faithful relation of a more exact Writer. He honestly confesses, that many of the Senators were too weak to resist the Liberality of *Pyrrhus*, and the artful Speeches of *Cyneas*. They were not all *Fabricii* or *Curii*. Besides, all did not agree in Judgment, as to the Reasonableness of the Proposals. *Fabricius* himself approved of them. The Prisoners desired a Peace, that they might obtain their Liberty. All dreaded a second Overthrow; and *Pyrrhus's* Reputation in *Rome* was increased, since his Victory. So that it is not surprizing, that some should be brought to vote for a Peace, which, at the Bottom, seemed not disadvantageous to the State. That in fact, many Persons had been gained over, either by the Reasonings of the Minister, or the Gold of his Master, is sufficiently evident, from what passed in the Senate the first Day.

*Just. Plut.
and Florus.*

CYNEAS was admitted into the Assembly, after he had secured a good Number of Voices; and his Harangue was worthy of an Orator, formed upon the Model of the great *Demosthenes*. The Grecian Hero, said he, did not cross the Seas, with Design to oppress this Republick. *Pyrrhus's* only Motive was his Compassion for the *Tarentini*; and if *Rome* had been less formidable, his Pity had made fainter Impressions on him. To try his Arms with yours, was an Ambition worthy of a great Soul; and you your selves, Romans, have now experienced his Ability in War. After one single Victory, *Rome* has seen him, almost at her Gates. You have felt the Power of his Arm, which he thinks Glory enough. He now aims at another kind of Honour, which is that of becoming a Friend to a People, whom, though he has vanquished, he esteems. Judge of his Dispositions towards you, by the Steps he has taken. He has restored your Prisoners without a Ransom; and thinks it no Dishonour to him, to make the first advances towards a Peace. Only forgive *Tarentum*, and let *Pyrrhus's* Allies in Italy, enjoy rest after so many Wars, and he will return to *Epirus*, well satisfied with leaving these Regions in Tranquillity. Turn your Conquests, Romans, towards the West; and the King of *Epirus* promises you such powerful Assistance, as shall soon enable you to gain as much on that side, as you relinquish on this. After this Speech, *Cyneas* read the Conditions *Pyrrhus* proposed; endeavoured to shew the Reasonableness and Moderation of them; and even demanded Leave for *Pyrrhus* to come to *Rome* in Person, to conclude, and sign the Treaty there.

*Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.*

*Forus Epitome
13.*

THEN *Rome* felt one of the greatest Inconveniencies, to which a Republican State is subject. It was scarce possible, but that in so great a Number of *Conscript Fathers* there should be found some mercenary Persons, who would betray the Honour of their Country; and accordingly there appeared a general Inclination to accept *Pyrrhus's* Proposals; but nevertheless, the Decree was not immediately passed. It was pretended, that the House was not full enough, and therefore the Determination of the Affair was postponed to the next Day. During this Interval, *Cyneas* spared neither Sollicitations nor Presents; and at length, the important Day came, when *Rome* was to chuse, a shameful Peace, or an honourable, but doubtful War. It was an Affair of too great Importance, for any Senator to absent himself; but nevertheless *Appius Claudius* was not expected to appear. He was a Man, who had made a Figure in the Administration in his time. Though but an indifferent General, he was deemed the greatest Orator, and most learned Civilian in *Rome*. He had been guilty

of some Extravagancies in his Youth; but his great Age and Infirmities, had now extinguished all his Passions, except his Love for his Country, which he still retained with a sound Understanding. He had been long blind, and therefore had not appeared in the Senate; where his Eloquence had formerly shone with such a superior Lustre. But he now collected all the Remains of it, on the most important Occasion, on which it had ever been employed. Appius first dictated a Speech, which was written down in his House; and when the blind, old Man had learnt it by Heart, he ordered himself to be carried to the Temple, where the Senate was assembled. As soon as he appeared within the Doors, his Sons, and Sons-in-law met him, supported him, and placed him in the Seat, which became his Age, and Dignity. In his Youth, Appius had spoken with great Volubility; and he had often discovered too much Vivacity, or even Passion, in his Speeches: And the Harangue he made to the Senate, in this extreme old Age, was not without the same Defects. *What, said he, is become of that sublime Wisdom, which has so long been the Support of my Country? What can have made you so mad, as to go out of the Road your Fathers walked in? Ah, why have not the Gods, who have deprived me of the Light, taken from me likewise the Use of my Ears? I then should not have been alarmed at the present Rumours; or have felt the Grief of knowing, that Rome is going to dishonour, and ruin her self. Are we the same Men we were formerly? You remember, that when the Fame of Alexander's Victories reached to this Place, we discoursed of them without any Concern. We then said, if the King of Macedon turns his Arms towards Italy, Rome will be the Rock on which his Glory will split. He shall either meet with Death here, or we will at least force him to repass the Seas. So brave were you, when the Stranger was absent. But how have you degenerated from these Sentiments? How contrary to these Bravadoes have you acted, since Pyrrhus's Arrival? What! Does an Epirot, a Molossian, a Man, whose Country has always been a Prey to the Macedonians, affright you? Will you receive Law from a Fugitive, who was driven out of Macedon, and shamefully surrendered it up, to one of Alexander's Subalterns? After he has been beaten by his first Enemies, he comes hither to create himself new ones, and to repair his Misfortunes at the Expence of your Honour. This is the Hero whom you dread, or on whom you trust. He says, he will enable you to make Conquests in the West. But can he pretend to promise you Conquests, who could not keep his own? Besides, what Intelligence is to be kept with a faithless Greek, whose Artifices we have but too much experienced! If we don't immediately drive him out of our Continent, we must expect to become a Prey to all greedy Foreigners, one after another. To be conquered by Pyrrhus, will sink us into Contempt. The Samnites, Tarentini, Greeks, and Africans, will all insult us; and one shameful Peace, will involve us in a thousand Wars* ⁸⁵.

THIS Discourse, though full of Invectives, made an Impression. The Senate did not so much regard the Bitterness of his Style, as the Solidity of his Reasonings. As for Appius, he distributed about Copies of his Speech; which remained entire in Tully's Time; and it was doubtless from him, that Ennius and Plutarch borrowed the Fragments they have left us of it. But be that as it will, as soon as Appius had

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXXIII.

P. VALERIUS
LÆVINUS,
TIB. CORUN-
CANIUS, Con-
suls.

Cicero in
Bruto.

Ennius apud
Cicero. in
Cat. Majore.
Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Cicer. in Cat.
Maj.

⁸⁵ Before Appius, Oedipus had said in Sophocles's Tragedy, that it had been happy for him, if he had lost his Hearing, after losing his Sight; because then he should not have heard the melancholy Account of his Misfortunes.

⁸⁶ After the Senate had resolved to continue the War with Pyrrhus, they passed a severe Decree against the Prisoners he had released. It expressly enacted, according to Valerius Maximus, That they should be branded with Infamy, for suffering themselves to be taken, with their Arms in their Hands; and That they should never serve against the King of Epirus any more. Nay, the Rigour of the Romans went yet farther. These Prisoners were dispersed in the different Bodies of the Army, and being deemed unworthy to encamp within the same Limits with the rest of the Troops, their Quarters were marked out for them without the Camp: and they were forbidden to guard themselves there with a Rampart and Ditch. So that being exposed to the Attacks of the Enemy, they

were forced to defend themselves, and had no Refuge left, but their Valour, and their Swords. And for the greater Ignominy still, they were not suffered to cover their Tents with Skins, which it was then customary to do; and they were declared deprived of the Rank they bore in the Army. So that those who were before in the Horse, were now forced to serve on Foot. Those who before served in the Legions, were forced to serve among the light-armed Troops, which were a distinct Body, and inferior in Order to the Legions. And lastly, they were never to be reinstated in their Privileges, till they had wiped off the Shame of their Captivity, and Degradation, by some signal Acts of Valour. As the Condition of their Re-establishment the Senate required of each of them, the Spoils of two Enemies killed by himself. The Design of the Republick in this extravagant Severity, was only to stir up the Cowardly by the Fear of Shame, and to oblige her Troops either to conquer or die.

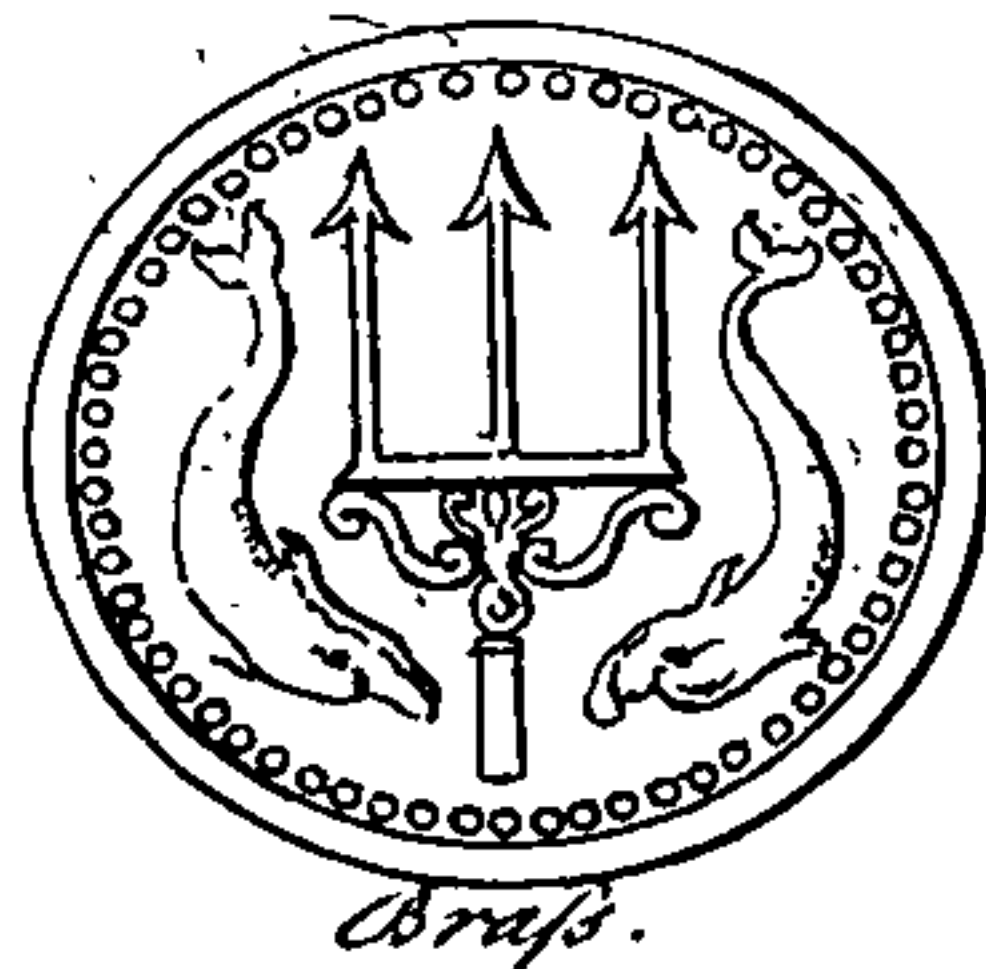
Year of done speaking, the *Conscript Fathers* were all unanimous. They despised trifling Presents, and pursued their true Interest. They passed a Decree, which was in Substance this; *That the War with Pyrrhus should be continued: That his Ambassador should be sent back that very Day: That the King of Epirus should not be permitted to come to Rome in Person; and That he should be told, that he would enter into no Treaty of Peace with him, till he had left Italy.* And this bold Resolution was indeed the Foundation of the prodigious Progress, the Republick afterwards made. Had she sunk under the Artifices of *Pyrrhus*, she would probably never have extended her Power beyond the Seas. The *Romans* would have been confined within the Limits of a little Territory; and their Name would have been buried in the same Oblivion, with those of many other Nations.

R O M E
CCCCLXXIII.
P. VALERIUS
LEVINUS,
TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Con-
suls.

Plut. *Just.*
and *Flor.*

Pliny B. 3.
c. 11.

CYNEAS, surprized at the Answer of the *Romans*, left the City the same Day and returned to *Tarentum*. The King admired the Constancy of a conquered People who spoke the Language of Conquerors. He asked the Ambassador his Opinion of the City, and Senate, into which he had been introduced: And *Cyneas* answered *Rome, my Lord, is a kind of Temple, where Gravity, Modesty, and Decency reign. The Senate, is a Consistory of Kings, whose Appearance fills all Spectators with Awe and Reverence.* An Answer, which exceedingly increased the Esteem *Pyrrhus* had for the *Romans*; and even changed it into Astonishment. Nevertheless, he took care to make all due Preparations for the next Campaign, whilst the *Romans*, on their Parts, neglected nothing that was necessary to enable them to carry on the War. It is probable, that *Pyrrhus* then formed the chimerical ⁸⁷ Project of making a Bridge over the Sea, from *Epirus*, to ⁸⁸ *Hydruntum* in *Italy*. Though the Passage ⁸⁹ was not long, *Pyrrhus* himself had experienced, how difficult and dangerous it was to transport Troops from one Continent to the other. *Hydruntum* belonged to him; and he dreamed of joining *Italy* to *Epirus*, by this Means; but *Pyrrhus* was always full of imaginary ⁹⁰ Projects.



Cicero.

⁸⁷ We have this Particular from *Pliny*. *Hoc intervallum cum pedestri continuare transitu pontibus jactis primum Pyrrhus Epiri Rex cogitavit.* After him *Varro* formed the same Project, when he commanded *Pompey's* Fleet, in the War the *Romans* had with the Pyrates. *Post eum Marcus Varro cum classibus Pompeii Pyratice bello praefset.*

⁸⁸ *Hydruntum*, now *Otranto*, was, according to *Strabo*, so inconsiderable a City, in *Augustus's* Time, that this Geographer calls it *πολίον*, that is, a little paltry Town. But it afterwards became one of the most considerable Cities in the South of *Italy*. It stood in that part of *Calabria*, which was formerly the Territory of the *Salentini*. It was consecrated to *Nepenne*, as other maritime Cities were. We find the Figure of this God, on one of the Medals of the *Hydruntini*, which has this Inscription *YAPONTINON*; and the reverse of it is a Trident, between two Dolphins.

⁸⁹ This Bridge must have been fifty thousand Paces long, to have reached from *Hydruntum* to *Apollonia* in *Epirus*, that is above seventeen French Leagues. *Pliny* makes this to be the Distance between these two Cities. *Ex adverso Apolloniatum oppidum latitudine inter currentis freti quinquaginta millium non amplius.* *Barbarus* indeed has altered

the Text of *Pliny*, and reads an hundred Miles instead of fifty. But besides that, the latter is the Distance Geographers most generally agree in, this Commentator did not consider that *Pliny* reckons but eighty thousand Paces, from the Port of *Salentum* to *Oricum*, an ancient City of *Epirus*; and the least cast of the Eye upon the Maps, is sufficient to shew, that the other is the shorter Passage.

⁹⁰ Such was the Project of building a Bridge from *Apollonia* to *Hydruntum*, over the Straights, which divide the *Adriatick* Sea, from the *Ionian*. For though there are several Shoals and Banks of Sand in these Straights, where Piles might be fixed, yet it is certain, that *Pyrrhus* could not possibly build any Bridge but a Bridge of Boats, over so wide a part of the Sea, and in a Place where it is very deep, and subject to Tempests. And if he had done this, he must have had ten thousand *Greek* Gallies of a prodigious Size; and even then, the Difficulty had been, how to keep the Building together, and guard these Gallies against the Violence of Tempests, and of the Stream, by Cables and Anchors. Nor can we conceive, how a whole Army could march seventeen Leagues over it, without manifest Danger.

§. XXI. NOTWITHSTANDING the uneasy Apprehensions of an approaching War, the Republick made their usual Elections, without any Disturbances. Two Men were chosen *Consuls* in the *Campus Martius*, who had never yet been promoted to that Office, but from whom the State justly had great Expectations. The one was *P. Sulpicius*, surnamed *Saverrio*, and the other ⁹¹ *P. Decius Mus*, the Son and Grandson of two Generals, who were famous for their *Devotements*. It was hoped, without doubt, that he would not degenerate from the hereditary Virtue of his Family; and that he also would devote himself to death, for his Country's Service, if there was Occasion. Rome was always very populous. It appeared, after the *Census* made the last Year, that there were now 278222 Citizens in it, fit to bear Arms; and out of these, numerous *Legions* might be raised to act against *Pyrrhus*. The able *Epirote* was indeed already in the Field; he had left *Tarentum* in the first beginning of the Spring. *Apulia* belonged to the Romans, and it was there that *Pyrrhus* began his Hostilities. He took some Cities there by Storm, and forced others to surrender to him. The *Consuls* therefore joined together, and marched each at the Head of his Army to *Apulia*, to put a Stop to *Pyrrhus's* Ravages. The famous *Fabricius* was a Lieutenant-General in the *Consular* Armies. At ⁹² *Asculum*, a little City of *Apulia*, a very different Place from another *Asculum*, which was a considerable City in *Picenum*, the Romans found the *Epirotæ* encamped: and there the *Consuls* fortified themselves in a Plain, at the Foot of the *Apennines*. The Plain was divided into two Parts, and the two Camps were separated, by a large and deep Stream. The two Enemies seemed mutually to stand in Awe of each other. *Pyrrhus* remembered the obstinate Fury of the Romans, in the last Battel; and the Romans feared the victorious *Pyrrhus*. And these mutual Apprehensions kept the two Armies a great while on the Banks of the Stream, before either ventured to pass it, to attack the other. What made the Romans the more formidable to the *Epirotæ*, was the *Consul Decius*, who, they feared, would devote himself to death. They could not be ignorant, that his Father and Grandfather, had, by devoting themselves to the *Dii Manes*, recovered the Victory to their own Party, when every thing seemed to threaten the total Defeat of their Troops. The Stories the *Italians* had told the *Epirotæ*, and the *Italian* Superstitions which they imbibed, made them believe, that the *Decii* transmitted some unaccountable Art of Necromancy from Father to Son, whereby they secured to themselves the Victory, whenever they lost their Lives, in a Battel: And it was therefore necessary, that *Pyrrhus* should take some Pains to undeceive them. To this end, he assured them, That the Success of Arms did not depend on Sorcery: That Valour alone determined it; and That the Success of the *Decii* in their Deaths, was founded in an unreasonable Prepossession, which raised the Courage of the Romans, and filled their Enemies with Terror. Besides, added he, if there be any Enchantment in the Devotements of the *Decii*, it will be easy to take it away, or prevent it. In order to perfect the Charm, it is necessary, that the Chief, who devotes himself, should be dressed in a particular Dress, by which he will easily be known: and all you have to do, is to avoid striking the Victim, whom you see thus adorned. Nor was this all. *Pyrrhus* sent a Message to *Decius*, to tell him, that if he attempted to devote himself, he should find his Enemies upon their Guard, and resolved not to put him to death; but that he should be taken alive, and the most cruel Punishment be inflicted on him, as a Cheat, after the Battel. The *Consuls* received *Pyrrhus's* threatening, with an haughty Air, suitable to the Confidence they had of Success. The *Epirotæ*, said they, is not formidable enough to us to reduce us to Devotements. Those are our last Remedies in inevitable Dangers. As for him, to let him see how little we fear him, we offer him his Choice, to pass the River unmolested, or to suffer us to do so: and we will then try, in the open Plain, and upon equal Terms, which of us shall have need of making use of extraordinary Methods to gain the Victory. The King could not, in Point of Honour, decline the Challenge, and therefore, like a skilful Greek, chose to continue near his Camp, and to let the Romans cross the Stream, and leave it behind them.

§. XXII. BUT before we describe the approaching Battel, it is necessary to observe, that it has been differently represented by the ancient Historians. Some pretend that

⁹¹ *Marianus* gives *Decius* the Surname of *Pyrrhus*, probably because this *Consul* was appointed to fight *Pyrrhus*, in the Battel of *Asculum*. *Ennius* has *Decius Mummus* instead of *Decius Mus*, and therein contradicts the ancient Annals.

⁹² *Asculum*, now *Ascoli*, stood near the *Apennines*, not far from the City of *Arpi*. It was called *Asculum Apulum*, to distinguish it from another *Asculum* in *Picenum*, which was therefore called *Asculum Picenum*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLXXIV.
P. SULPICIVS
SAVERRIO, P.
DECIVS MUS,
Consuls.

*Florus in Epi-
tome 11.*

*Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 5.*

Year of two general Battels were fought near *Asculum*, on two Days successively. Some give the *Romans*, others the King of *Epirus*, all the Advantage. Some greatly magnify, others excessively diminish the Number of the Slain, and Standards which were taken. As for us, we shall not interrupt our Narration with Disputes, but barely relate, upon the Testimony of the best Historians, what we think most probable, and has the least Appearance of Partiality. The *Romans* passed the Stream, and drew up in the Plain. The Fear they had at first been in, of the Elephants, was a little abated. A *Roman* Soldier had told his Companions the last Year, that they might be driven out of the Field, by cutting off their Trunks. Besides, in the several Wars *Rome* had carried on against the *Gauls*, she had soon learnt, not to fear the Arms of Strangers, or to be terrified at their different Ways of Fighting. Before the *Romans* had found out how to conquer the *Senones*, it had cost them the Loss of one Battel: And it was to be presumed, that it would be with *Pyrrhus*, as it had been with them; that is, that after the first Overthrow, true Valour would gain the Ascendant, as soon as it had conquered the Surprise of the Novelty of Things. Nor was this all. The *Consuls*, in order to guard against the Fury of the Elephants, had prepared Chariots, thick set with long Points of Iron, like Forks, and filled with Soldiers. The *Gauls* had formerly used these Chariots in their Armies with Success; and the *Romans* now imitated their Example in this Particular, for the first time. The Men carried in these Machines, were armed with Firebrands, which were to be thrown at the Elephants, to frighten them, and set their wooden Towers on Fire. And to this the *Roman* Generals added another Precaution. They ordered a Body of *Apulian* Troops, to come and attack *Pyrrhus's* Lines, in the Heat of the Battel, in order either to force them, or at least draw off some of the Enemy's Troops from the Engagement. In point of Strength, the *Romans* and *Epirotæ*, were equal. Each Army was computed at forty thousand Men.

ROMÆ
CCCCLXXIV.
P. Sulpicius
SAVERRIO, P.
DECIUS MUS,
Consuls.

Plin. B. 8. and
Florus B 1.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 5.

Frontin. in
Stratag. B. 2.

As for *Pyrrhus*, he also drew up his Men in Battalia; and all the Ancients do him the Justice to say, that no Officer ever more perfectly understood the Art of drawing up an Army, and directing its Motions. He considered the Nature of the Ground, on which the Battel was to be fought; and finding it full of Rocks, and Bushes, he plainly foresaw that the Cavalry could be of little Use in the Action: And therefore placed them and his Elephants, in the last Rank. In the right Wing, he posted his *Epirotæ*, and the *Samnites*: In his left, the *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, and *Salentini*. As for the Troops of *Tarentum*, he had no very good Opinion of them, and therefore blended them with his *Phalanx*, and would not suffer them to act in a separate Body. The *Romans*, on the other hand, disposed their Army as usual. Their first Line, which engaged the Enemy's *Phalanx*, consisted of two *Legions*, and the second of two more. They left Spaces between the *Manipuli* 93 like Streets, according

93 The *Legions* were only divided into *Manipuli* at this time. They were not divided into *Cohorts* till afterwards. We find the latter first mentioned in *Julius Caesar's* Army. But in order to prove that the *Roman Legions* were not divided into *Cohorts*, in *Polybius's* time especially, it is proper to make these previous Observations. 1. That the *Legions* anciently consisted of three sorts of Soldiers, *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*. 2dly, That according to *Polybius*, there were 4200 in a *Legion*, including the *Triarii*, which were always 600. But the Number of the *Hastati* and *Principes* varied, according as the *Legions* were bigger, or less. 3dly, That all Historians agree, that there always were to be ten *Cohorts* in a *Legion*, whether it contained 4000, 5000, or 6000 Men. Supposing then, that it contained 4200 Men, which *Polybius* says it did in his time; in this Case, each *Cohort* could have contained but 420 Men, which does not agree with the fixed Number of 600 *Triarii*, which were the main Strength of the *Legion*: Unless we divide them into two Bodies, in order to make two *Cohorts* of them, and then they will be reduced to 300 Men each. The same Difficulty will follow, if there were 5000 Men in the *Legion*. If indeed it contained 6000, then each *Cohort* will be 600, which was the Number of the *Triarii*.

But nevertheless it is certain, that this Division into *Cohorts* was not in Use before *Cæsar's* time; which is invincibly proved in this manner. It is certain, the *Triarii* were the choice of the *Legion*, and that when drawn up in Battalia, they were posted in the third Line. And it is also certain, that none were admitted into the first *Cohort*, but Men of the most experienced, and most distinguished Valour; which is the Account the Ancients give us of the *Triarii*. But the latter were never posted any where but in the third Line; and how then could they make the first *Cohort*, which all ancient Writers agree, engaged at the Head of the Army? So that the three Orders of the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Triarii*, could not be preserved, and the *Legions* be at the same time divided into *Cohorts*. Besides, it must be granted, that the first *Centurion* of the *Triarii*, was the same Person whom the *Romans* called *Primuspilus*, from the *Pilum*, a Weapon used only by them. Among the *Romans*, *Pilani* and *Triarii* were synonymous Terms. What we say of the *Primuspilus* with regard to the *Triarii*, may be equally applied to the first *Centurion* of the *Principes*, and the *Hastati*. The former was called *Primus Princeps*, the latter *Primus Hastatus*. If then we contend, as some Moderns do, that these three Bodies were divided into *Cohorts*, we must necessarily

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R O M E
CCCCLXXIV.
P. SULPICIUS
SAVERRIO, P.
DECIVS MUS,
Consuls.

Plin. B. 8. and
Florus B 1.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 5.

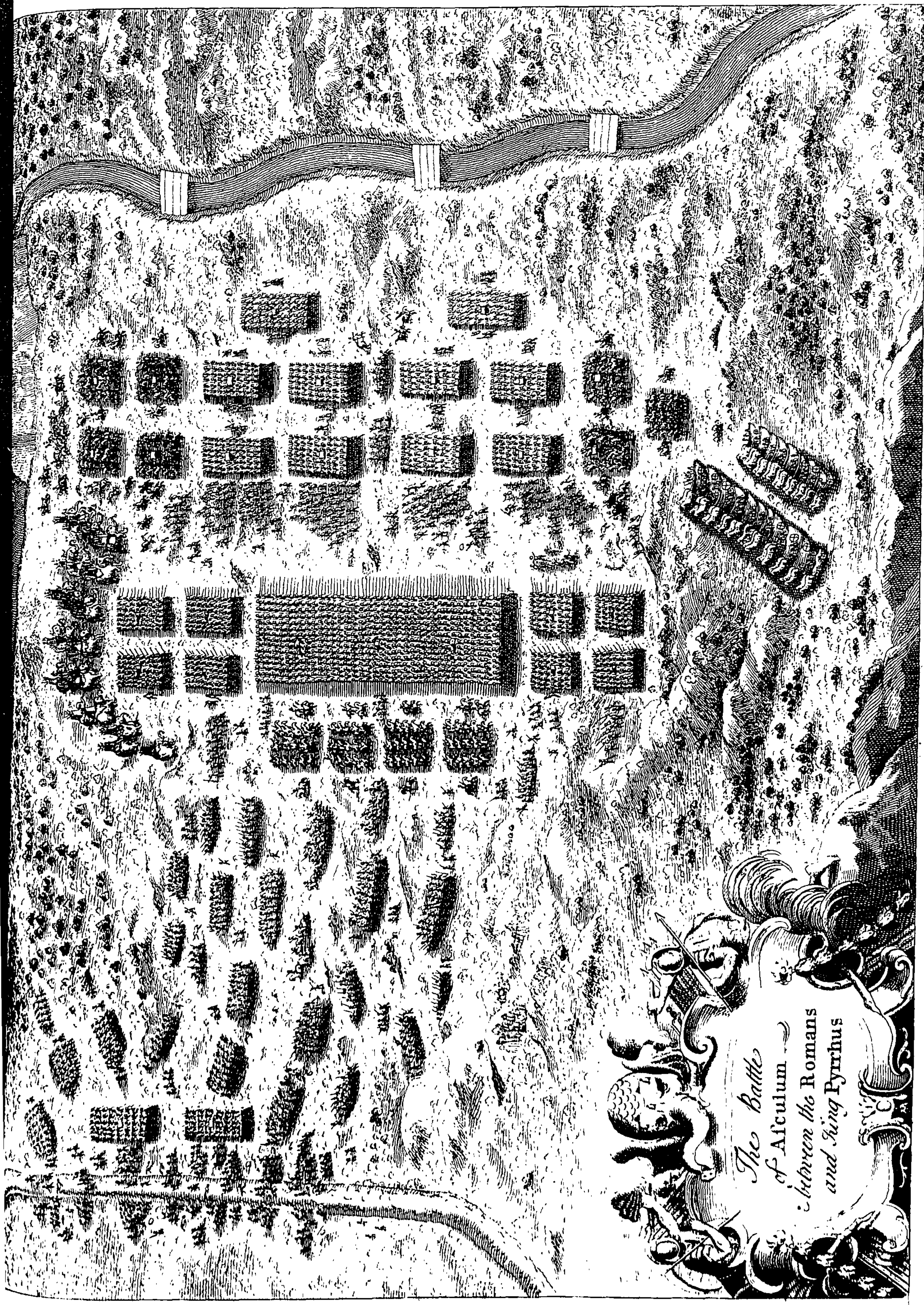
Frontin. in
Stratag. B. 2.

two general Battels were fought near *Asculum*, on two Days successively. Some give the *Romans*, others the King of *Epirus*, all the Advantage. Some greatly magnify, others excessively diminish the Number of the Slain, and Standards which were taken. As for us, we shall not interrupt our Narration with Disputes, but barely relate, upon the Testimony of the best Historians, what we think most probable, and has the least Appearance of Partiality. The *Romans* passed the Stream, and drew up in the Plain. The Fear they had at first been in, of the Elephants, was little abated. A *Roman* Soldier had told his Companions the last Year, that they might be driven out of the Field, by cutting off their Trunks. Besides, in the several Wars *Rome* had carried on against the *Gauls*, she had soon learnt, not to fear the Arms of Strangers, or to be terrified at their different Ways of Fighting. Before the *Romans* had found out how to conquer the *Senones*, it had cost them the Loss of one Battel: And it was to be presumed, that it would be with *Pyrrhus*, as it had been with them; that is, that after the first Overthrow, true Valour would gain the Ascendant, as soon as it had conquered the Surprise of the Novelty of Things. No was this all. The *Consuls*, in order to guard against the Fury of the Elephants, had prepared Chariots, thick set with long Points of Iron, like Forks, and filled with Soldiers. The *Gauls* had formerly used these Chariots in their Armies with Success, and the *Romans* now imitated their Example in this Particular, for the first time. The Men carried in these Machines, were armed with Firebrands, which were to be thrown at the Elephants, to frighten them, and set their wooden Towers on Fire. And to this the *Roman* Generals added another Precaution. They ordered a Body of *Apulian* Troops, to come and attack *Pyrrhus's* Lines, in the Heat of the Battel, in order either to force them, or at least draw off some of the Enemy's Troops from the Engagement. In point of Strength, the *Romans* and *Epirotæ*, were equal. Each Army was computed at forty thousand Men.

As for *Pyrrhus*, he also drew up his Men in Battalia; and all the Ancients do him the Justice to say, that no Officer ever more perfectly understood the Art of drawing up an Army, and directing its Motions. He considered the Nature of the Ground, on which the Battel was to be fought; and finding it full of Rocks, and Bushes, he plainly foresaw that the Cavalry could be of little Use in the Action: And therefore placed them and his Elephants, in the last Rank. In the right Wing, he posted his *Epirotæ*, and the *Samnites*: In his left, the *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, and *Salentinians*. As for the Troops of *Tarentum*, he had no very good Opinion of them, and therefore blended them with his *Phalanx*, and would not suffer them to act in a separate Body. The *Romans*, on the other hand, disposed their Army as usual. Their first Line, which engaged the Enemy's *Phalanx*, consisted of two *Legions*, and the second of two more. They left Spaces between the *Manipuli* ⁹³ like Streets, according

⁹³ The *Legions* were only divided into *Manipuli* at this time. They were not divided into *Cohorts* till afterwards. We find the latter first mentioned in *Julius Caesar's* Army. But in order to prove that the *Roman Legions* were not divided into *Cohorts*, in *Polybius's* time especially, it is proper to make these previous Observations. 1. That the *Legions* anciently consisted of three sorts of Soldiers, *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*. 2dly, That according to *Polybius*, there were 4200 in a *Legion*, including the *Triarii*, which were always 600. But the Number of the *Hastati* and *Principes* varied, according as the *Legions* were bigger, or less. 3dly, That all Historians agree, that there always were to be ten *Cohorts* in a *Legion*, whether it contained 4000, 5000, or 6000 Men. Supposing then, that it contained 4200 Men, which *Polybius* says it did in his time; in this Case, each *Cohort* could have contained but 420 Men, which does not agree with the fixed Number of 600 *Triarii*, which were the main Strength of the *Legion*: Unless we divide them into two Bodies, in order to make two *Cohorts* of them, and then they will be reduced to 300 Men each. The same Difficulty will follow, if there were 5000 Men in the *Legion*. If indeed it contained 6000, then each *Cohort* will be 600, which was the Number of the *Triarii*.

But nevertheless it is certain, that this Division into *Cohorts* was not in Use before *Caesar's* time; which is invincibly proved in this manner. It is certain the *Triarii* were the choice of the *Legion*, and that when drawn up in Battalia, they were posted in the third Line. And it is also certain, that none were admitted into the first *Cohort*, but Men of the most experienced, and most distinguished Valour; which is the Account the Ancients give us of the *Triarii*. But the latter were never posted any where but in the third Line; and how then could they make the first *Cohort*, which all ancient Writers agree, engaged at the Head of the Army? So that the three Orders of the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Triarii*, could not be preserved, and the *Legions* be at the same time divided into *Cohorts*. Besides, it must be granted, that the first *Centurion* of the *Triarii*, was the same Person whom the *Romans* called *Primus Pilus*, from the *Pilum*, a Weapon used only by them. Among the *Romans*, *Pilani* and *Triarii* were synonymous Terms. What we say of the *Primus Pilus* with regard to the *Triarii*, may be equally applied to the first *Centurion* of the *Principes*, and the *Hastati*. The former was called *Primus Princeps*, the latter *Primus Hastatus*. Then we contend, as some Moderns do, that the three Bodies were divided into *Cohorts*, we must necessarily



*The Battle
of Alesia
between the Romans
and King Vercingetorix*

ing to their old Custom; and the Auxiliaries, which were light-armed, were continually in Motion from Place to Place, and fought with Slings and Darts. The Roman Cavalry was posted in the Wings, so as not to incommode the Infantry, and yet be ready to act upon the first Orders. The Chariots were posted over against the Elephants, and were ordered not to stir, till they entered upon Action. And in point of Skill, an ancient Author boldly says, that the *Romans* had then learnt the Art of War 94 to Perfection, by their Wars with the *Gauls*, and *Samnites*. So that never

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necessarily displace the *Primipilus* of the *Triarii*, in order to put him at the Head of the first *Cohort*, which is the Post the Historians give the *Primipilus*, in *Julius Caesar's* Army. Besides, we are told by *Polybius*, that the *Principes* and *Hastati*, were each divided into ten Battalions, which were called *Manipuli*: And each of these Battalions contained more or fewer Soldiers, according to the Number of Men in the *Legion*. In a *Legion* of 4200 Men, which is the Number *Polybius* gives it, each *Manipulus* must have contained 120 Soldiers, which were called an *Ordo*, or *Manipulus*. The ten *Manipuli* together made just 1200 Men, as well of the *Principes*, as the *Hastati*. If then we divide this Number 1200 into three Parts, to reduce them to *Cohorts*, it is plain there can be but three *Cohorts*, of 400 Men each, in the *Hastati*, and the like Number in the *Principes*; six in all: and there are four more to be taken out of the 600 *Triarii*, if we make the *Legion* complete. So that we can never bring the *Cohorts* to ten, if there were just 400 Men in a *Cohort*. And if we reduce a *Legion* of 4200 Men, to that Number of *Cohorts*, yet still the reckoning will not be right; for then every *Cohort* will be 420 Men. But it may perhaps be answered, that the light-armed Infantry, which, according to *Polybius*, were 1200 Men, will make three *Cohorts* more, and so bring up the Number to nine. But then the tenth *Cohort*, which will consist of the 600 *Triarii*, will have 200 Men too much. Add to this, that the light-armed Troops were not incorporated into the *Legions*. This Name was, strictly speaking, given only to the *Triarii*, *Principes*, and *Hastati*. The others were, if I may so speak, Supernumeraries, and not reckoned as a part of the regular Troops. For which Reason, they were not divided into *Manipuli*; and had no Colours, or fixed Post, when the Army was drawn up. On some Occasions, they were distributed among the other Battalions equally, or ordered to advance at the Head of the Army, and begin the Attack. But the proper Business of this light-armed Infantry, was to harass the Enemy with continual Skirmishes, till the general Action began. Nevertheless, *Polybius* reckons them among the Soldiers of the *Legion*. That of 4200 Men, contained, according to him, but 1200 *Hastati*, as many *Principes*, and 600 *Triarii*. Each of these Bodies was divided into ten *Manipuli*; those of the two former contained 120 Men each, which is the tenth part of 1200: and each *Manipulus* of the *Triarii*, must have contained sixty Soldiers, the tenth part of 600. So that these thirty Battalions together make just 3000 Men, which was the Standard of the old *Legion* of *Romulus*; and in order to make the *Legion* 4200 Men, according to *Polybius*, we must add to these 3000, the 1200 light-armed Soldiers, which the Greek Historian says, were incorporated with the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*.

Now, from what has been said, it follows, 1. That the Moderns, and *Livy* himself did not rightly understand the Terms *τάγμα*, *στύχη*, and *σύνταγμα*, which *Polybius* often uses to signify a *Manipulus*. The latter understands by the Word *τάγμα*, what the *Romans* called *Manipulus*, or *Ordo*. This sort of Battalions were called in *Latin* *Ordines*, because the *Legions* were orderly divided into *Ma-*

nipuli. The Greek Word *σύνταγμα*, which that Historian uses, answers to the *Latin* Word *Signum*, and signifies an Ensign, or Standard. It is well known that each *Manipulus* had its own, as we have elsewhere observed, particularly B. 1. where we treat of *Romulus's* *Legion*. So that it is not at all strange, that *Polybius* should call a *Manipulus*, *σύνταγμα*. *Signum* and *Manipulus* were synonymous Terms. The other Greek Word *στύχη*, is indifferently used by the Greek Writers, to signify either a *Cohort*, or *Manipulus*; and *Livy* has taken it, in the former Sense, when he speaks of the old *Roman* Discipline. He speaks the Language of his own Age, when the *Legions* were no longer divided into *Manipuli*, but *Cohorts*. Instead of taking it in the Sense it had, in *Polybius's* time, he gives it another Signification, which it had not till afterwards. He did not consider that the Sense of these arbitrary Terms is relative, to the Customs of the Age in which they are used. And the Commentators have taken this Inadvertency in this great Historian, for an absolute Determination. Hence the Anachronisms, and wrong Computations of those, who pretend, that the *Roman* *Legions* were always divided into *Cohorts*.

94 It must be granted, that the *Roman* Soldiery underwent many changes. We have observed, that in *Servius Tullius's* Reign, the richest Citizens, who made the first *Class*, engaged at the Head of the Army. The inferior *Classes* were placed behind the first, according to the Order of their *Centuries*. Afterwards every Soldier was placed according to the Number of Years he had served. The youngest were foremost; those who were advanced in Age, were posted in the main Body; and the Veterans, who were more experienced than the rest, were a *Corps-de-reserve*, and were generally the last resource of the Army, in great Emergencies. This Order likewise was several times changed, according to the Difference of Times, Circumstances, and Enemies. Thus we shall see the Choice of the Troops posted in the first Ranks, in After-ages, and the Light-infantry, made the Rear-guard. This new Order was introduced by *Marius*, who changed the old Order of Fighting, as we shall observe in its proper Place. And lastly, we are not to imagine, that the *Roman* Soldiery were ordered in the same manner by the Emperors, as in the preceding Ages. For want of attending to this, most Commentators have confounded that Disposition of the *Roman* Armies, which *Polybius* describes, with that which *Julius Caesar* has given in his *Commentaries*. Hence arise *Vegetius's* Mistakes, who makes one confused Jumble of all the different Orders observed, building upon the Accounts of several Authors whom he joins all together, though they lived in very distant Ages. And it is not at all surprising, that he should stumble, almost at every Step, when he lays down for a constant Rule, certain arbitrary Customs, which were either interrupted, or abolished: And from hence it is, that most reason about the *Roman* Soldiery, without regard to the order of Time. Whereas the least Knowledge of Antiquity will shew us, that modern Authors have not treated of the military Art of the ancient *Romans*, with the Accuracy, that so important and so obscure a Subject requires. By joining so many Situations in one view, they have

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never two Armies engaged upon a greater Equality. *Pyrrhus* made War by Rules and the *Romans* practised their old way of Fighting, which they had by Experience found to be the best. At length the Attack begun.

have confounded the Objects, which must be represented successively, and under different Aspects, if we would see them distinctly. For want of considering the *Roman* Soldiery, with this Exactness. *Vegetius* fancied, that those were called *Principes*, who were posted in the first Line, when drawn up in Battalia. Whereas it is evident, from the *Roman* Historians, that they were posted in the second, and the *Hastati* in the first, long before the Time of *Scipio*. So that the *Principes* were posted between them and the *Triarii*. But *Vegetius* is nevertheless excusable, in following *Celsus*, and *Frontinus*. These Authors likewise for want of attending to different Changes that were made in the Order of the *Roman* Armies, were mistaken in thinking that the *Principes* were placed before the *Hastati*. And they were confirmed in their Mistake by this, that those who fought in the first Line, were called *Principia*, and *Principales Milites* in their time. Thus, in *Cæsar's* time, the light-armed were indifferently called, either *Principes*, or *Antesignani*, or *Velites*. *Varro's* Testimony alone is sufficient to shew, that the Order of the *Roman* Armies was not always the same. He says, the *Hastati* were formerly placed in the first Rank. *Hastati dicti quod primi pugnabant Hastis*. Behind them were the *Principes*, whose Weapon was the Sword. But in After-ages, when the Order of the Armies had been changed, the most inconsiderable part of the Troops were called *Principes*. *Principes quia principio gladiis pugnabant, & post, commutata re militari, minus illustres sumuntur*. So that, in *Varro's* time, the light-armed Troops were called *Principes* and *Antesignani*; whereas in the more distant Ages, only the *Hastati* and *Principes* were called *Antesignani*, because they marched before the Colours, which were generally posted among the *Triarii*. To this Order succeeded another, according to which, the *Triarii* were posted in the first Line, with the Eagle of the *Legion*, and other Standards: And then the light-armed Troops, who skirmished at the Head of the Army, were called *Antesignani*, and *Principes*, because they were the first who engaged. And lastly, we shall in the Course of this History, see the Names of *Principia*, and *Principales Milites* applied to the *Tribunes*, *Centurions*, and chief Officers of the first *Manipuli*. In *Cæsar* and *Pompey's* Army, we shall find no mention made of the *Triarii*. Our Business therefore in this Place, is to run over in order, the several Changes that were made in the military Art, among the *Romans*; which we propose to do, by considering the *Roman* Armies in their different Situations, from the Establishment of the Republick, to the time of *Scipio*. What the Ancients say, on this Subject, may be reduced to these Heads.

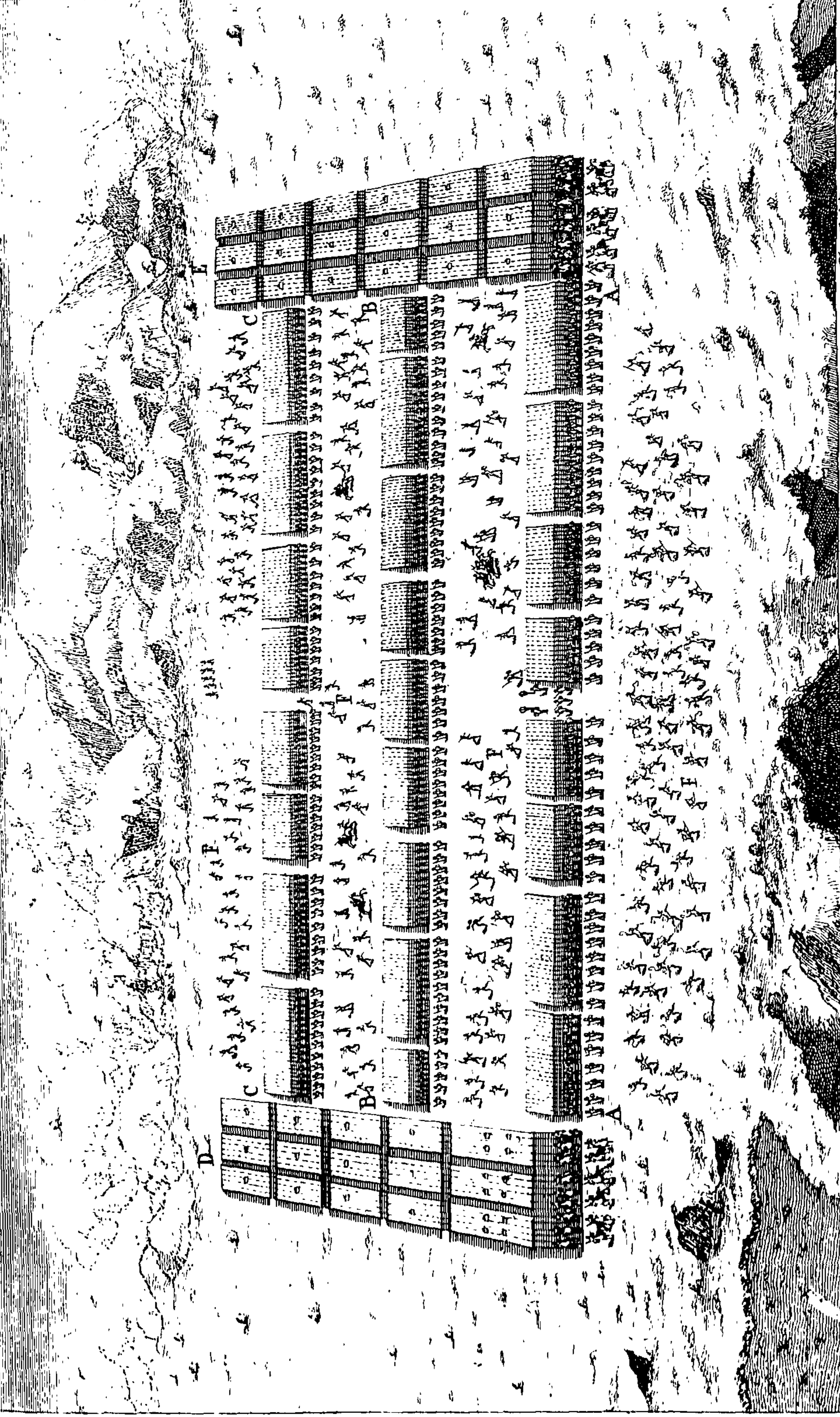
1. The *Romans* most commonly drew up their Armies in three Lines, consisting of Soldiers completely armed, as well to act offensively, as defensively. The *Hastati*, so called from a sort of Weapon like our Lances, made the first Line. In the second were the *Principes*; so called from the Latin Word *Princeps*, either because in the first Ages of *Rome*, they were placed at the Head of the Army, or because they were preferred before the *Hastati*. *Varro* tells us, that their offensive Weapon was the Sword. *Principes, qui a principio gladiis pugnabant*. The *Triarii* were posted in the third Line; from whence they were called *Triarii*, or *Tertiani*. Their Weapon was a sort of Lance, which the *Roman* Historians call *Pilum*. Thus the *Roman* Army engaged in three parallel Lines.

2. These three Orders of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, were divided into *Manipuli*. Between these little Battalions there were generally empty Spaces left, in such a manner, that the *Manipuli* of the second Line, were posted directly over against the Spaces of the first, and those of the third over against the Spaces in the second. By this means the *Principes* were ready to take the Place of the *Hastati* whenever they should be repulsed by the Enemy, and forced to retire through the Spaces between each Line, and each *Manipulus*. And then it was the Business of the *Principes* to sustain the Attacks of the Enemy, till the *Hastati* rallied behind the third Line. If the second Line underwent the same Fate as the first, it retreated through the Spaces beforementioned, and was relieved by the *Triarii*. And then, as the third Attack was the last Effort of the *Legion*, all three Bodies were so united, as to make but one great Battalion. This Union hindered the *Triarii* from giving way; but if they were once cut in pieces, the *Roman* Army had no Refuge, but in a speedy Flight.

3. As soon as the *Legions* were drawn up in Battalia, the Consul ordered the light-armed Infantry, which the *Roman* Historians call *Leves*, *Rorarii*, and *Accensi*, to advance into the Spaces between each *Manipulus*. The *Rorarii* and *Accensi* seem to have been two different Classes, both comprehended under the general Name of *Leves*. At least we have Reason to guess so from *Livy's* Account of the Order of the *Roman* Army, B. 8. where he is speaking of the War, the Republick maintained against the confederate Nations of *Latium*. We have already spoken of the *Rorarii* and *Accensi*, B. 16. p. 167. of this Volume, Note 64. These were Dart-men and Slingers, who skirmished at the Head of the *Legions*. After they had made their first Attack, they retired through the Spaces between the Battalions, and returned to the Charge a second or third time, till the Battel was begun.

4. The *Roman* *Legions* were flanked, both to the right and left, by the auxiliary Infantry, which the People of *Latium*, among others, furnished. These foreign Troops were drawn up in the same manner as the *Legions*. They had their *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, as we are told by *Livy*, B. 8. These were posted in three different Lines, so as to flank the *Roman* *Legions*, which were in the Center. As for the Cavalry, both that of the *Romans*, and their Auxiliaries, was inferior in Number to the Infantry, in which the main Strength of the Army consisted: and the Horse were generally posted in the two Wings, so as to cover the two Flanks. They fought in *Turme*, or Squadrons, which were drawn up at some Distance from one another, that they might have the more Liberty, to wheel, and make the several Motions, then used by the *Roman* Cavalry. Each *Turma* contained thirty Men; which were subdivided into three *Decurie*, which were Brigades of ten Horsemen each, with an Officer at the Head of them, who was called *Decurio*. It is uncertain, whether these three Tens, were joined in one Body, or posted at a Distance from each other.

5. The Army was generally drawn up in the Form of a Square. I say generally, because the Commander sometimes had Regard to the Situation of the Ground, the Order and Strength of the Enemy, and several other Circumstances, which obliged him to alter the Disposition of his Army. So that the *Legions* were sometimes drawn up in the Form of a Triangle, sometimes in that of a Wedge, and



A. The Hastati.
B. B. The Principes.
C. The Triarii.

A Roman Army drawn up in Battalia.

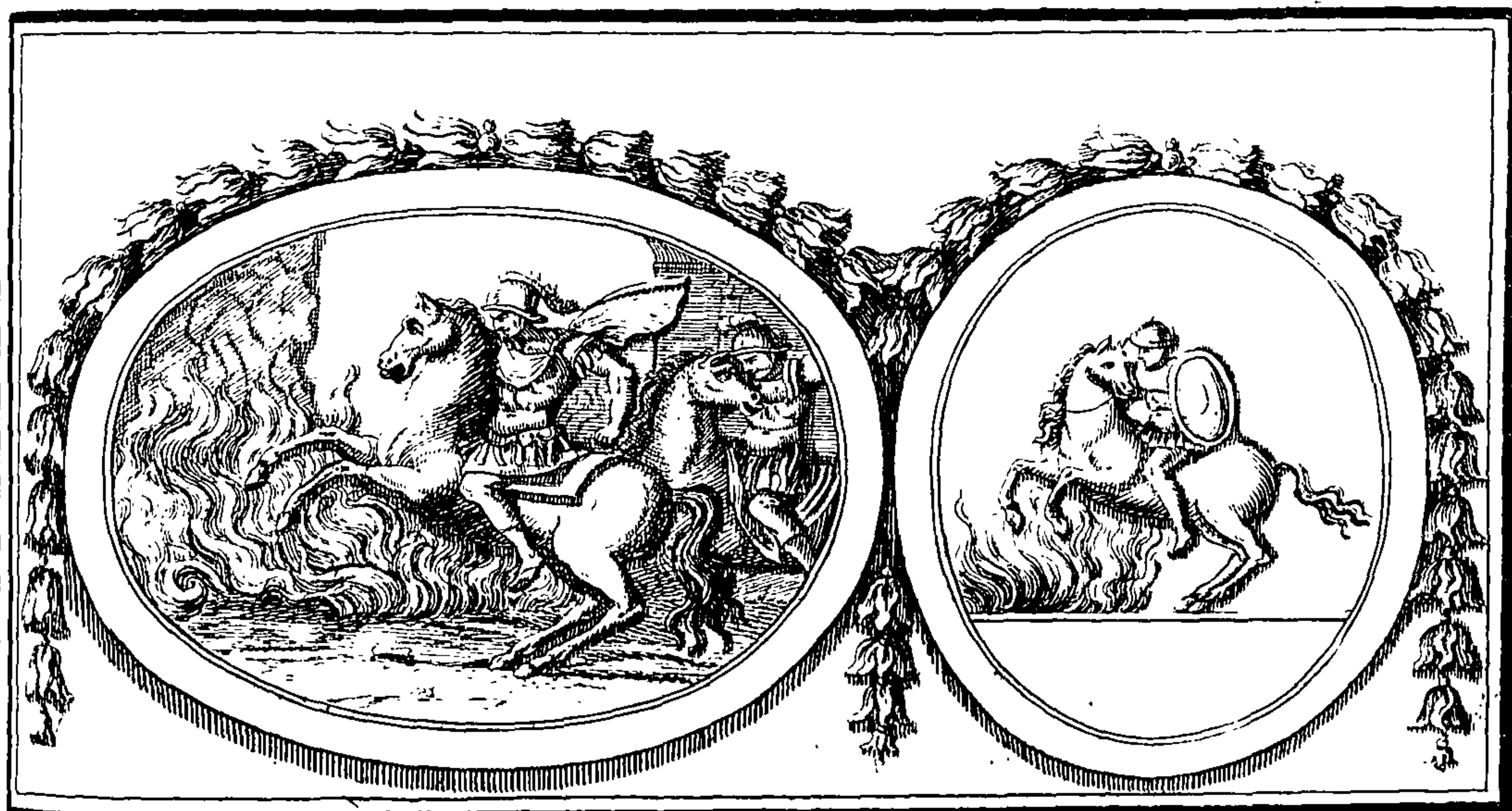
D. The Roman Cavalry.
E. The Cavalry of Auxiliaries.
FFFF. Light-armed Soldiers.

It is most certain, that the *Romans* surpassed in Courage that Multitude of Troops of different Nations, of which *Pyrrhus's* Army consisted: And the *Epirot* could scarce have any Advantage over the *Consuls*, but in his Readiness and Skill in finding out Expedients. However, the *Greeks* sustained the furious Attacks of the *Legions* a great while, but were at last forced to give Way. The *Romans* pressed them with such Vehemence, that they repulsed, disordered, and broke through the Enemy's Battalions. And then *Pyrrhus* gave such Orders, as recovered his Affairs. He commanded his Elephants to advance; but not to the side where the *Romans* had posted their Chariots; they marched round, and came and fell upon the *Roman* Cavalry. These Animals were most formidable to the Horses; which no sooner saw them, but they were too headstrong for their Riders to govern them. The *Roman* Squadrons were routed; and the Disorder of their Horses, brought on the Slaughter of these brave Men. As for the *Roman* Infantry, the Elephants could indeed little incommode them; but it is probable, that the *Epirotæ* were inspired with fresh Courage, at the Defeat of the Enemy's Cavalry. Then all Things went ill with the *Romans*: And it may be presumed, that at this instant, the *Consul Decius* lost his Life in the Fight. Whether it was by Accident, or whether he designedly sought Death, in the midst of the Enemy's Battalions, after he had ⁹⁵ devoted himself to the *Dii Manes*, may be doubted. *Cicero* ⁹⁶ tells us he imitated his Fathers, and freely sacrificed his Life to save his Country. But be that as it will, for the Historians don't say enough of it, to ascertain it; it is undoubtedly true, that *Decius* was killed upon the Spot, and that there was then but one *Consul* left to command the two *Roman* Armies.

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and sometimes in a Circle, that it might face every Way. This general Account of the *Roman* Armies will be better understood, by considering the Plate annexed. And we shall frequently have Occasion hereafter, to explain more particularly, what we have here only given a Sketch of.

⁹⁵ See B. 16. p. 164, 165, of this Volume; and B. 19.

⁹⁶ *Cicero* says, *Tusculan. B. 1.* that the *Consul Decius* here spoken of, was the Grandson of *Publius Decius*, who devoted himself to Death, to save his Country, during the War between the *Romans* and the *Latins*, as has been related, B. 16. To which he adds, that this *Consul* was also the Son of him, who followed his Father's Example, in the Battle the *Romans* fought, with the united *Hetrurians* and *Gauls*, as we have likewise observed before, B. 19. And upon *Cicero's* Testimony, we thought we might declare, that this last *Decius*, sacrificed his Life after the Example of his Ancestors, and was killed in the second Battle with *Pyrrhus*. The *Roman* Orator's Words are these. *Si mors timere-*

cur, non cum Latinis decertans pater Decius, cum Etruscis filius, etiam cum Pyrrho Nepos, se hostium telis objecissent. And he takes the same thing for granted, in his second Book, *De viribus Bonorum & Malorum*. Neither *Plutarch*, *Florus*, nor *Eutropius* say any thing of it. *Zonaras* indeed says, *Annals, B. 2.* That this *Consul* made all proper Preparations for devoting himself; but does not say, that he put his Design, of seeking Death in the midst of the Enemy's Squadrons, in execution. *Curtius* was the first Instance of this sort of Devotements in *Rome*; when he rode, completely armed, into the midst of a Gulph, in order to procure his Republic a perpetual Duration. There is an Antique in the *Borghese* Vineyard, which expresses this Action of *Curtius*, with a Spirit never to be enough admired: and we have given the Reader a Copy of this Master-piece *. The Figures above are taken from two other Antiques, on which two Horsemen are represented as devoting themselves, by leaping into the midst of Flames.

* See the Frontispiece to this Volume.

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Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Orosius B. 4.

BUT whilst *Pyrrhus* was recovering his first Disadvantages, and his Infantry was gaining Ground, a new Accident put his Troops into Disorder. The Body of *Apulians*, whom the *Consuls* had laid in Ambush, came on a sudden, and fell upon the Camp of the *Epirotæ*. The Attack they made upon it, obliged *Pyrrhus* to dispatch away a Detachment in haste, to fly to the Relief of his besieged Entrenchments: And this sudden Departure of some of his Troops, caused the Battel to end to his Disadvantage. Some of his Soldiers fancied their Troops began to lose Ground, others thought their Camp was taken; and all imagined the Misfortune to be greater than it was. And upon this they immediately gave Way, and fled. *Pyrrhus* in vain endeavoured to rally his Troops, and lead them back to the Engagement: Whilst, on the other hand, the *Romans* closely pushed the Fugitives, without giving them time to breathe, and came and fell upon *Pyrrhus* himself. Then the King, in the midst of his Friends, and chief Officers, received a considerable Wound; as did *Fabritius* likewise, who commanded, as Lieutenant-General in the *Roman* Armies. Nor did the *Roman* Soldiers spare the Elephants. They put these terrible Beasts to flight, by clapping lighted Flambeaux under their Bellies; and they fled so swiftly, that they struck Terror and Confusion even into the *Greek Phalanx*. In the mean time, the Sun was near setting. The two Armies were both fatigued with the Fight; and the Slaughter had been exceeding great. A great Number of *Romans* had also received Wounds, and were not in a Condition to march far after the *Epirotæ*. For which Reasons, *Sulpicius* founded a Retreat, repassed the Stream, and brought his Troops back to his Camp, to refresh themselves there.

SUCH was the Battel of *Asculum*. But some 97 Historians make this single Action to have been two Battels. Without doubt, the different Success of the Day, in which *Pyrrhus* was first Conqueror, and then conquered, was what led them to divide this single Engagement into two. Some indeed give the *Romans*, others the *Epirotæ*, all the Advantage: which often happens after Battels, in which the Success has been doubtful, and the Loss equal. Each Party claims the Victory, and the credulous Writers give it to one or the other, according as they are informed or inclined. As for us, we cannot but be of Opinion, that *Sulpicius* was not thought at *Rome* to have gained a complete Victory, in the Battel of *Asculum*; and the Republick her self is our Voucher for it. She did not decree the surviving Consul a Triumph; the *Triumphal Tables* don't mention any. Nevertheless, *Rome* had no Reason to be dissatisfied with the Success of the Campaign: since she had at least taught *Pyrrhus*, that she was able to keep his Victories in suspense. As to the Number of the Dead, lest we should exaggerate them, we shall confine our selves to 98 *Plutarch's* Account, who says, there were in all fifteen thousand slain. *Pyrrhus* was

97 Historians give us very different Accounts of the Battel of *Asculum*. *Plutarch* pretends it was a double Action between the *Romans* and *Epirotæ*. His relation of it, is this. *Pyrrhus*, says he, was pent up in a Place, where the Cavalry could not be of any Use, near a River, whose Banks were marshy, and not easy to be come at. So that it was not possible for him to bring up his Elephants, to join his Infantry. He lost a great Number of Men on the Spot, and had as many wounded. Night alone, which put an end to the Battel, saved him from an entire Defeat. The next Day, *Pyrrhus*, to repair his Losses, took Possession of a more even Ground. There he placed his Elephants; and very early in the Morning, a Body of his Troops, seized, by his Order, those difficult Posts, which had proved fatal to his Army in the last Action. He drew up his Army in Battalia, and posted a great Number of Archers and Pikemen, among his Elephants. In this order, he advanced towards the Enemy, and fell with Impetuosity upon the *Roman* Troops, which, after a long Resistance, fled before the Elephants, whose furious Attack they could not withstand. But *Eutropius*, on the other hand, gives all the Glory of the Battel to the *Romans*. According to him, *Pyrrhus* lost his Elephants in it, was wounded himself, and forced to fly to *Tarentum*, to escape being taken by the Enemy. But this Account is contradicted by the other Historians. *Dion. Hal.* according to *Plutarch* him-

self, contends, That there was but one Battel fought near the City of *Asculum*: That the Success of this great Action was very doubtful: That *Pyrrhus* was wounded in the Arm with a Spear, and That his Baggage was plundered by the *Sarmiges*. And on this Occasion, he makes *Pyrrhus* give the following Answer to a Man, who congratulated him upon his Victory, *Such another will ruin us.*

98 Authors disagree as to the Number of the Dead. *Hieronymus*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, reckons that the *Romans* lost six thousand, and *Pyrrhus* three thousand five hundred. And in proof of this, he quotes the Registers of this Prince, which mention those Numbers. But according to *Dion. Hal.* as quoted by *Plutarch*, there were about fifteen thousand slain on both sides. *Eutropius*, who falsely supposes, that the *Roman* Army was victorious, says, that *Pyrrhus* lost twenty thousand Men in the Battel, and the *Romans* only five thousand. *Pyrrhus vulneratus est, Elephanti interfecti, viginti millia caesa hostium, & ex Romanis tantum quinque millia, Pyrrhus Tarentum fugatus.* And here we ought to take Notice of a strange Contradiction in *Florus*. He, speaking of *Pyrrhus's* Wars with the *Romans*, says, That the Elephants were of great Service to this King in his first Battel: That in the second, the Soldiers were not terrified at the sight of these Animals: (one of them, says he, was wounded, which was enough to shew that they were mortal;) and That in the third Action, they proved fatal to the

was very sensible, that he had not gained any Superiority over his Enemies. He was destitute of Provisions, and wanted Medicines for his wounded Men; and therefore, unknown to the Romans, retired to *Tarentum*, where he stayed the rest of the Campaign. As for *Sulpicius*, he appeared upon the Field of Battel again the next Day, resolving to bring the *Epirotæ* to another Engagement. But he found them decamped; and therefore retired himself, and put his Troops into Winter-Quarters in *Apulia*.

§. XXIII. At *Rome*, the publick Apprehensions were greatly diminished, since the *Consul* *Sulpicius* had fought the formidable *Pyrrhus*, with at least equal Success. The Hopes of all Men revived; and it was now thought no impossible thing, to drive that Foreigner out of *Italy*, whose first Victory had made him thought invincible. In order to get rid of him with the greater Certainty, two Men were chosen *Consuls*, who lived in a perfect Understanding with one another, and whose Probity and Valour were revered even by their Enemies. These were the famous *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, who had been *Consuls* together four Years before. So that the Law 99, which forbid any Person to exercise this great Office above once in ten Years, was already grown obsolete. Besides, in great Emergencies, it is not always best to proceed in the most regular, but in the safest Way. Under the Administration of these two great Men, *Rome* had Reason to expect to see *Italy* delivered by her own Forces only; which Expectation was, doubtless, what made her so proud, as to reject the Assistance *Carthage* offered her. The 100 *Carthaginians* had entered into several Treaties with the *Romans*, and had long been their Friends and Allies. And the *African* Republick, thought this a favourable Opportunity, to send an Embassy into *Italy*, to prevail on the *Romans*, under the Pretence of Friendship, to receive the Succours *Carthage* sent her. Accordingly *Mago*, the *Carthaginian*, appeared on the Coasts of *Italy*, and brought with him a Fleet of a hundred and twenty Sail, to the Road nearest to *Rome*. There the Ambassador landed, went to *Rome*, and appeared in the Senate. The *Carthaginians* are known to have been naturally an artful People, whose Policy was not always accompanied with Truth and Fidelity. The *Romans*, on the contrary, valued themselves on their Integrity; but did not want Penetration. They did not desire to deceive; but were very careful not to be deceived themselves. *Mago* represented to the *Conscript Fathers*, the Matter of this Embassy, without discovering the Motives of it. *Carthage*, said he, could not see the most flourishing Republick in *Italy* attacked by the King of *Epirus*, without interposing her self in the Glory and Safety of *Rome*, her ancient Friend and Ally. My Country has deputed me, to come hither, and offer you the Men and Fleet I have brought to your Defence. One Foreigner makes War with you; others fly to your Assistance.

And the same *Florus* tells us, that the Elephants robbed the *Romans* of the first Victory, kept the second doubtful, and determined the third Battel in favour of the *Romans*; in the following Words, *Eadem fera, quæ primam victoriam abolerant, secundam parem fecerunt, tertiam sine controversia tradidere*. He plainly had forgotten, that he had declared a few Lines before, that this Action, which he here calls the second, was decisive, in favour of the *Romans*, and that they gained a complete Victory over *Pyrrhus*: inasmuch, that this Prince was obliged to fly, was wounded in the Shoulder, and carried off by his Guards. *nam quippe belluarum terror exoleverat, et Caius Minucius quartæ Legionis Hastatus, unius præfide absceisa, mori posse belluas ostenderat, itaque in ipsas pila congesta sunt, et in turres vitæ facies, tota hostium agmina ardentibus ruinis ferere, nec ante cladi finis fuit quam nox derimeret; postremusque fugientium ipse Rex a satellitibus humero sauciis, in armis suis referretur*. And lastly, the same Author adds a little lower, that the Camp of the King was plundered twice, viz. in the second, and in the third Battel; *bis exuto castris*. But if this were true, how could he say, that neither Party was victorious, in the second Battel? Nor is *Florus* less blameable for saying, as he does in the same 18th ch. of B. 1. that *Curius* and *Fabricius* were then *Consuls*. *Deinde apud Asculum melius amatum est Curio Fabricioque Consulibus*.

99 *Livy* says, this Law was made, when *Caius Fabricius Rutilius*, and *Quintus Servilius*, were *Con-*

suls, in the Year of *Rome* 411. *Item alius Plebiscitis cautum, ne quis eundem Magistratum intra decem annos caperet*. If this Law was really made by the *Comitia by Tribes*, it does not appear, that any great Regard was paid to it, as the Reader will easily observe, if he runs over the Succession of the *Consuls*, from the time it was enacted. It is plain, that the same Magistrates, especially the *Consuls*, were often promoted to the same Offices a second, and a third time, at two or three Years distance. The Merit of the Candidate, and certain Exigencies and Necessities of State, generally caused the Law to be overlooked.

100 It ought to have been observed, that the *Romans* made their first Treaty with the *Carthaginians*, in the Infancy of their Republick, when *Brunus* and *Valerius Poplicola*, or *Marcus Horatius* were *Consuls*. And *Polybius* says, they made a second Alliance with them, in the Consulship of *Marcus Valerius*, and *Popilius Lanæ*, and in the Year of *Rome* 405, which we have spoken of B. 15. p. 125. of this Volume. To which *Polybius* adds, B. 3. that the Articles of these Treaties were written on *Tables of Brass*, which were preserved in the *Ædiles* Office, near the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. But in this he contradicts one *Philinus*; who says in his History, that by this last Treaty, which is that we are here speaking of, the *Romans* obliged themselves, never to attempt the Conquest of *Sicily*, and the *Carthaginian*, not to make any Descent in *Italy*. This Treaty is manifestly supposititious, says *Polybius*, we have no Monument left of it.

They

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXXIV.

P. SULPICIUS
SAVERRIO, P.
DECIVS MUS,
Consuls.
Zonar. B. 8.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXXV.

C. FABRICI-
US, Q. ÆMI-
LIUS PAPUS,
Consuls.
Zonar. B. 8.

5.

Justin. B. 18.

Year of *They have even prevented your Desires, and will you not accept what they so kindly offer*
R O M E It was well known at *Rome*, how far the *Carthaginians* had extended their Con-
 CCCCLXXV. quests. They had subdued all the Islands near *Africa*, and almost all those of the
 C. FABRICI- *Tyrrhenian Sea*. The Art of Navigation, which they had brought from *Phœnicia*
 US, Q. ÆMI- from whence they originally came, made them formidable in all the Seas, which
 LIUS PAPUS, were then navigated. They had very lately entered *Sicily*, settled a large Dominion
 Consuls. there, seized a great Number of Cities, and were much feared by those that yet pre-
 served their Liberty. So that this mighty Progress made the *Romans* jealous of their
 Conquerors; and their known double Dealings, gave them Suspicions of their Of-
 fers. Or perhaps the Senate saw into the Ambassadors real Designs. *Mago* though

Justin. B. 18. the *Romans* too weak to resist the Forces, and Skill of *Pyrrhus*. He was afraid
 That *Rome*, pretending it to be her Interest, would make a Peace with the King of
Epirus; and That then that Prince would make a Descent upon *Sicily*, and suspend
 the Conquests of the *Carthaginians* there. Distrusts kept the *Romans* upon their
 Guard; and their Wisdom preserved them from the Snare. They indeed covered
 their Diffidence with a polite Behaviour. They thanked their *African* Allies, for
 the Care they took of the Safety of their Friends, and paid great Civilities to their
 Ambassadors. *We don't use to engage in any Wars*, said they to him, *but such as we*
are able to maintain, with our own Forces only. *Pyrrhus is not so powerful an Enemy*
as to be able to force us to have Recourse to our Friends. But to shew you how grateful
a Sense we have of the Offers you make us; we will renew our ancient Treaties with
you, and add such Clauses to them, as the present State of Affairs requires. Accord-
ingly, in this last Treaty, which the Romans entered into with the Carthaginians,
which some make the third, and others the fourth Alliance with them; it was
agreed, That if ever Rome made Peace with the King of Epirus, she should expressly
declare in her Treaty, that she was in Alliance with Carthage, and would take up Arms
in Defence of that Republick, if Pyrrhus attacked it. On the other hand, the *Car-*
thaginians stipulated to the Romans; That they would assist them, whenever it was de-
sired, and wanted; That the Troops which the Republicks reciprocally lent each other
should be paid by those who employed them; but That when the Carthaginians sent
their Fleets to assist the Romans, the latter should not oblige them to fight at Land.

Justin. B. 18. THESE Precautions removed the Apprehensions of the *Carthaginians*, as to *Py-*
rrhus's Enterprizes upon *Sicily*; but these restless Politicians did not stop there. They
 ordered *Mago* to sail to the side of *Tarentum*, with his Fleet; and there he had
 Conference with *Pyrrhus*. The *Carthaginian* probably foresaw the King's Design
 who was tired with a War, the Success of which was not so quick as he desired
 and he wanted to put an honourable end to it, or at least interrupt it for some time.
 The *Sicilians* sent repeated Embassies to him, to sollicite him to come and deliver
 their Island from *Carthaginian* Slavery; and his natural Inconstancy, inclined him to
 enter upon a new Career, in which he was to engage new Enemies. But the Scheme
 had not yet had time enough to ripen in his Breast. He intended to put
 it in execution in a little while; but he had now made Preparations for
 another Campaign against the *Romans*. He had received fresh Troops from
Epirus; for most of those he had brought with him, had been killed in the two last
 Battels. He had lost his dearest Favourites, and best Officers. And it must be con-
 fessed, that the Reinforcements which *Pyrrhus* had received from beyond Sea, could
 not be so considerable, as he desired. An Army of *Gauls* had invaded *Macedonia*
 which bordered upon his Dominions; and it was dangerous, to leave his Country
 utterly bare, and exposed to the Mercy of these Barbarians, during his Absence.
 that *Mago*, who himself saw the Situation of *Pyrrhus's* Affairs, took it for granted
 he would not continue long in *Italy*. The Invitations the *Sicilians* gave him, fur-
 nished the inconstant *Epirot* with an honourable Excuse, for going to another Place
 to command the Army, which waited for him. The *Carthaginian* therefore regu-
 lated his Affairs accordingly. In order to hinder *Pyrrhus* from passing the Streights
 of *Sicily*, he entered them with his Fleet, under Pretence of besieging *Rhegium*,
 City, on the Point of *Italy*. This obliged the *Epirot* to continue at *Tarentum*, and
 carry on the War, at least for some Time longer, against the *Romans*.

Justin. B. 8. §. XXIV. As soon as the Spring was far enough advanced, to suffer them
 6. 5. take the Field, the Consuls *Fabricius*, and *Æmilius Papus*, marched their Troops
 into the Territory of *Tarentum*. *Pyrrhus* had now lost his former Ardour, which

made him so hasty to take the Field first, and enter the Enemy's Country, to ravage it. The bare Name of *Fabricius* kept him more upon the Reserve. Such strong Impressions does the Opinion of a Man's Virtue make upon the boldest Minds! The *Epirot* Army only came and encamped within reach of the *Roman*. It is certain, *Pyrrhus's* Esteem for *Fabricius* was now improved into a sincere Affection for him; but it is nevertheless probable, that his Inaction did not so much proceed from his Friendship, as his Fear of the *Romans* in general, and of *Fabricius* in particular. The two Armies continued a great while encamped, in sight of one another, and only observed, and watched each other. And then it was, that *Fabricius* did an Act worthy of himself, which all the Ancients have highly extolled, and which, if rightly understood, deserved much greater Commendations, than the gaining a Battel. It is related differently as to the Circumstances of it; but all the great Number of Writers who mention it, agree in the main Point. The *Consuls* were waiting for a favourable Opportunity to give Battel, when *Pyrrhus's* Physician came to the *Roman* Camp, and demanded a private Conference with the *Consul Fabricius*. The Traitor's Name was *Nicias*; who being admitted to an Audience, proposed a Scheme to the virtuous *Roman*, which filled him with Horror. It was to poison the King his Master, and thereby put an end to a War, which was burdensome to the Republick, and might prove fatal to her. *Fabricius* did not long deliberate what Answer to make. His very Soul was shocked at the Proposal of the Crime; and when he had communicated the Affair to his Collegue, they both joined in a Letter to *Pyrrhus*, wherein they did not discover the Criminal, but only warned him to take care of himself, and be upon his Guard against the Treasons of those about him. The Letter was this. *C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Consuls, to King Pyrrhus, Health. You are unhappy both in the Choice of your Friends, and of your Enemies. This Letter may satisfy you, that the former are perfidious, the latter Men of Probity. You are betrayed Pyrrhus. The Hand that ought to be most faithful to you, offers to poison you. We give you this Information, not to merit your Good-will; but for fear we should be suspected of con-*

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C. FABRICI-
US, Q. ÆMI-
LIUS PAPIUS,
Consuls.

*Quadrigenarius
apud Gellium.
Plut. & Auth.
de Vir. Illust.
&c.*

*Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.*

101 This Action, which has immortalized the Memory of *Fabricius*, is differently circumstantiated by the Authors who mention it. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Pyrrhus*, says, That an unknown Person came to *Fabricius's* Camp, and put a Letter into his Hands, sent him by the King of *Epirus's* Physician; who offered to poison that Prince, provided the *Romans* would promise him a Reward, equal to the important Service of ending, by the Death of *Pyrrhus*, a War which was burdensome to the Republick: and That *Fabricius*, struck with Horror upon the mention of so black a Crime, sent the Letter to the King, with another to forewarn him against the Design, the perfidious *Nicias* his Physician had put upon him. This Letter we have transcribed in the Text upon *Plutarch's* Model. After this, *Plutarch* describes the Battel of *Asculum*, as if subsequent to it; but that is a Mistake in point of Chronology. *Valerius Antias*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, and *Valerius Maximus*, tell us, that after the two first Battels gained by *Pyrrhus*, one *Timochares* came privately into *Consul Fabricius's* Tent; and promised him, that his two Sons, who were Cup-bearers to *Pyrrhus*, should poison him, provided the *Consul* would give him the Reward he demanded. Upon this *Fabricius* wrote to the Senate, who immediately sent Ambassadors to the King of *Epirus*, with Orders to inform him of the ill Designs some of his Domesticks had laid against him, but not to discover the Criminal's Name. *Timocharis nomen supprime*, says *Valerius Maximus*, *utroque modo equitem amplexus, quia nec hostem malo exemplo tollerare, neque eum, qui bene mereri paratus fuerat, perdere voluit*. In this, says that Author, *Fabricius* gave a double proof of the Uprightness of his Heart, both by refusing to procure *Pyrrhus's* Death by such unjust Means, and by not betraying the Men who offered to do the Republick Service. *Quadrigenarius* affirms, in *Aulus Gellius*, 3. c. 8. that the Name of the Traitor was *Nicias*, and that the *Consuls* themselves dispatched

away an Express to the King of *Epirus*, to inform him of his Danger: and the same Author relates their Letter in different Terms, from that which we have inserted in the Text. It is this. *The Roman Consuls to King Pyrrhus, Health. Our only Desire, and Design, is to revenge our Quarrel with the Points of our Swords. And we think it our Duty to give all Ages an Instance of our Equity, by interesting our selves in your Preservation. Your Life is of Importance to us. Live, to give Lustre to our Victories. Nicias, whom you Honour with your Confidence, is come to us, to engage us to give him a Reward to execute the Plot he has formed against your Life. But we detest his Treason, and did not hesitate a Moment, whether we should notify it to you. Had we concealed this Villany from you, we should justly have been suspected of an Intelligence with the Criminal; and should have given the World Reason to believe, that we made use of such Methods against you, as are unworthy of Romans. In the mean time, take care of your self, and prevent the Blow, with which you are threatened. Ælian gives Pyrrhus's Physician the Name of Cyneas, and pretends he wrote to the Senate of Rome, who rejected his Proposal, and notified it to the King of Epirus. Cicero Offic. B. 3. supposes, that Fabricius sent to Pyrrhus the Villain, who designed to poison him; and says, the Consul was directed to do this, by the Senate. Entropius, and Aurelius Victor, think, that the Physician himself went to Fabricius, who put him in Irons, and sent him back to his Master, in that Condition. Florus robs Fabricius of the Glory of this Action, and gives it to Curius. Medicum venale caput Regis offerentem remisit. This Abridger did not judge as Pyrrhus did, who saw Fabricius in this great Action. Amidst these various Accounts, we have followed that of Plutarch, who adds, that upon the Consul's Information, Pyrrhus condemned the Traytor to death: and some say, that he was hanged by the King's Order.*

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US, Q. ÆMI-
LIUS PAPUS,
Consuls.

Entrap. B. 2.
Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

sending out of Interest to an Assassination, which we detest and abhor. We don't desire to end the War, by secret and villainous Attempts, but openly, and with our Swords.

IN this instance of a Probity truly Roman, the King discerned the virtuous Consul, and cried out: *It is as easy to stop the Sun in his Course, as to divert Fabricius from the Paths of Justice.* Then, out of a deep Sense of Gratitude for so great a Benefit, he released, without Ransom, all the Prisoners he had taken from the Romans. But Rome was too proud to accept of the Offers of an Enemy, as a Gift: she would not receive the Captives but by way of Exchange. She sent the King back as many Tarentini and Samnites, as he had released Romans; and she even treated the Captives which were sent back by Pyrrhus with Contempt. They were not employed in the Armies, but with Distrust. They were by a Decree of the Senate forbidden ever assembling together in a Body, or ever fighting against Pyrrhus. They were in some sort degraded, and placed lower in the Soldiery than before. The Horse were forced to serve on Foot, and all were put in inferior Stations to those they possessed before they were taken. So shameful a thing was it, among the Romans, to fall alive into the Hands of an Enemy! Then Pyrrhus was more earnest than ever to conclude a Peace with Rome. He sent Cyneas a second time, to try to work upon the Romans¹⁰² by Presents, and endeavour to gain them over by his artful Harangues. But the Senators were steady in their Resolutions. They declared to the Ambassador, a second time, that the Republick would never enter into any Treaty with his Master, till he had left Italy, and withdrawn his Troops from thence. But Pyrrhus performed only the first of these Conditions. He thought it proper to set out for Sicily; but he could not easily persuade himself to relinquish the Authority he had usurped in Tarentum.

It is very probable, that this Design of Pyrrhus to go into Sicily, was what made him resolve not to hazard a Battel with Fabricius, whom he both feared, and esteemed. He employed all his Skill in the military Art, to avoid a Battel; and whatever some Historians may say to the contrary, succeeded in it. As all his Desires now centered in that wealthy Island, he with all Speed sent thither his faithful Cyneas, who was his Forerunner wherever he went. But nevertheless, he had like to have changed his Resolution, during these Transactions. Pyrrhus received Intelligence from his own Country, which kept him some time in suspense. King Ptolomy Ceraunus, had formerly seized Macedon, of which Pyrrhus had been King; and the Death of Ceraunus, who had been killed in a Battel with the Gauls, had now left that Throne vacant. The Macedonians wanted a King to guard them against the Inundations of the Barbarians; and nothing could be more acceptable to the Epirotes than a Kingdom, which formerly belonged to him, and bordered upon his own Dominions. In this Perplexity, he pleasantly complained of Fortune, and said; *Why dost she offer me so many Conquests at once? She oppresses me with the Multitude of her Favours.* So that Pyrrhus, an unfortunate Prince, who was all his Life-time the Sport of his own Passions, wavered between the two Expeditions; but at length determined for Sicily. His Hatred for the Carthaginians, and his Desire of coping with them, made him prefer the Defence of Sicily, to the Recovery of a Crown, which he had been Master. With this view, he separated from his Allies, whom he left alone in the Field, and returned to Tarentum with his Troops.

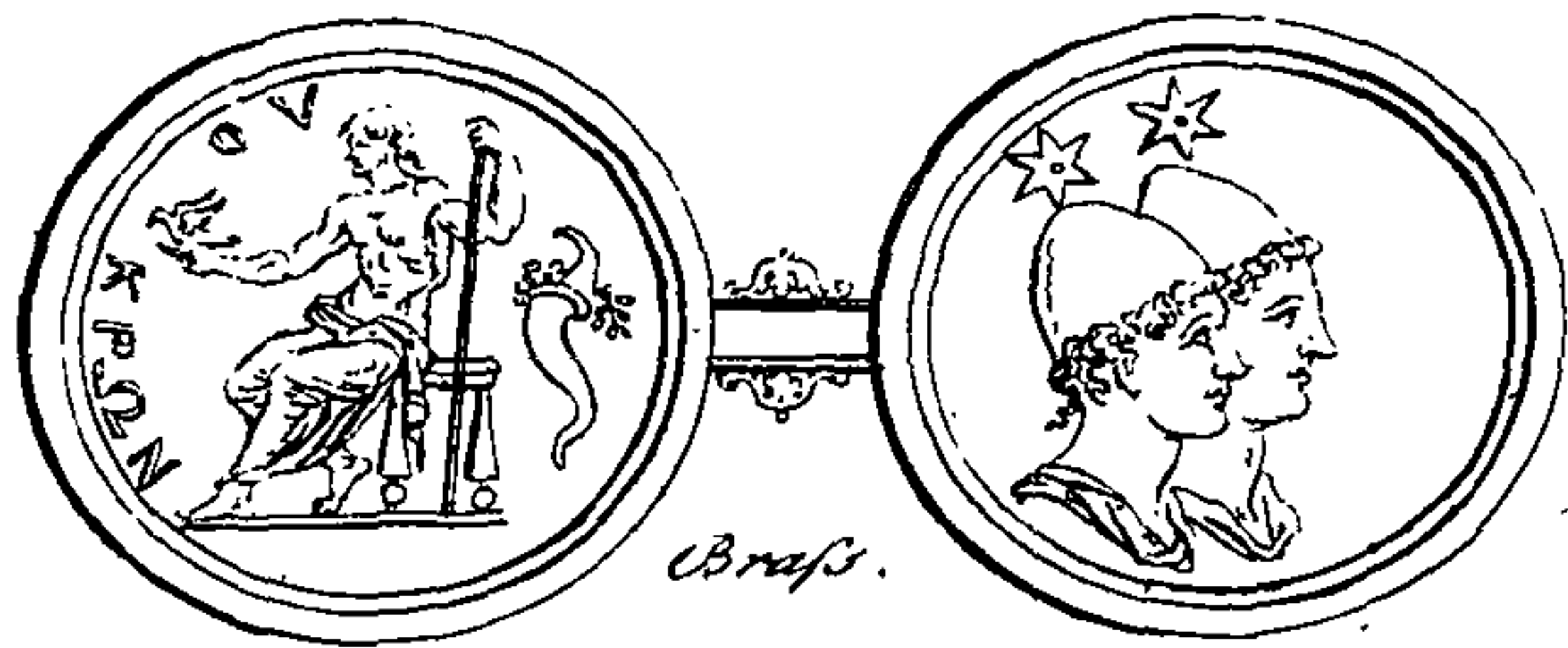
BUT before he embarked, the King assembled the Tarentini, and harangued them in this manner. *I am going to the Relief of a People near Italy, without deserting the Italians, who first implored my Assistance. Two ambitious Republicks are endeavouring the one to deprive you, the other the Sicilians, of Liberty. But Pyrrhus alone is sufficient to put a Stop to the Rapidity of their Conquests. The same Compassion which brought me hither, now carries me to those oppressed and unhappy People, who in*

¹⁰² According to Justin, B. 18. not one Person was seduced by Pyrrhus's Presents; they all, to a Man, rejected them. *Neminem, cujus domus muneribus pateret, invenit.* And Valerius Maximus, B. 4 says the same thing. *Nulla cuiquam dono janua patuit.* And the former gives us much such another Instance of the Disinterestedness of the Romans in the same Year. He says, That the Senate sent Am-

bassadors to Ptolomy King of Egypt (but he does not mention their Business) who would not accept of any of the magnificent Presents the King offered them, as Marks of his great Esteem: and That six Days after, the King invited them to a Feast, and presented them with several Crowns of Gold, which they received, only to crown Ptolomy's statues with them.

me to them. Don't imagine, Tarentini, that I am going to deliver you up to the Mercy of the Enemy: I will return to you upon the first Notice, and bring with me the new Allies I shall have made you, where I am going. My Heart is with you, and as a Pledge of my Affection, Milo shall be my Representative here, and take care of your Safety. As for our faithful Allies, I will give them a yet more convincing Proof of my Attachment to them. The ¹⁰³ Locri shall have my Son Alexander among them as an Hostage. Ought not this sensible Proof of my Confidence in you, merit yours in return? But this artful Speech and Conduct did not satisfy the Tarentini. Since we have called you in, to defend us, said they to Pyrrhus, either continue with us, or leave Tarentum in the Condition, in which you found it. Any Garrison without you, will be burdensome to us. The Tarentini had had time enough to become sensible of the

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¹⁰³ The ancient Geographers give the Inhabitants of the City of Locris in Italy, the Name of *Locri Epizephyrii*, because it stood near the Cape, anciently called *Epizephyrium*, now *Capo Bursano*. Strabo says, its Inhabitants were a Colony of the *Locri* of Greece, who inhabited the Country near *The Gulph of Corinth*, not far from the City of *Crissa*, which he places on an Eminence, which he calls *Esopis*. It is thought, that *Locris* was afterwards removed to that part of *South Italy*, where the City of *Gerazzi* now stands, on the Banks of a River, the Mouth of which made the *Port of the Locri*, or *Portus Locrorum*. The *Locri* who removed into Italy, are distinguished by the Name of *Narycii*, because they were thought to have come originally from an ancient City called *Naryx*, which *Stephens* reckons among the Cities of the Territory of the *Locrian Locri*.

Hic & Narycii posuerunt mania Locri.

Virg. *Æneid.* 3.

The *Locris* here spoken of was famous for the magnificent Temple, which its Inhabitants erected in Honour to *Proserpine*, in the Neighbourhood of their City. Some ancient Monuments prove, that this People worshiped that Goddess, whose Head we find on a Medal, and with it a burning Torch; which alludes to the fabulous Account the Poets give of the Circumstances of the Rape of *Proserpine*. *Pyrrhus* seized the Riches of this Temple; and as a Punishment for his Sacrilege, say the Historians, the sacred Treasures, which he carried on board his Ships, were swallowed up by the Sea. His Fleet was dispersed by a Tempest, and the Ships, which carried these valuable Spoils, run a-ground on the Coasts of the Country of the *Locri*. Upon this, the King of *Epirus*, who attributed this Misfortune

to the Anger of the Goddess, restored her all the Money, which the Tempest had spared, and an equivalent for what had been lost. *Zaleucus* was the first Law-giver, who established a Form of Government in *Locris*. The Historians boast of his Wisdom, and the Equity of his Laws: among which these two are remarkable. One, whereby he forbade all Persons, the Sick not excepted, unless ordered them by their Physicians, to drink any Wine, upon pain of Death. And another, whereby he condemned such Persons, as should be taken in Adultery, to lose their Eyes. The latter was first put rigorously in execution, upon *Zaleucus's* own Son. The Citizens in vain interceded for him; *Zaleucus* was inflexible. He would not have it said, that he first violated his own Laws himself. Nevertheless, that he might shew some Regard to the repeated Requests of the Citizens, and in some Measure give way to his paternal Tenderness, he ordered only one of his Son's Eyes to be put out; and at the same time, lest his Law should be, in any manner, contravened, he inflicted the other part of the Punishment on himself, and put out one of his own. The *Locri* had afterwards great Wars with the *Crotoniates*, whom they at last vanquished. They ascribed their Victory to the Protection of *Castor* and *Pollux*; and in Gratitude for it, built them a stately Temple. They also fancied, that *Jupiter* had declared himself in their Favour, because, according to *Justin*, an Eagle had planed over their Army, till they became Masters of the Field of Battel. And both these Events are represented on the Medals above. On one side of the first are *Castor* and *Pollux*; and on the other *Jupiter*, the tutelary God of the *Locri*. The reverse of the second is an Eagle, with a Palm Branch, the Symbol of Victory.

hard

Year of hard Slavery to which the *Epirot* had reduced them: and they lamented the Loss of their former Indolence. Had *Rome* subdued them, she would at least have let them enjoyed some of their Pleasures, and the Advantages of their Commerce. But it was their Misfortune, to have a Foreigner their Lord, and to see themselves subject to the severe Government of *Milo*, who being Master of their Citadel and City, kept their Persons, Estates, and even Passions, in Captivity. *Pyrrhus's* Orders must be obeyed. *It becomes you*, said he to them, *to wait with Respect and Patience, for the time when I shall come to your Defence. It belongs to me to choose what Season I think most proper for it.* Thus spake *Pyrrhus*, and then set sail, after he had resided two Years and four Months in *Italy*. The Army he carried into *Sicily*, consisted of 30000 Foot, and 2500 Horse, which he transported thither on board his Fleet which consisted of 200 Sail.

Died. Sic. in Excerpt.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Cicero pro Balbo.

Tab. Triumph.

BUT *Pyrrhus's* Departure proved fatal, both to the confederate Nations, who had joined with him, and the *Tarentini*. The two *Roman* Armies parted, and went to carry on the War, in the Countries of the Nations, who were in a Confederacy against the Republick. Then some few Cities of *Hetruria* endeavoured to shake off the *Roman* Yoke; but these were the last Convulsions of their expiring Liberty. The Consul *Æmilius Papus* probably undertook to chastise these Rebels, and quelled them; but his Expedition was not thought to deserve the Honours of a Triumph. As for his Colleague *Fabricius*, he took Advantage of the Absence of *Pyrrhus*, and his *Epirot*, and fell upon the *Bruttii*, *Lucani*, *Tarentini*, and *Samnites*, who were united together, but had lost a Head, who was of more Consequence to them than a whole Army. He defeated them, forced them to leave the Field, and laid their Countries waste. And in order to straiten proud *Tarentum* the more, *Fabricius* brought the City of *Heraclea*, and some other neighbouring Cities, into an Alliance with the *Romans*. For these Exploits a Triumph was decreed him; and his Colleague's not partaking of that Honour with him, is a sufficient Proof that he had no Share in his Victories. *Fabricius* alone entered *Rome* in Triumph, on *The Ides of December*: An Honour which was decreed him, only for having conquered the *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, *Tarentini*, and *Samnites*. But every *Roman* in his own Breast, ascribed to him the Honour of a more glorious Victory. They all thought themselves indebted to his Virtue for *Pyrrhus's* Departure. *It is Fabricius alone*, said they, *who, without fighting, has put the Epirot to flight, merely by the Impressions his Valour and Probity made upon him.*



*A MAP OF ANCIENT SICILY,
otherwise call'd SICANIA and TRINACRIA
by Mons.^r De Lisle, First Geographer to*

T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXII.

§. I. **T**HE Scene on which *Pyrrhus* will next display his Courage, and to which we shall soon see the *Romans* extend their Dominion, is *Sicily*: and it cannot therefore be improper to enquire into the Condition of this Country, at the time *Pyrrhus* made his Descent upon it. This is well known to be the largest, most fruitful, and richest Island in the *Mediterranean*. It is separated from *Italy* only by narrow Streights, which are difficult to pass, though not long. It has ever been thought, That *Sicily* was originally joined to the Continent of *Italy*; and That the Sea breaking in upon the Land, wore it away by Degrees, till it at length made the Channel, which now divides them. *Sicily* is almost of a triangular Form, and was formerly called *Trinacria*, from the three ¹ *Capes*, which ran out into the Sea, at the Extremities of its three Angles. Cape ² *Pelorum* faces *Italy*; Cape ³ *Pachynum*, Greece, or *Peloponnesus*; and Cape ⁴ *Lilybaeum*, *Africa*. And Colonies came successively

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¹ These three Promontories are emblematically represented on Medals, by three Legs and Thighs so disposed, that the three Legs make the three sides of a Triangle: and all center in a Man's Head. The three Ears of Corn, were designed by the Coiner, to denote the Fruitfulness of *Sicily*.

² Cape *Pelorum*, is now called by the Natives, *Capo di Faro*, or *Capo della Torre di Faro*. It took its ancient Name, according to *Valerius Maximus*, B. 9. c. 8. and *Mela*, B. 2. c. 7. from the Pilot *Pelorus*, who was killed by *Hannibal*. They ascribe his Death to the *Carthaginian* General's Jealousy, upon seeing his Ship brought into the Streights of *Sicily*, between *Italy*, and that Island. He fancied the Pilot was going to surrender her up to the *Romans*. But he was afterwards sensible of his Mistake; and to make some Amends for it, paid him all funeral Honours, and erected a Statue to his Memory, in the Place where the Promontory stands. If the Reader pleases, he may consult these two Historians; but indeed, they agree so little in the Circumstances of their Story, and there are such manifest Contradictions in it, that some have with Reason doubted of the Truth of the Fact. Moreover, this Promontory gave Name to the *Faro of Messina*. These famous Streights reach from the Tower of the *Faro*, which is the most northern Point of the Island, over against the Town of

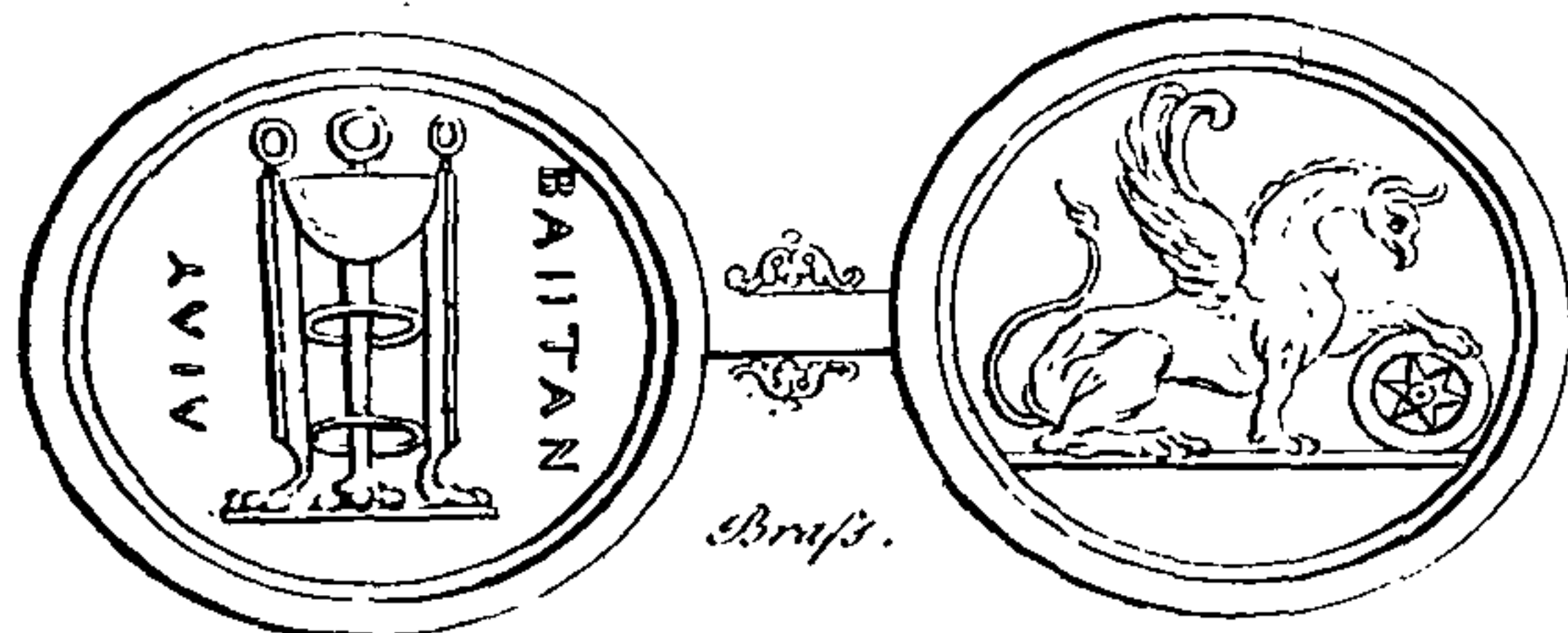
Sciglio, to the *Capo dell Armi*, or *Cape of Arms*, which is the most southern Point of *Calabria*. They are thought to be thirty thousand geometrical Paces long, and twelve thousand or fifteen thousand wide, in the broadest Place. They are famous for the Rapidity of the Currents, and the Flux, and Reflux of the Sea, which return every six Hours, and sometimes with such Violence, that the Ships riding at Anchor, are in Danger of perishing. The two famous Shelves of *Sylla* and *Charybdis*, so much celebrated by the Poets, are at the North Entrance into the Streights, at a little Distance from the Cape.

³ Cape *Pachynum* is the most eastern, and the most southern Point of *Sicily*. It is now *Capo Pessaro*, or *Pessalo*, in the *Valley of Noto*, one of the three Provinces of this Kingdom. The two others are, the *Valley of Mazara* to the West, and that of *Demona* to the North. At the left Hand of Cape *Pachynum*, there was formerly a Port, of the same Name. *Cicero* mentions it in his *Fifth Oration against Verres*.

⁴ Cape *Lilybaeum*, is now called *Capo di Marsella*, or *Capo di Boeo*. It lies on the West of *Sicily*, in the *Valley of Mazara*. *Ælian*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Valerius Maximus*, all say, that a certain Person, to whom they give the Surname of *Strabo*, had such excellent Sight, that he could from this Cape, distinguish all the Ships, that came out of the Port of *Carthage*. And yet *Strabo* reckons the Passage to be

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fively from *Italy*, and *Greece*, and settled themselves in *Sicily*, before the *Africans* attempted the Conquest of this fine Country. When *Pyrrhus* arrived there, the *Sicilians* were subject to three different Nations, which shared their Country among them, and kept them in Slavery. ⁶ *Messana* on the side of *Italy*, *Lilybæum* towards *Carthage*



1500 *Stadia* over, that is, 187500 geometrical Paces. But *Pliny* and *Solinus* make it no more than 135000. The City of *Lilybæum* gave this Cape its Name. It was formerly one of the most considerable and strongest Cities in *Italy*. *Tully* gives us this Account of it, in his *Fifth Oration against Verres*. *Testis Splendidissima civitas Lilybatana*. *Strabo* says, B. 6. that it was in being in his time. There is nothing of it now remaining, but Ruins. The City of *Marsala* was built near it; and we now find the Ruins of some Aqueducts, and Buildings in that Neighbourhood. Old *Lilybæum* had a Port, which was a safe Retreat for Ships, even in *Julius Caesar's* time, according to *Hirtius* in his *History of the African War*. The *Romans* indeed endeavoured several times to fill up this Port, during their Wars with *Carthage*; but their Attempts were fruitless. The Heaps of Stones which they threw into it, were too weak to resist the Violence of the Sea, and of Tempests. *Diodorus Siculus* says, B. 22. that the *Carthaginians* first laid the Foundations of *Lilybæum*, after *Dionysius the Tyrant*, had taken the City of *Motya* from them. And according to the same Author, B. 14. the taking of this City coincides with the fourth Year of the 95th *Olympiad*, which was about the Year before Christ 397. But if *Lilybæum* was then founded, how shall we account for *Diodorus's* supposing, B. 11. that it existed above fifty two Years before, that is, in the third Year of the 81st *Olympiad*? This last Author affirms, that it suffered a ten Years Siege from the *Carthaginians*, during the Wars they made with the *Romans*, in *Sicily*. *Solinus* reports, c. 11. that the Sepulchre of the *Sybil of Cumæ*, was formerly to be seen near *Lilybæum*: and *Isidorus* attests the same thing, *De Origin.* B. 8. c. 8. *Diodorus* speaks of a Well at *Lilybæum*, whose Waters had, according to him, this wonderful Virtue, that all those who drunk of them, were suddenly seized with a prophetick Enthusiasm, and foretold Things to come. And therefore the Inhabitants of this City paid a particular worship to *Apollo*, as appears by the Medal above; on one side of which is a Griffin, which is known to have been consecrated to *Apollo*; and on the other, the *Tripod*, from which the *Sybil* used to utter her Oracles.

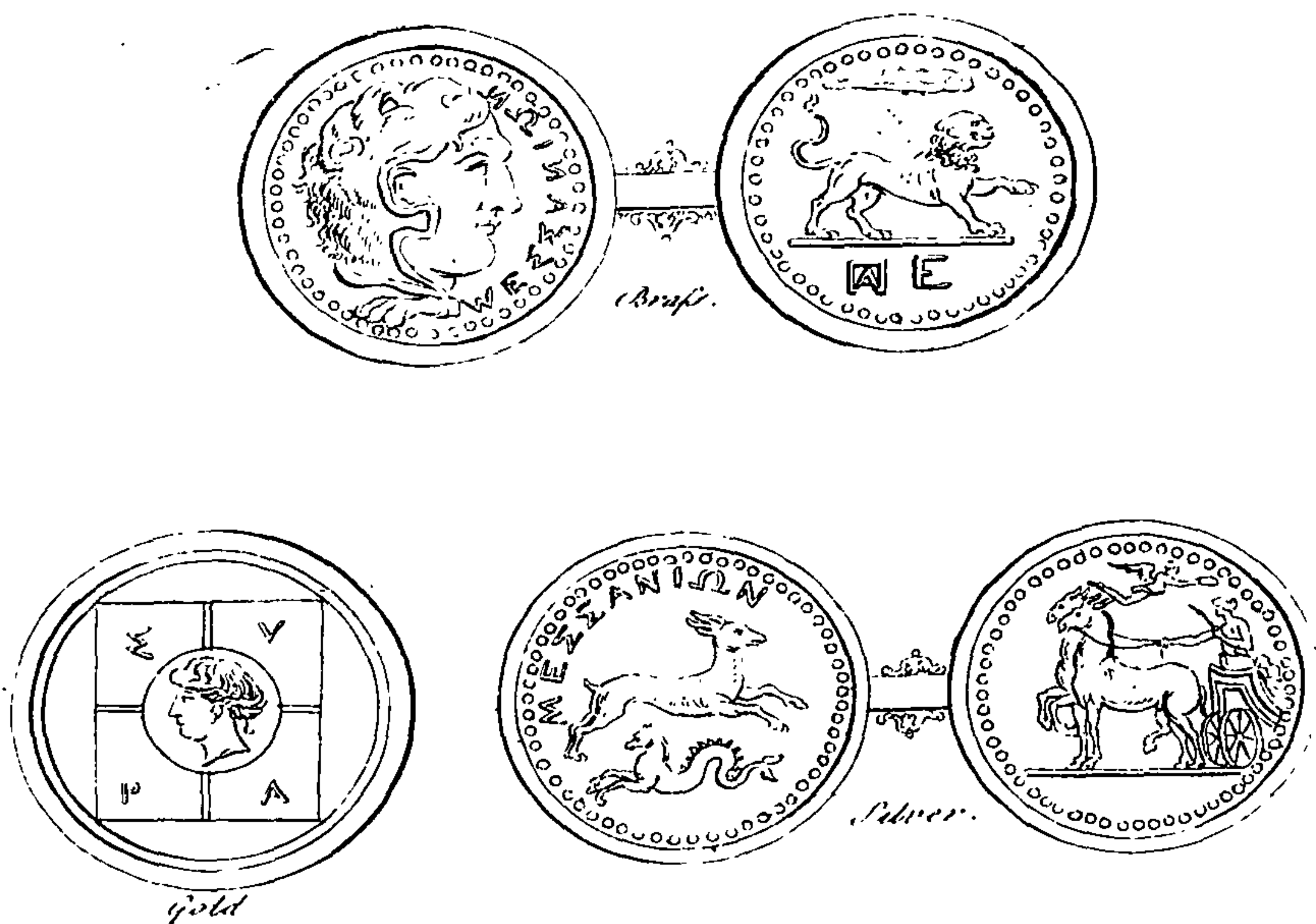
5 The *Cyclopes*, and *Laestrigones*, were, according to *Justin*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Thucydides*, deemed the first Inhabitants of the Territory of *Leontium* in *Sicily*, near Mount *Ætna*. Nevertheless the last of these Writers confesses, that he knew nothing of their Origin, but what he had learnt from Poets and Fables. That there formerly were *Cyclopes*, some Moderns have pretended to demonstrate, by the Remains of some dead Bodies of a gigantick Size,

which are found in several Parts of this Island. The Reader may consult *Thomas Frazerellus's History of Sicily*, Decad. 1. B. 1. c. 7. on this Head. *Marianus Valguarnera*, in his Book *Of the first Inhabitants of Sicily*, omits nothing that could help him to prove that these Giants, were descended from *Japhet*, and came into this Country, after the Confusion of Languages. The Inhumanity of the People with regard to Strangers, and the Fire, which *Ætna*, a part of their Territory, was continually vomiting out, gave Occasion to the Fiction of the Poets, That the *Cyclopes* fed upon human Flesh, and were employed by *Vulcan* to make Thunderbolts for *Jupiter*. Among the other Nations that inhabited *Sicily*, the Ancients reckon the *Phæaces*, and *Sicani*: and some of them, particularly *Dion. Hal. R. Antiq.* B. 1, make the latter to have come from the Banks of the *Segre*, a River in *Spain*. They were driven out, says he, by the *Siculi*, an ancient People of *Ausonia* properly called, according to *Hellenicus of Lesbos*, or *Liguria*, according to *Philistus*. These New comers, under the Command of *Siculus*, drove the *Sicani* out of a great part of the Island, which from them was before called *Sicania*, but now *Sicily* from the time of this Invasion of the *Siculi*. Afterwards, the Riches of this fertile Country, drew a great Number of *Phœnicians* thither, who mixed with the *Sicilians*. And in process of time, several Colonies from *Crete*, *Thessaly*, *Phocis*, and several other Cantons of *Greece*, left their native Countries to come and settle in *Sicily*.

6 The City of *Messana* was originally called *Zancle*; either because the Shore, on which it was built, turned round, in the Shape of an Hook, which the *Sicilians* called *Zancle*; or from one *Zancle* whom some Historians make Governor of it. Be that as it will, if the Chronologists don't stake in their Calculations, *Zancle*, or *Messana* now *Messina*, was founded 530 Years, before the Siege of *Troy*, and 964 Years before *Romulus* laid the Foundations of *Rome*. When the Inhabitants of this City were ruined by the Incursions of the Pirates of *Cumæ*, and of some other Nations, who joined with them, they had recourse to the *Messenians*, a People of *Greece*; who hastening to the Assistance of *Zancle*, drove away the *Cumæans*, made an Alliance with the Citizens, and settled in the City; which was from them called *Messenium* by the *Greeks*, and *Messana* by the *Latins*. See *Thucyd.* B. 1; *Pausanias* in *Messenicis*; and *Strabo*, Geog. B. 6. These three Authors agree in the main, though they vary in Circumstances. The second says, that *Anaxila*, The Tyrant of *Rhegium*, joined with the *Messenians* against the City of *Zancle*.

Carthage, and 7 Syracuse towards Greece, were as it were three Capitals of three different Nations, who had possessed themselves of the Island, and extended their Dominions to the Center of it. *Messana* is said to have been subject to Tyrants, who came from Italy, seized it by Fraud, and kept it by Injustice. According to the *Latins*, these Usurpers were originally *Campani*, and gave themselves the Name of *Mamertini*, that is, *Invincible Warriors*, from the Word *Mamers*, or *Mavors*, which signified the God *Mars*, in several Countries in *Italy*. The *Mamertini* then, a bold and resolute sort of People, were invited into *Sicily* by King *Agathocles*, to assist him in his Conquests:

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and overthrew its Forces, in a Sea-fight. After which, he, with the Assistance of these new Allies, possessed himself of all the Territory of the *Zancleans*, settled in their Capital, and gave it the Name of *Messana*, in Compliment to the *Messenii*, who had expedited his Conquests. *Pausanias* places this Event in the 29th Olympiad, when *Miltiades* was the supreme Magistrate at *Athens*. *Herodotus* mentions this Expedition, B. 6. and ascribes all the Glory of it to the People of *Samos*, who were commanded by *Anaxila*. These Disagreements disable the best Criticks from forming any Judgment of these Things, especially of the Origin of Nations. We have often remarked the strange Differences of Authors, on that Subject. We have several Medals yet preserved, which bear the Name of *Messana*. Perhaps, the Victory *Anaxila* gained in the *Olympick Games*, the Hares he is said by the Historians of that time to have first brought into *Sicily*, and the Worship the *Sicilians* paid to *Hercules*, are all alluded to, in the Medals above. The Face of the first, is the Head of an *Hercules*; and its reverse, the *Nemean Lion*, and his Club. On one side of another is a Hare; and on the other side of it is a Chariot drawn by two Horses, with a winged *Victory*, holding a Crown over the Driver.

7 *Syracuse* was then one of the most famous Cities in the World, for the Advantage of its Situation, its prodigious Extent, and the Beauty of its Buildings. The *Abridger of Stephens*, and *Marcian of Heraclea* say, it took its Name from a neighbouring Pond, called *Syraco*. It was built, according to *Thucydides* and *Strabo*, by *Archias*, one of the *Heracleidae*, who came from *Corinth* to *Sicily*, in the second Year of the eleventh Olympiad. *Cicero* highly commends *Syracuse*, in his *Fourth Ora-*

tion against *Verres*. He chiefly boasts of its beautiful Appearance, the Convenience of its Ports, and the Stateliness of its Buildings. Besides the Quarter called *Epipole*, *Syracuse* contained within its Circumference, four considerable Cities; *Acradina*, *Tyche*, *Neapolis*, or *The New City*, and the Island of *Ortygia*. These four Parts of this immense Place, are represented on the reverse of the other Medal above, by a Square, with these Greek Letters, ΣΥΡΑ, which signify *Syracuse*, in the four Angles of the Figure. *Strabo* makes the Walls of this City to have been 180 *Stadia*, that is, about eight Leagues in Compass. In *Acradina*, the largest Part of the four, there was a large Square, surrounded with Portico's; a magnificent Temple, dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*; the *Prytaneum*, or Town-house; and a spacious Palace, in which Justice was administered: not to mention several other Buildings, which were remarkable for their Architecture. *Altera autem est urbs Syracusis, cui nomen Acradina est, in qua Forum maximum, Pulcherrimæ Porticus, Ornatissimum Prytaneum, amplissima Curia, Templumque egregium Jovis Olympii; ceteræque urbis partes, unâ latâ via perpetuâ multisque transversis divisæ, privatis ædificiis continentur.* This Quarter was divided from *Neapolis*, and *Tyche*, by a Range of very thick Walls, against which the Waves of the Sea beat. The second City, called *Tyche*, lay between *Acradina*, and *Epipola*, so that it had the former to the East, and *Neapolis* to the South. Among its Ornaments, is chiefly reckoned, a very large and beautiful *Gymnasium*, to which the Youth resorted, to learn all bodily Exercises. Several of its Temples were admired for their Structure, and among the rest that of *Fortune*, whom the *Greeks* call *Tûnn*; and from which Temple, this part of *Syracuse*

Year of quests: and they at first kept themselves within due Bounds, and served the King with Fidelity and Courage. Afterwards, they were admitted as Allies in *Messana*; which was ill requited by their Treachery. They were charmed with an Habitation, which called to their Remembrance the Delights of their native Country, resolved to settle there, make themselves Masters of the City, and erect a Republick in it, after their own manner. The ancient Inhabitants of *Messana* fell Sacrifices to their Ambition; and were all put to the Sword, except the Wives and Daughters, whom the Usurpers married. The *Mamertini*, by their Valour, and by the Help of the Suc-

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Syracuse took its Name of *Tyche*, if *Cicero* may be credited. *Quod in ea parte Fanum antiquum fuit Tyche nominata est; in qua, Gymnasium amplissimum est, & complures Aedes sacræ, coliturque ea pars, & habitatur frequentissime.* The third Quarter, called *The Island of Ortygia*, was joined to *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, by a Bridge. The Palace of *Hiero*, in which the *Roman Prætors* afterwards lodged, was one of its finest Ornaments. Besides which, there were two stately Temples in it, one of *Diana*, and the other of *Minerva*, which were admired by all Spectators. The Inhabitants of *Syracuse*, worshiped these two Goddesses with singular Devotion; as appears by the ancient Medals, which are yet in being. The Face of the first of those above, is the Head of a *Diana*, with this Inscription ΣΥΤΕΙΡΑ, to shew that *Syracuse* was indebted to her for its Safety and Splendor. On the second, we see the same Goddess, in the Habit of an Huntress. On the third, is a military Goddess, representing *Minerva*, or *Pallas*. *Cicero* speaking of *Syracuse*, gives us this Account of *The Island of Ortygia*. *Ea tanta est urbs, ut ex quatuor urbibus maximis constare dicatur, quarum una est ea, quam dixi, Insula, quæ duobus portibus cincta in utriusque portus ostium, aditumque projecta est; in qua domus est, quæ Regia Hieronis fuit, qua Prætores uti solent. In ea sunt ædes sacræ complures, sed duæ, quæ longe cæteris antecellunt, Diana una, & altera quæ fuit, ante istius [Verris] adventum, ornatissima Minerva. Quæ appellatur insula, mari disjuncta, angusto ponte rursus adjungitur, & continetur.* The last City of the four was called *Neapolis*, or *The New City*, because built after the other three. There was a great Amphitheatre in it, and two Temples of admirable Architecture, one consecrated to *Ceres*, the other to *Libera*, or *Proserpine*. But the famous Statue of *Apollo Temenites*, which was afterwards carried to *Rome*, was so large, and so beautifully carved, that it was the most valuable Monument in *Neapolis*. *Quarta autem est Urbs, as Cicero goes on in his Fourth Oration against Verres, quæ quia postrema ædificata est, Neapolis nominatur; quam ad summam theatrum est maximum, præterea duo templa sunt egregia, Cereris alterum, alterum Liberæ, signumque Apollinis, qui Temenites vocatur, pulcherrimum, & maximum.* Of these four Cities, only *The Island of Ortygia* is now remaining, which the *Italians* call *Syracosa*,

and the *Spaniards* *Saragossa*. Some Footsteps are yet to be seen of the other Parts of old *Syracuse*, in the Ruins of the Buildings, and the Remains of the Portico's, Temples, and Palace. The famous *Fountain of Arethusa*, of which the Poets, and Romance Writers of those Times, have told us so many wonderful things, rises in this Island. *Cicero* tells us, that it abounded with all sorts of Fish, and was so large and deep, that it might have been taken for a great River, *In hac Insula extrema, est fons aquæ dulcis, cui nomen Arethusa est, incredibili magnitudine, plenissimus piscium.* A Peer of Stone kept the Sea from overflowing it. *Qui fluctu totius operiretur, nisi munitione ac mole lapidum, a mari disjunctus esset.* It has long disappeared, and its Spring dried up. In the Quarter of *Epipole*, there were places called *Latomie*, which *Dionysius* had dug in the Rock. The Entrance into these Quarries was so defended on all sides, that it was inaccessible; and this was the Prison, in which the Tyrant shut up all those, who had the Misfortune to incur his Displeasure. *Cicero* gives us this Account of it. *Latomias Syracusanas omnes audistis. Opus est ingens magnificum Regum ac Tyrannorum, totum est Saxo in mirandam altitudinem depresso, & multorum operis penitus exciso. Nihil tam clausum ad exitus, nihil tam septum undique, nihil tam tutum ad custodias, nec fieri, nec cogitari, potest. Carcer ille, qui est a crudelissimo Tyranno factus Syracusis, &c.* This Cave was 125 geometrical Paces long, and two Plethra, or 200 Feet broad. The Walls of *Syracuse* were flanked with Towers, in such a manner, that the little Castles which were built round it, at certain Distances, made it almost impregnable. It was several times attacked by numerous Armies, and forced them to raise the Siege. The Conquest of it was reserved for the *Romans*, who took it at last, as we shall see hereafter, where we will give an exact Map of *Syracuse*. Before it was taken by *Marcellus*, it underwent several Revolutions. It was sometimes governed by Kings, and sometimes was a Republick, yet still retained a great a Degree of Power, that *Gelon*, in the Year of *Rome* 260, and the other Tyrants, who usurped the Government of *Syracuse*, became formidable both to the People of *Greece*, and *Asia*. *Dionysius the Younger*, who governed in this City, had 10000 Foot and 10000 Horse in Pay; and a Fleet of 400 Sail.

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cours they received from *Rhegium* (where a *Roman Legion*, all Men of *Campania*, had settled themselves, by following their Example, in murdering the Citizens, who had called them in to their Assistance) maintained themselves in their Usurpation, at a time, when *Sicily* was a Prey to an hundred Tyrants; and their Dominion encreasing by Degrees, it now reached to the middle of the Island.

BUT the *Carthaginians*, reckoning from *Lilybæum*, had already made a greater Progress in the Conquest of the Island, than the *Mamertini*. After those Conquerors had invaded *Sardinia*, they had long made Attempts upon *Sicily*. Though often repulsed from this Island, which lay so very conveniently for them, they as often returned; and their Eagerness to conquer it had been much quickened, since the Death of King *Agathocles*. So that being Masters of the Sea, they had extended their Conquests in *Sicily*, partly by Negotiation, and partly by Force, and had acquired a vast Tract of Ground. All things considered, the *Carthaginians* were become the most prevailing Nation, and the most formidable Tyrants in the Island.

INDEED, *Syracuse* and its extensive Territory, were not yet subject to the *Carthaginians*; but the bare Name of the *African Republick* made the *Syracusans* tremble. Their City had undergone many Revolutions since the poisoning of King *Agathocles*. *Moeno*, his Assassin, had usurped a sort of tyrannical Authority there; and being afterwards expelled the City by *Hycetas*, a *Prætor* of *Syracuse*, *Moeno* had had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, and had put himself under their Protection. Hence arose the War the *Syracusans* were obliged to enter into, with those who espoused *Moeno's* Interest. *Hycetas* took Advantage of the Want his Country was in, of his Valour and Ability; perpetuated himself in the Magistracy; and governed *Syracuse* nine Years like a Sovereign Prince, without any Collegue. Nay, he even ventured to take the Field, and march against *Phintias*, the Head of the *Agrigentini*; but his Absence turned to his Disadvantage. One *Toenion* took hold of this Opportunity to dispossess *Hycetas*, made himself *Prætor* of *Syracuse*, and usurped the Government of it. But the Nobility of the Country, could not bear the too absolute Power of the new *Prætor*. *Toenion* had his Competitors. *Sosistrates*, among others, aspired at the Supremacy in his City, formed his Cabals, and shared the Hearts and Hands of the *Syracusans* with *Toenion*. *Syracuse* was then divided, as it were, into two distinct Cities; the one built on the main Land of *Sicily*, the other on the Island of *Ortygia*, which was separated from it by an Arm of the Sea: and these two distinct Parts of the same City, were united by a Bridge. *Toenion* possessed himself of that part, which was in the Island of *Ortygia*, and *Sosistrates* of that which was in *Sicily*. So that the War which ensued between the two Competitors was properly a civil War, and carried on in their

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Diod. Sic. in
Eclog. L. 21.



Medal.

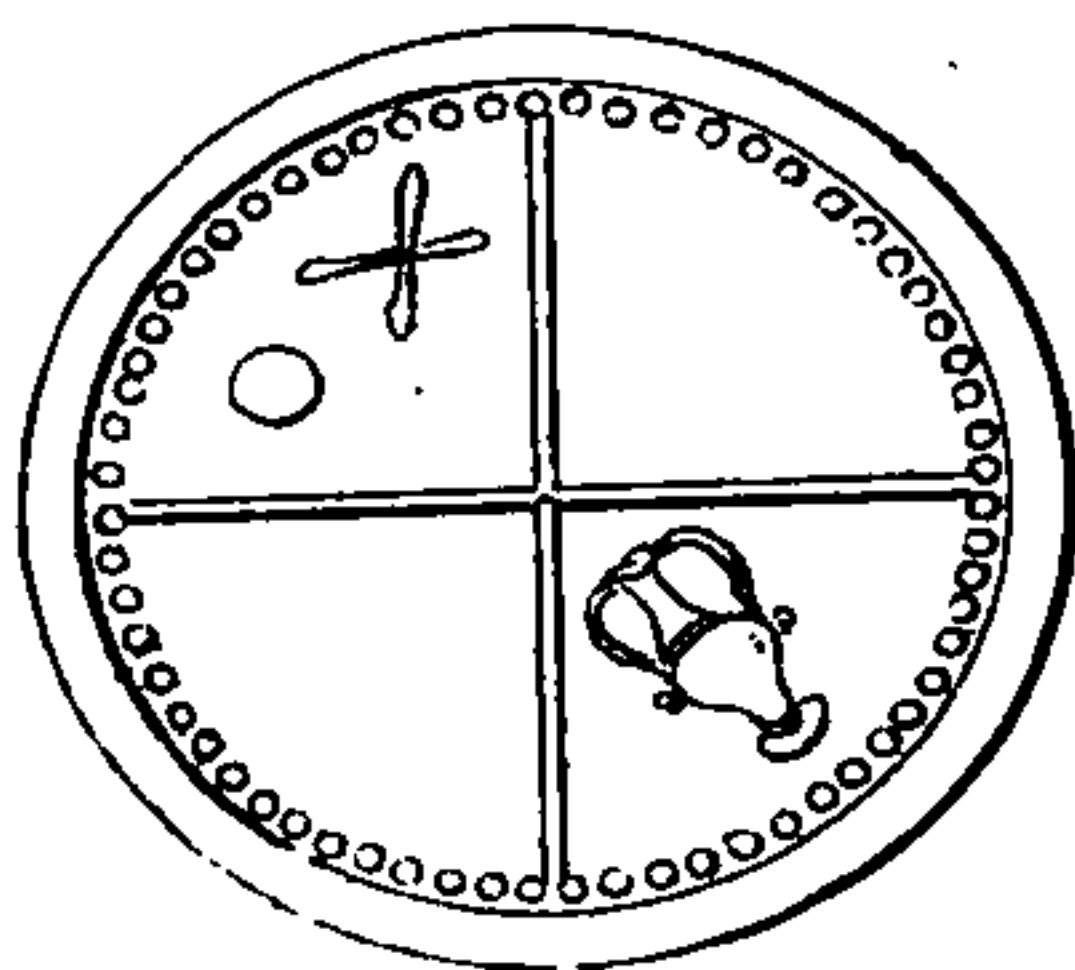
⁸ *Agrigentum*, called by the Greeks *Ἀγρίγεντιον*, now *Gergenti*, *Girgenti*, and *Giorgenti*, was one of the most wealthy, and most considerable Cities in *Sicily*. The Inhabitants of *Gela* first laid the Foundations of it, under the Direction of the *Diumviri*, *Aristo* and *Pistillus*. According to *Thucydides*, B. 6. it was built about the 99th Olympiad, between the Rivers *Agragas* and *Hypsa*: The former of which is now called, *Fiume di Gergenti*, *Fiume di Sancto Biagio*, and *Fiume di Naro*; and the latter, *Fiume Drago*. We may judge of the Grandeur and Situation of Old *Agrigentum*, by the Description *Polybius* gives us of it. It excels, says he, most Cities in *Sicily*, for its Fortifications, which guard it from all attacks; and for its beautiful Appearance, and magnificent Buildings. It stands 118 Stadia, that is, five Leagues from the Sea, and can conveniently import by Water, all Sorts of Provisions, and Conveniences of Life. Its Situation and Fortifications make it one of the strongest Places in the Island. Its Walls are built upon a Rock, which by much La-

bour, is made almost inaccessible. The River from which it took its Name, covers it to the South, and the *Hypsa* to the West: and to the East, it is defended by a Fortress, on the Edge of a Precipice, which guards it instead of a Ditch. Among other remarkable Buildings in it, there was a Temple of *Minerva*, another of *Jupiter Olympius*; and another of *Jupiter Atabyris*, so called from a Mountain in *Rhodes*, called *Atabyris*, on which that God was worshiped. Some People, who came originally from *Rhodes*, founded *Gela* first, and then *Agrigentum*, and gave a Mountain in *Sicily* this Name, in Memory of their native Country. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that the Citadel called *Omphace*, which defended *Agrigentum*, was much more ancient than the City itself, and stood at a little Distance from the Mouth of the *Agragas*, and upon the Banks of the *Hypsa*. It was deemed a maritime City, which is symbolically represented by the Crab and Fish, on the Medal above.

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common City: till at length, the two Heads grew tired of a Quarrel, which could only end in their common Ruin. It was natural for *Carthage* to take Advantage of their Divisions, and *Syracuse* had nothing more to fear, than the *Carthaginian* Yoke. A Regard therefore to the common Good, united the two Rivals, whose Ambition had occasioned their Contests. They both joined together in inviting *Pyrrhus* into *Sicily*, to put an end to the Troubles there, and to expel those who had usurped a Dominion in it. They had many Reasons for chusing to have Recourse to the King of *Epirus*, rather than to any of the many Sovereigns, who reigned in *Europe* and *Asia*. *Pyrrhus* was the Son-in-law of *Agathocles* their last King. He had had one Son at least, by *Lanessa*, the Daughter of *Agathocles*, and it was very reasonable to place the Grandson, on the Throne of his Grandfather. Besides, by the Reputation he had acquired by his personal good Qualities, and his Arms, he seemed to be the only General, able to make Head against the *Carthaginians*. The People of *Leontini* and the *Agrigentini* also, joined with *Toenion* and *Sofistrates*, in pressing *Pyrrhus* to come and take upon him the Government of a State, which was considerable, by the Union of several Cities. *Syracuse* was already invested by a *Carthaginian* Fleet, and an Army of 50000 Men threatened it by Land. Indeed *Cyneas*, who arrived in *Sicily* some few Days before *Pyrrhus*, had already begun, in some Measure, to restore it to its Security; which the Presence of his Master, alone could establish.

THESE 10 Motives of Glory and Interest therefore had hastened the Departure of the



Silver.



Silver.

9 The City of *Leontini*, was founded by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*, under the Command of *Theocles* the *Athenian*, in the first Year of the 13th Olympiad, after they had built *Naxos* in *Sicily*, according to *Thucydides*, B. 6. Several Antiquaries are of Opinion, that the Lion on the second Medal above, alludes to the Name of this City. *Polybius*, B. 7. gives us this Account of *Leontini*. In the midst of the City is a great square Market-place, which terminates in a gentle Declivity; and there a publick Market is kept, for the Sale of all sorts of Provisions. In this Market-place stands the Building, in which the Magistrates and Judges meet, to deliberate about the publick Affairs of the Nation, and to administer Justice. This *Forum* is surrounded on both sides by steep Hills, which take up a great deal of Ground, and are covered with a great many Houses, and some Temples. *Leontini* is divided into two Quarters. One stands towards *Syracuse* to the South, the other lies to the North, towards the Plains called, *The Plains of Leontini*. Its Territory is watered by the River *Lissus*, which runs at the Foot of a Rock, and falls into the River *Terias*, now *Fiume di Sancto Leonardo*. This River runs at the Distance of a thousand Paces from *Leontini*. *Thucydides* says, this City was defended by two Citadels; one of which he calls *Ara Phocæa*, and the other *Ara Bricinnia*. Near it was a very Fishy Lake, which was twenty Miles in Compass. The Marshes it made by its overflowing, emitted pestilential Vapours in the Summer; and therefore the Ancients say, that the Air of *Leontini* was very unwholesome. But to make Amends for that, its Fields were so fruitful, that they, according to *Pliny*, brought forth an hundred Fold. For this Reason, *Cicero* calls it *Caput rei frumentariae*. Its Wines were thought the most delicious of any in *Sicily*; but the Inhabitants abused this Benefit, by their Intemperance: whence the Proverb, *Leontini semper ad pocula*: i. e. *The People of Leontini are always at their Cups*. The great Plenty

of Vineyards in their Territory, is evidently pointed out by the Wine-vessel, on the reverse of the Medal above, which is taken out of *Beger's Cabinet*. *Dionysius the Tyrant* was long very ambitious of conquering *Leontini*; and he at last made himself Master of it, by Capitulation, and removed the Inhabitants of this City to *Syracuse*.

10 *Pyrrhus* was already proposing to himself the Conquest of *Sicily*, being pressed to go thither by the Deputies of *Syracuse*, *Agrigentum*, and *Leontini*, who were come to him, to give him Possession of those three Cities. And at the same time he received Advice by some Ambassadors, who came from *Greece*, that *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, had been killed in a Battel with the *Gauls*, who had spread themselves all over *Macedon*. They represented to him, that this was very favourable Opportunity for him, to reconquer a Kingdom, he had formerly possessed. The Throne was then vacant, says *Plutarch* (from whom we take this Account) and *Macedon*, which wanted a King, ready to receive *Pyrrhus* with open Arms. But when *Plutarch* said this, he did not consider that this *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, the Brother of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, had lost his Life in the Consulship of *Levinus*, three Years before the *Greek* Ambassadors arrived. The *Macedonians* then had a King. Three or four were reckoned to have mounted the Throne successively, after the Loss of that Battel; as *Meleager*, *Antipater*, *Sosthenes*, and *Antigonus*, who then filled it. *Plutarch* meant, that the Ambassadors assured *Pyrrhus*, That the last had only the Name of a King, and That the *Macedonians* waited only for his Arrival, in order to declare openly for him. Upon this News, the King of *Epirus*, continues *Plutarch*, complained bitterly of *Fortun* who, so very unseasonably, opened to him, two such different Ways to extend his Conquests, both at the same time. And being forced to set Bound to his Ambition, one way or the other, he deliberated which to chuse: and at last, after many Uncertainties, determined to make War in *Sicily*. Almo

the King of *Epirus*. He had already embarked at *Tarentum*, and was come a great way towards the Island, with only his own Fleet; when *Toenion*, impatient of his Arrival, met him with the Ships of the *Syracusans*. The King made a Descent into *Sicily*, with the Acclamations of a great Nation who submitted to him; and immediately put him in Possession of their Cities, Ships, and publick Treasures. All the Ports on the Coast, which submitted to him, resounded with the Name of *Pyrrhus*, and Victory seemed to have landed with him. It was a common thing for *Pyrrhus* to be adored at first, by the People in all Places wherever he came. Before they became acquainted, they were charmed with him; but as soon as they knew him, they were undeceived, and the Esteem of the Publick turned to Aversion. This had been the Case at *Macedon*, and at *Tarentum*; and this was now the Case in *Sicily*. His first Exploits were worthy of the greatest Heroes. He drove the *Carthaginians* from Port to Port, till he at length cleared the Country of them. He took ¹¹ *Eryx* from them, which was thought impregnable. He was himself the first Man, who mounted the Walls, and with his own Hand, killed a great Number of *Africans*, who were affrighted at his very Looks. In short, he deprived the *Carthaginians* of all the Places they had conquered, except *Lilybæum*. Nor was this enough to satisfy him. The *Mamertini* also, those other Tyrants of *Sicily*, felt the Effects of his Courage. *Pyrrhus* defeated them in a pitched Battel, drove them out of the Lands they possessed, and reduced them to their *Messana* only. And so many Exploits would have made *Pyrrhus* absolute Master of *Sicily*, had his Conduct been equal to his Valour. He already depended so much upon the Reduction of the *Sicilians*, that he caused one of his younger Sons to be stiled King of *Sicily*, and the other King of *Italy*.

§. II. But whilst *Pyrrhus* was busy in defending the *Sicilians* against their Usurpers, *Rome* took all the Advantages his Absence offered her. After *Fabricius's* ¹² Triumph was over, the *Centuries* were assembled in the *Campus Martius*, to elect new Consuls. *Fabricius*, who presided in the Assembly, had gained so high a Reputation by his Virtue, that he was become Master of the Elections. Among the Candidates was one *P. Cornelius Ruffinus*, an able Soldier, but covetous, and self-interested, to an Excess. This made him odious to *Fabricius*, who was of a quite contrary Character; and *Ruffinus* himself despaired of being nominated to the *Consulate* by the poorest, and the most abstemious, of all the *Romans*. So that he was much surprized to see *Fabricius* vote for him, and incline the *Centuries* in his Favour: And when he was elected, he returned his Benefactor thanks, and told him how much he was surprized, that *Fabricius* should think him worthy of his Suffrage. To which the honest *Fabricius* frankly and openly answered, *That he had rather see the Roman People plundered a little by a Consul, than brought into Subjection by a formidable Enemy*. An ingenuous Declaration, which did honour to *Fabricius*, and was very proper both to restrain the Covetousness of *Ruffinus*, and encrease his Bravery in Battel. The Colleague the *Centuries* gave *Ruffinus*, was *C. Junius Brutus*. They were both now raised to the *Consulship*, the second time; but the two Generals did not divide their Forces. They both marched their Armies to one *Rendezvous*, and carried on the War jointly. What induced them not to march directly to *Tarentum*, and lay Siege to it, I cannot

almost all the Inhabitants of the Island opened their Arms to him, and prepared the Way for conquest. Besides, its Neighbourhood to *Africa* opened a large Field for the Exercise of his Valour. So that, after many Struggles, he preferred *Sicily* to *Macedonia*.

¹¹ *Eryx* stood on the Top of a Hill of the same name near the Sea, at a little Distance from the place where *Trapani del Monte* now stands. This was famous for the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, in which we have spoken, B. I. p. 5. of the first volume, Note 19. The People of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, came thither in Crouds to pay their Vows, and make their Offerings to the Goddess. We have yet some Traces of the Worship which was paid her, in an antique Marble, which has this Inscription, *DEÆ VENERI ERYCINÆ SACRUM*. It was dug up in the very Hill, on which the Temple stood. The Mythologists say, this City was founded by one *Eryx*, the Son of *Buthes*, and *Venus*. The taking of this Place, which was by its Situation one of the strongest in *Sicily*, was thought by the *Romans* an Enterprize of such Importance, and at

the same time so difficult, that he thought it necessary to secure himself the Protection of *Hercules*, before he began so dangerous an Attempt. He made a Vow, says *Plutarch*, to celebrate publick Games, to the Honour of that God, and to offer Sacrifices to him, if in the Siege of the City, he shewed himself worthy of his Ancestors. *Eryx* was taken by Assault; and in Gratitude for it, the King of *Epirus* performed his Vow, offered Sacrifices to *Hercules*, and entertained the *Sicilians* with the Games he had promised.

¹² According to the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Fabricius* triumphed a second time, over the *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, *Tarentini*, and *Samnites*, on *The Ides of December*, in the Year of *Rome* 475. And in this they agree with *Plutarch*. He tells us, That *Fabricius* conquered the *Lucani* and *Samnites*, after *Pyrrhus* was gone for *Sicily*; and That the Republick honoured him with a Triumph on Account of his Victory.

¹³ The Consuls for this Year, had been *Consuls* once before, though neither *The Greek Tables*, nor *Zonaras*, nor *Cassiodorus*, mention their first *Consulship*.

discover.

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RUFFINUS, C.
JUNIUS BRU-
TUS, Consuls.

Year of discover. Perhaps they were afraid of those few Troops *Pyrrhus* had left there under the Conduct of *Milo*. Or, it may be, they thought it more proper not to leave any Enemy behind them, and to begin their Expeditions by marching against the *Samnites*. These Rebels had deserved the severest Resentments of the Republick since their Revolt; and it was necessary to reduce them, before *Pyrrhus*, their Ally, returned. Against *Samnium* therefore the *Consuls* first turned their Arms. But the *Samnites* neither tarried for their coming in their Towns; nor did they appear in the Field. They were too weak to sustain either the Attacks, or Sieges, of two *Consular* Armies. They had nothing to do, but to fly to their Mountains, remove their Wives, Children, and Effects thither, and fortify themselves there. So that the *Romans* could only make Incurfions in the flat Country; where they seized some Castle which they found deserted, and laid the Country waste, without any Opposition. And at length, the *Consuls* advanced with their Troops towards Mount ¹⁴ *Cranites* which was the Asylum for these obstinate Rebels. It was no easy Matter to attack a whole Nation, covered with Multitudes of Entrenchments; but nevertheless the *Romans* resolved to attempt to force them. The *Samnites* fought in Defence every thing that was most dear to them; and their natural Fierceness was increased by the affecting Sight of their Wives and Children. Besides, they had all the Advantage of the Ground, and in small Parties fell upon the *Romans*, as they were climbing up the steep Rocks, in several Quarters: and the Assailants were severely punished for their Rashness. A great Number of *Romans* were killed, in several Skirmishes, and as many taken, and loaded with Irons. And at last, the *Consuls* were so much ashamed of their joint Enterprize, that each threw the Blame of it upon his Colleague. But we judge, by the Consequence, that *Cornelius Ruffinus* was most in Fault; at least, *Junius Brutus* refused to carry on the War jointly with him, any longer. The two Armies separated. *Junius*, with his, continued in *Samnium*; while *Ruffinus* marched to the Country of the *Lucani* and *Bruttii*, in hopes of finding Means among them, to repair the Disgrace he had suffered at the Foot of Mount *Cranites*.

*Livy B. 24.
c. 3.*

§. III. *LUCANIA* and *Bruttium* persevered in their Adherence to *Pyrrhus* and nothing could draw them off from the *Tarentini*. *Ruffinus* therefore entered the Territories of these Enemies; where he did not content himself with laying the Country desolate with Fire, and Sword: in order to recover his Honour, he thought it necessary to attempt something more. *Croton*, which stood in the extreme Part of *Italy*, to the East, was a great City, on the Borders of the *Ionian* Sea, at a little Distance from Cape ¹⁵ *Lacinium*. It then belonged to the ¹⁶ *Bruttii*, and *Ruffinus* therefore thought the Conquest of it just, and worthy of a *Consul*. It was no easy Matter for him to make himself Master of it by Force. We are assured, That it was twelve Miles round, and was defended by a strong Citadel; and That the River ¹⁷ *Æsarus* ran through the middle of it. So that *Ruffinus* despaired of taking it, unless he could find Means to have Intelligence with the Place. But he was informed that a great Number of the Inhabitants were exasperated at *Pyrrhus's* Departure, and might easily be prevailed on to break the Oath of Fidelity they had taken.



¹⁴ Only *Zonaras* mentions this Mount *Cranites*, which we are otherwise utterly ignorant of.

¹⁵ The *Lacinian* Promontory, now *Capo delle Colonne*, was at the Point of *Bruttium*. *Strabo* places it 150 *Stadia*, that is, near thirteen Leagues from *Croton*. This Cape gave its own Name to a neighbouring Temple dedicated to *Juno Lacinia*. It was remarkable for its Stateliness. It had been enriched, by the Offerings the People of *Great Greece* had brought to it. Near it was a consecrated Grove, and Pastures which were set apart,

to feed the Flocks, which were kept to be offered up, to the tutelary Divinity of these Places.

¹⁶ The People of *Bruttium* were naturally warlike and restless People. Their Genius for War is represented on most of their Medals, by the figure of some warlike Divinity. That above *Bellona*.

¹⁷ The River *Æsarus*, now the *Esaro*, rises in *Bruttium*, waters the Territory of *Croton*, which the Mouth of it lies, and empties itself into the *Ionian* Sea.

their Allies. *Croton* ¹⁸ had been subject to the *Romans* for some time; and the Republick had yet some Friends in it; and by the help of these, *Ruffinus* hoped to make himself Master of it. But he did not carry on his Negotiation with Secrecy enough. The Inhabitants, who favoured the *Tarentini*; were soon apprized of it, and got Succours from *Tarentum*, under the Command of *Nicomachus of Croton*. *Milo* sent them these Troops for their Defence. In the mean time, *Ruffinus* advanced with his Army, quite up to the Gates of *Croton*, fully expecting that the City would surrender to him. So that it was no small Surprise to him, to see a Troop of *Epirotæ* whom he did not expect, fall upon his *Romans*. They made a Sally out of the City, overpowered the *Roman Legions*, which were not upon their Guard, and forced their General to retire a great Way from the City which he invested. This was the second Check *Ruffinus* had met with, since the opening the Campaign. He therefore had recourse to Stratagem, which succeeded better with him, than bare Force. He exaggerated his Loss in the last Sally of the Enemy; and upon the Reports, which he caused to be spread Abroad in the Country, the People of *Croton* were easily brought to believe, that the *Consul* would retire with his Troops, and remove to a great Distance. In order to make this Conjecture the more probable, *Ruffinus* suborned two Deserters, one of whom told the *Crotoniates*, that *Ruffinus* was ready to decamp, and was going to march towards the Country of the *Locri*; and the other affirmed, that he was already gone, and shewed some Cloaths, which he had picked up, during the precipitate Flight of the Enemy. And this Agreement in their Testimony deceived *Nicomachus*. He left *Croton* in haste, in order to go and relieve *Locris*, which he thought threatened with a Siege. *Ruffinus* had indeed made a Motion with his Troops; but upon the first News of *Nicomachus's* Departure, he returned back again: and a thick Fog favoured his Entrance into *Croton*. The City thinking itself out of Danger, was negligent and secure. The *Romans* entered it, almost before the Enemy saw them: and this Success was followed by others, which comforted *Ruffinus*, after his Losses. *Nicomachus*, being deceived by the *Consul*, returned towards *Tarentum*, with Intent to carry back his Detachment thither. But *Ruffinus* intercepted him in his Passage, gave him Battel, defeated the Body he commanded, and forced him to fly. Nor was this all. *Locris* surrendered to the *Romans*. The Tyranny of the Governor *Pyrrhus* had left in it, was grown insupportable to the *Locri*, who massacred him and all the Garrison; but what they did with young *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus's* youngest Son, whom he had in Confidence left with them, is not known. All these Successes, had doubtless deserved the Honours of a Triumph, for the *Consul*, *Cornelius Ruffinus*; and *Pliny* accordingly assures us, that he did Triumph. But the *Fasti Capitolini* grant that Honour only to his Collegue *Junius Brutus*; to whom they ascribe all the Exploits of *Ruffinus*, in *Lucania*, and the Country of the *Bruttii*. So that in this Contradiction, between the Historians, and the *Triumphal Tables*, we can only say, that one of the *Consuls* triumphed at *Rome*, on *The Nones of January*, for having conquered the *Bruttii*, and *Lucani*.

§. IV. NEVERTHELESS, it may truly be said, that *Pyrrhus's* Presence was not absolutely necessary to his Allies, the Year after he left them. They yet supported themselves against the *Romans*. The *Samnites* having retired to their Mountains, were become rather the more formidable to the Republick; and *Bruttium* had only left two Cities. The Conquests of *Pyrrhus*, in his new Career, kept up the Courage of the *Italians*, who had submitted to him. They depended upon the Promise he had given them, to return upon the first Summons, either to deliver them from Oppression, or help them to humble *Rome*: and flattering themselves with these pleasing Expectations, they let him take his full Course in *Sicily*. The *Romans*, in the mean time, chose two new *Consuls*, who were very fit Persons to oblige *Pyrrhus* to return to *Italy*. One was *Q. Fabius Gurges*, the Son of the Great *Q. Fabius*, whose Valour he inherited. He had long since effaced the Remembrance of his first Debaucheries, though he still retained the Name of *Gurges*. He had already been honoured both with the *Consulship* and a Triumph; and now that he was chosen *Consul* a second time, he acquired new Glory, and made *Pyrrhus's* Presence necessary to his Allies. His *Plebeian* Collegue, was one *C. Genucius*, surnamed *Clepsina*.

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P. CORNELIUS
RUFFINUS, C.
JUNIVS BRU-
TUS, Consuls.
Zonar. B. 8.
c. 6.

Frontin. Stra-
tag. B. 3. and
Zonaras B. 8.
c. 6.

Appianus in
Excerptis,
apud Valesium.

B 33. c. 6.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXXVII.

Q. FABIVS
GURGES, C.
GENUCIVS,
Consuls.

Year of THE beginning of their Administration was not at all promising to the *Roma-*
R O M E It seemed to be the unalterable Fate of *Rome*, to be tormented with Calamities
 CCCCLXXVII. Home, whenever she was delivered from a formidable Enemy. After *Pyrrhus's* De-
 Q. FABIVS parture, a new ¹⁹ kind of Plague raged both in the City and Country. It chief-
 GURGES, C. affected Women with Child, and breeding Cattle. Children were no sooner form-
 GENUCIUS, in the Womb, but they died there. This made it necessary to tear them out of the
 Consuls. Bowels of their Mothers, who were either killed with the Acuteness of the Pain
 Orasius B. 4. or infected with those corrupted Parts of the *Fætus's* which were left within them.
 C. 2. And it was the same Case with the Cattle. Infomuch, that Heaven seemed deter-
 mined to destroy the Species, both of Men, and Beast, before they came to Mat-
 rity. Even *Æsculapius*, the Serpent of *Epidaurus*, which had been brought
 De Cicil. Dei *Rome*, some time since, did not cure this universal Contagion. Doubtless, says
 3. c. 17. *Austin*, pleasantly, because this God did not come to the Romans to be their Midwife
 but their Physician. The Cause of the Calamity was therefore enquired into; and
 instead of ascribing it to the Infection of the Air, or bad Food, the Romans imput-
 it to the Vengeance of the Gods. After much Enquiry, a *Vestal*, named *Sexta*,
 Fasti & Pan- was found to have broken her solemn Vows; and being convicted of Incest, was
 nius B. 4. buried alive, without the Gate *Collina*. Perhaps she would have escaped the Rigo-
 C. 2. of the Laws, as many others did, had not this extraordinary Plague roused the Zeal
 of the *Pontifices*, and made them examine the more strictly, into the Manners of the
 Priestesses. There was also some Superstition in the manner of putting an end to
 this publick Calamity. The *Romans* had recourse to the old Custom, of driving a
 Nail in the Temple of *Minerva* upon the *Capitol*; and it is probable, that *Cornelius*
Ruffinus, the *Consul* for the last Year, was chosen *Dictator*, to perform this religious
 Ceremony. At least, it is certain, that we shall find him nominated to the *Dicta-*
tatorship; but cannot imagine when, or upon what Account, if it were not on the
 Occasion, and for the Discharge of that Office.

BUT the Sickness at *Rome* did not hinder the *Romans* from continuing the War.
 Whether the *Consul Genucius* commanded a separate Army, or attended his Collegue
 in his Expeditions, is uncertain; and it is probable, that if he did either, he made
 but an indifferent Figure in the Field; since all the Glory of the Battels they fought
 is ascribed to *Fabius Gurgès* only. He successively vanquished the *Samnites*, *Lucani*,
 and *Bruttii*. It is much to his Disadvantage, that the Historians have not recorded
 the Particulars of his Victories; for there are two Circumstances which plainly shew
 they were not inconsiderable ones. The first is, that the Republick granted him
 Fasti Capitol. Triumph, for having conquered the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Bruttii*, which Triumph
 he enjoyed on *The thirteenth of the Calends of March*, the Festival of the *Quirinal*
 in honour of *Romulus*. And the second, That *Gurgès's* Exploits struck Terror in
Pyrrhus's Allies in *Italy*. The *Consuls* for the last Year had weakened, but not dis-
 couraged them. *Gurgès* reduced them so low, that they could no longer subsist with-
 out *Pyrrhus*. They therefore sent Ambassadors to him, to entreat him to return
 them, and again put himself at the Head of his faithful *Italians*.

§. V. WHEN these Deputies from *Italy* came to him in *Sicily*, the Face of the
 Justin. B. 23. Affairs there was much changed. *Pyrrhus*, from being the ²¹ Idol, became the
 Cui

¹⁹ It is said, in the Epitome of *Livy*, that the Head of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was struck off by a Thunderbolt, and carried so far from the Body, that the *Aruspices* were forced to make use of all their Art to find it again. An Accident so extraordinary, that it alarmed the *Romans*. They thought it a Mark of the Anger of the Gods, and an unlucky Presage of the Calamities *Rome* suffered this Year.

²⁰ Most of the Writers of ancient *Rome*, say, that *Cornelius Ruffinus*, whose Name was razed out of the List of Senators, by *Caius Fabricius* the *Censor*, had been twice *Consul*, and *Dictator*. The Difficulty is, to find out the Year in which he was *Dictator*. Some imagine, and with a great deal of Probability, that the epidemical Distempers, and publick Calamities, with which *Rome* was afflicted in this Year 477, determined the *Romans* to raise *Ruffinus* to the Supreme Magistracy. And this Con-

jecture we follow; but mention it as such. What is certain is, that his *Dictatorship* was at least Year before *Fabricius's* *Consulship*. The only Question is, whether it happened in this Year. The Historians, and the *Fasti Capitolini*, are silent as to this Matter.

²¹ The Reputation *Pyrrhus* had acquired by Valour, had so far prepossessed the People of *Italy* in his Favour, that *Tyndarion* the chief Mar-
Tauromene, paid him a kind of Homage, in Name of the Inhabitants of that City. The *Citizens* of *Catane* had received him as the tutelary God of their Country, and had heaped many Honours on him upon his Arrival. *Agrigentum* absolutely surrendered itself up to him, after it had expelled the *Carthaginian* Garrison. *Syracuse* had opened her Gates to the King of *Epirus*, at the Persuasion of *Sosistrates*; and this Example had been followed by thirty other Cities, which were eager to augmen-

Curse of the *Sicilians*, after he had been two Years among them. They now set no Value on his Bravery and Conquests; and considered only his Tyranny, and Ingratitude. He, puffed up with his great Success, forgot himself, in the midst of so much Prosperity. Though it must be owned, that the Levity of the *Sicilians* contributed not a little to their Dislike of him. But this being known before that time, *Pyrrhus* ought therefore to have managed them with more Art. Whereas the King looked on *Sicily* as a conquered Kingdom, and his natural Inconstancy, already prompted him to go upon new Designs. He had Thoughts of sailing over into *Africa*, and making War upon the *Carthaginians*, in their own Territories; though they were yet Masters of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, and this Port, which was open to them, was a Key to the whole Island. Besides, *Messana* was yet in the Hands of the *Mamertini*, and new Usurpers might start up in this warlike City: and it is easy to imagine, that *Pyrrhus's* Design of going into *Africa* could not be very agreeable to the *Syracusans*. But notwithstanding all this, the King persisted in it. He had Ships enough of his own; and the maritime Cities, which were in his Interest, refusing him Seamen, and Marines, he took them by Force. The Cities complained of this Violence; but he had no Regard to their Remonstrances. However, the *Sicilians* bore these Outrages, with some Patience. His Designs hitherto were palliated, with a slight Pretence, at least of promoting the publick Good; and the King's Dislike to his new Subjects was encreased, by their opposing his Desires. *Toenion* and *Sosistrates* in particular, who had invited him into *Sicily*, and crowned him there, were suspected by him, and felt his Fury. *Pyrrhus*, full of Jealousy, as all Tyrants are, would have forced *Sosistrates* to attend him into *Africa*. He did not think it safe to leave him in *Syracuse*, during his Absence. But *Sosistrates*, to avoid complying with so disagreeable Commands, revolted from the Tyrant, and fled from his native City. As for *Toenion*, he was indeed more complaisant, and continued with the King; but at the same time that he seemed in all Appearance to be one of his great Favourites, he was cruelly assassinated. And this Perfidiousness put an end to *Pyrrhus's* Successes in *Sicily*. The Cities, tired with the Oppression in which the King had indulged his *Epirots*, surrendered themselves up, partly to the *Carthaginians*, and partly to the *Mamertini*. And indeed, ever since *Pyrrhus's* Arrival in *Sicily*, the Natives had not been permitted to have any Share in civil or military Offices. All civil Employments were given either to the old Courtiers, or the King's Guards; whose Extortions being enormous, and their hasty Desires of enriching themselves before they left the Island, making them multiply their Exactions, the Odium of the Injustice of the Ministers fell upon the King. *What are we the better*, said the *Sicilians*, *for his being moderate in his Demands, if his Favourites devour us, like so many Harpies?* Murmurs, which both lessened the People's Affection for *Pyrrhus*, and diminished his Forces. His Troops were almost reduced to his *Epirot Phalanx*; and the *Carthaginians* were not ignorant of this Change in the *Sicilians*, and their Hatred to their new King. The *African* Republick therefore, sent an Army into *Sicily*, to recover their ancient Conquests; whilst the *Carthaginian* Fleet cruised round the Island, to keep *Pyrrhus* in it, and prevent his Departure.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXVII.
Q. FABIVS
GURGES, C.
GENUCIVS,
Consuls.
Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Dion. Hal. in
excerptis apud
Vales.

An Army with new Levies. The *Syracusans* had already furnished him with eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse. With this formidable Army, he struck Terror into all the Places which adhered to the *Carthaginians*. The taking of *Araclea*, and *Azone*, made *Selinus*, *Egesta*, and *Mazæra* tremble. Then these three Cities shook off the *Carthaginian* Yoke, and submitted to *Pyrrhus*. The *Carthaginians* therefore, surprized at the Rapidity of his Conquests, were forced to have recourse to the Clemency of the Conqueror. They demanded Peace, and his Friendship, offering to give him a considerable Sum of Money, and furnish him with a certain Number of Ships. But the King of *Epirus* would not accept of these Conditions. Upon their refusal to leave *Sicily*, and surrender it up to him, and to make the *Lybian* Sea the Boundaries of their Dominions, he pursued his Conquests. *Egyna* prevented the Conqueror by a voluntary Submission. *Panormus* was taken by As-

sault. The Fortress *Epicrete*, whose Situation made it impregnable, could not hold out against the Attacks of the *Epirot*. And in short, every thing gave way before him. The *Carthaginians* were reduced to the single Town of *Lilybæum*, which was their last Stake. They therefore provided it with all things necessary to enable it to hold out a long Siege. *Pyrrhus* invested and attacked it. But the Valour of the Besieged, the Havock they made with their Engines of War, the frequent Succours and Supplies of Provisions sent in to them by Sea, and the Fortifications which defended the Approaches to *Lilybæum*, broke the King of *Epirus's* Measures. He abandoned the Enterprize, and marched his Army against *Messana*, at the Solicitation of some Cities, who groaned under the Tyranny of the *Mamertini*. He drove them by Force, out of all the Places they possessed, and laid their Territory waste.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLXXVII.
Q. FABIVS
GURGES, C.
GENUCIVS,
Consuls.

Justin, B. 23.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Appian. in
Excerptis, and
Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Polybius B. 1.
c. 7.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

§. VI. THIS was the Situation of *Pyrrhus's* Affairs, when the Deputies of the *Tarentini, Samnites, Lucani, and Bruttii*; his Allies, came to him from *Italy*. From whence it is easy to imagine, that he rejoiced at their Arrival. Their Embassy furnished him with an honourable Pretence for extricating himself out of these Difficulties; and their Harangues were affecting. They represented the Dangers they had run, and the Losses they had sustained, since *Pyrrhus's* Departure; and remonstrated, that without him, their Cities and Liberties must fall a Sacrifice to the *Romans*. But *Pyrrhus* long deliberated, or at least seemed to do so, what part to chuse. He seemed divided between *Sicily, Africa, and Italy*; but at last *Italy* obtained the Preference. As he was fond of Applause, and very fearful of Disgrace, he was delighted to have this Opportunity to make the World believe, that the Fear of the *Carthaginians* had not driven him out of *Sicily*; but that he had generously complied with the Requests of his Allies. He therefore prepared for a new Voyage to *Italy*, which the *Sicilians* did not obstruct; and yet as he was ready to leave the Kingdom where he thought himself no longer safe, he cried out at the sight of this fine Country, *O unfortunate Island, thou wilt soon become the Seat of a bloody War, between the Carthaginians and the Romans!* A Prediction, which the Event proved to be very true. *Pyrrhus* knew the Power of the *Romans* too well, not to take it for granted that, after they had conquered the southern Parts of *Italy*, they would go over into *Sicily*, and dispute the Conquest of it with the *Carthaginians*. He embarked on the Ships he had brought, but did not carry them all into the Port of *Tarentum*. The *Carthaginian* Fleet attacked his, in his Passage, and was an overmatch for it. *Pyrrhus* himself was a great Soldier; but neither he, nor his *Epirots*, were used to Sea-fighting. The *Carthaginians* had such Advantages over him, by their Experience, and the Lightness of their Ships, that they easily overcame him. He was beaten, and fled, and saved himself in the Ports of *Italy*, with only twelve Vessels, the poor Remains of a Fleet of two hundred Sail. His Enemies sunk seventy of his Gallies, and dispersed the rest, or at least disabled them for farther Service. Nor was this all.

THE Enemies the King of *Epirus* had made himself in *Sicily*, pursued him into *Italy*. Upon the first Report of *Pyrrhus's* Departure, the *Mamertini* detached eight thousand Men, to molest him after his landing. These landed at *Rhegium*, a City which some of the *Campani*, their Countrymen, had reduced, by the like unjust Methods, as they had done theirs; and the *Mamertini* posted themselves in the Road which *Pyrrhus* must take, in his Way to *Tarentum*, by Land. As for the King, after he had seen his Fleet torn in pieces in the Straights of *Sicily*, he landed in *Italy* pretty near *Rhegium*; but his Losses had not lessened his former Boldness. He was as rash as ever, and formed a Design of surprizing *Rhegium*, and revenging the Misfortune of his Fleet, on the Allies of the *Mamertini*. But *Rhegium* was too well guarded, and had Succours too near at Hand, to become a Prey to a Fugitive: that *Pyrrhus's* Attempt failed. Then he made it his Business to collect the Remains of his Army, which was dispersed in several Places along the Sea-coasts; and with many of his old Troops as he could gather together, marched towards *Tarentum*. The *Mamertini* lay in Ambush in Woods, and under Rocks, to intercept him in his Passage, and attacked him both unexpectedly, and with Vigour; but *Pyrrhus* shewed as much of the Hero, on this Occasion, as ever. The Attack being made on his Rear, he immediately appeared at the Head of his Rear-guard, and fought like a desperate. He continued in the Heat of the Battel, till a Wound he received on his Head, forced him to retire; but he soon returned to the Charge with fresh Fury. As he was supposed to be withdrawn, a proud *Mamertin*, tall of Stature, and glittering in bright Armour, came out of the Ranks, and with a loud Voice, challenged the King of *Epirus*, if he was yet alive. *Pyrrhus* immediately turned about to this new Champion, and instantly flew upon his Enemy. The Blood of the Wound, which ran down his Face, made him more terrible than ever; and he gave the *Mamertin* so violent a Stroke on the Head, that he cleaved him in two, quod

22 To speak the Truth, the Fact of which we have given an Account in the History, upon the Credit of *Plutarch*, has all the Air of a Fiction invented at Pleasure, to give the Story of *Pyrrhus's* Exploits, a miraculous Turn. These Strokes of the *Mervellieux*, suit the Taste of our Romance-

Writers, who greedily caught hold of them, as best Ornaments to set off the Exploits of their heroes. Thus the old Knight-errants, clove the most sumptuous and daring of the Giants quite to the Spine. *Plutarch* cautiously screened himself under Homeric Authority, who somewhere says, That of all

down the Back. One part of his Body fell to the right Hand, and the other to the left. The *Temper* of *Pyrrhus's* Sabre, and the Strength of his Arm, were equally admired; and this Feat, which has been since ascribed to other Warriors, filled the *Mamertini* with Terror. They looked on *Pyrrhus* as a God. He was indeed descended from *Achilles*; but if he had all his Valour, he had all his Defects too. After this, the *Epirotæ*, who had lost a good Number of Men, in their Rear-guard, and two Elephants, continued their March towards *Tarentum*.

§. VII. THEY kept along by the Sea-side, and in order to reach *Tarentum* that Way, they must necessarily pass thro' the Country of the *Locri*, or *Locrenses*, who had, a little time since, gone over to the *Romans*, and recovered their Liberty, by massacring the *Epirot* Garrison, and its Commander. And perhaps *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus's* youngest son, left at *Locris*, had met with the same Fate. At least, we don't see him appear with his Brothers, in the last Adventures of the King their Father. But be that as it will, the *Locri* had exasperated *Pyrrhus*, and now felt the Fury of his Revenge. He punished them more severely, than even their Crime, great as it was, deserved. He inflicted all sorts of Cruelties on this miserable People: And after numberless barbarous Executions, he added another Punishment to all the rest, which was calculated purely to serve his own Interests. There was near *Locris*, a Temple dedicated to *Proserpine*, which was famous for the great Resort of People to it, and immensely enriched by the Offerings made at it. *Proserpine* being deemed the Wife of the God of Hell, and of Riches, great pieces of Gold and Silver were thrown into a deep Pit, in honour to her; and this Treasure *Pyrrhus* was resolved to seize. The Horror of Sacrilege on the one Hand, and the pressing Necessity of his Affairs on the other, held him in suspense at first; but at last, his Covetousness and Revenge, got the better of his Religion. *Pyrrhus* took out of the Earth, this Heap of Riches, which had been buried in it, and put them on board his Fleet, which coasted along the Sea-shore, whilst he led his Troops by Land. But, if the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians may be credited, the Goddess soon revenged her self on the Prophaners of her Sanctuary. They had hitherto had a favourable Wind, but it turned all on a sudden, and was in their Faces. Then a Tempest arose, which dashed the Ships, loaded with the sacred Treasure, against the Rocks, and all the Mariners were lost. The Treasures themselves, as if *Neptune* had refused to enrich himself at the Expence of *Pluto* and his Wife, were carried with the Wrecks of the Ships to the Shore, near the prophaned Temple. And Superstition made it believed, that all the Misfortunes, which afterwards befel *Pyrrhus*, were all brought upon him, by this monstrous Act of Impiety. Indeed, the King of *Epirus* did all that was in his Power, to make Amends for his Crime. As he was upon his March, he caused all the Treasures, which were thrown on the Strand, to be very carefully gathered up, carried back, and cast into their Pit: And he severely repented of his Sacrilege, all the Days of his Life. But he in vain attempted to appease *Proserpine* with Gifts; the Goddess is said to have shewn him some Marks of her Anger, even in the expiatory Sacrifices he offered her; and *Pyrrhus* is affirmed to have been so terrified at them, that he put all his Flatterers to Death, who had given him that fatal Advice, to steal the Treasures of the Temple. So forcible are the Remorses of a guilty Conscience, even in Men, who are intrepid in Battel!

At length, both the Defender, and the Tyrant of *Tarentum* arrived there. But all the Army he had carried into *Sicily*, *Pyrrhus* brought back into *Italy* only three thousand Horse, and not quite twenty thousand Foot. To these the *Tarentini* added some Recruits; and after all, this was a very little Body, to contend with the *Roman* Armies. But the King's Dependence was in the first Place on his *Epirots*, who had been seldom vanquished in *Italy*, and always victorious in *Sicily*; and in the next, on the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Bruttii*, his Allies.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXXVII.

Q. FABIVS
GURGES, C.
GENUCIVS,
Consuls.

Zonar. B. 8.
c. 6.

Dio. apud
Vales. and
Livy Epit.
B. 29.

Val. Max.
B. 1. c. 1.
Exter. 1.

Appian.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Valour only was subject to those Transports of Fury, and Sallies of Fury, which work Mischief. Thomas Bartholin says, in his *Danish Anti-* that the northern People were formerly brought up, with this Persuasion. They feigned for

themselves a God *Odin*, who was their God of War; and they thought that the weakest Man, animated by the Fury, with which this military God inspired whomsoever he pleased, was himself able to cope with any ten Men.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCLXXXVIII.

M. CURIUS
DENTATUS,
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS, Consuls.

Val. Max.
B. 6. c. 3. §. 4.

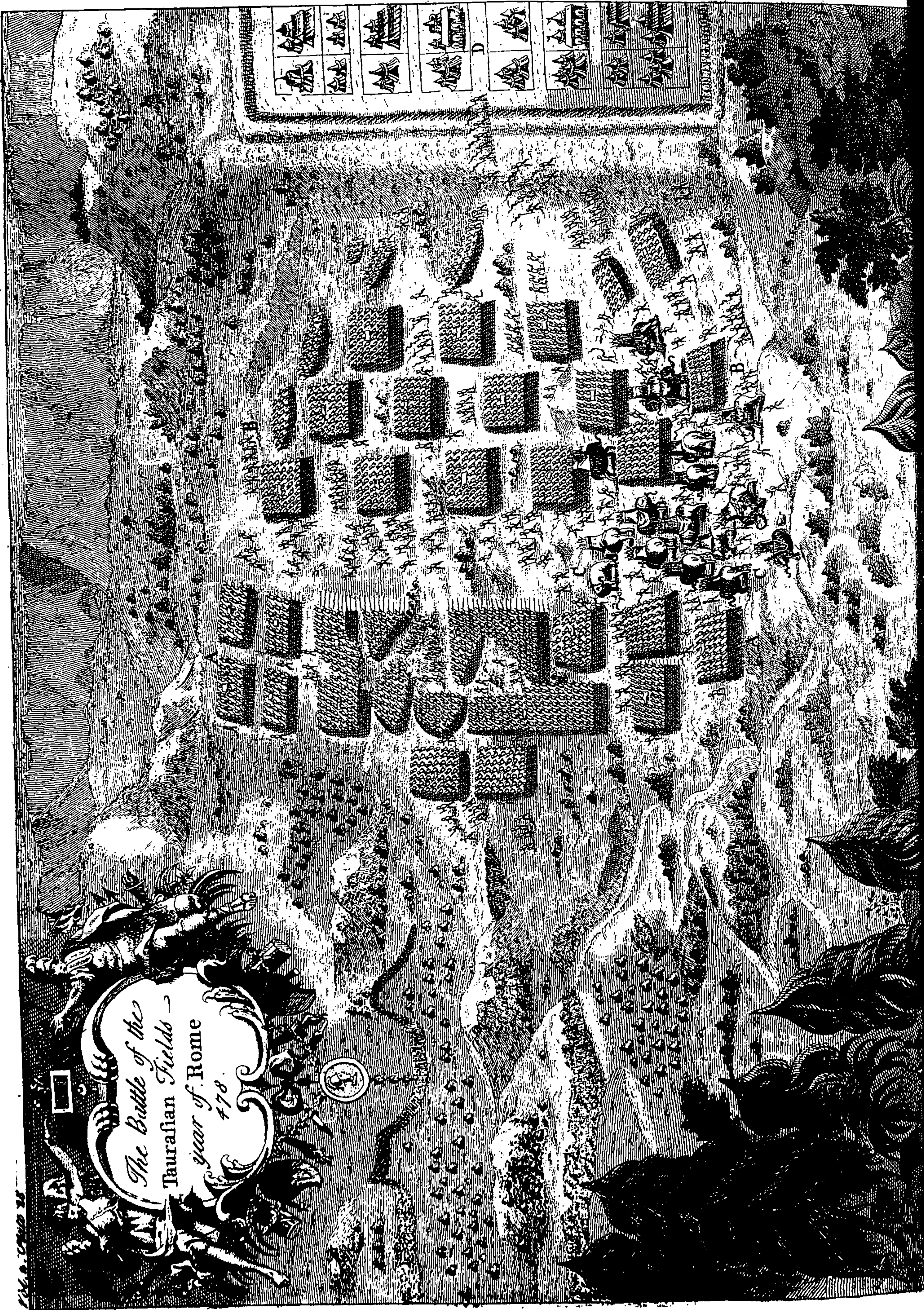
Year of
R O M E
 CCCCLXXVIII.
 M. CURIUS
 DENTATUS,
 L. CORNELI-
 US LENTU-
 LUS, Consuls.

§. VIII. By that time the King was in a Condition to begin the War again, the Republick had changed her *Consuls*. *M. Dentatus* had just been raised to the *Consulate* a second time. The *Romans* remembered the glorious Victory he had formerly gained over the *Samnites*; but chiefly, that Abstinence, which was Proof against the Offers of the Enemy; his continual Poverty in the midst of Honours; and that most austere Wisdom which rendered him equal to *Fabricius*. It seems to have been the Fate of *Rome*, that *Pyrrhus* should only be totally overcome by the two most virtuous Citizens, the Republick ever bred. *Fabricius* had forced him to go into *Sicily*; and *Curius Dentatus* was now chosen by Heaven, to drive him out of *Italy* for ever, and banish him to his Kingdom of *Epirus*. The Collegue to the *Comitia* gave *Dentatus*, was an illustrious *Patrician*, named *L. Cornelius Lentulus*. The *Consuls* made it their first Business, after their Election, to raise two Armies which should be numerous enough to oppose the King of *Epirus*, and all his Allies; but the *Roman* Youth, from some unaccountable Caprice, refused to enlist themselves in the *Legions*. Doubtless, the Courage of the Citizens was affected by the late Contagion, and their Spirits as much sunk, as their Bodies. But be the Cause what it will, the *Consuls* found great Difficulties in raising the Troops: and the will *Curius* could not brook such pernicious Examples of Disobedience, in so critical Juncture. He assembled the *Tribes*, in the *Capitol*, threw all their Names into an Urn, and the first he drew out was that of the *Pollian Tribe*. Lots were therefore drawn for the Levies, out of this *Tribe* first; and the first Man called, was an audacious young Fellow, who did not appear. He was found in the Croud, and the *Consuls* would have forced him to enroll himself; and upon his Refusal, his Goods were ordered to be sold by Auction. Then the Rebel had recourse to the Protectors of the Oppressed, and appealed from the *Consul* to the *Tribunes of the People*. But the Cause of this refractory Citizen was too bad to find any Defenders; and *Curius*, to make him an Example, inflicted a double Punishment on him, for repeated Disobedience. Both he, and his Effects were sold to the best Bidder. The Republick, said the wise Magistrate, does not want Citizens who refuse to obey her. The Fear of Slavery brought the Mutineers to their Duty, and the Successors of the *Consuls*, made his Severity their Precedent.

THI

23 When the ancient *Romans* exposed any moveable, or immovable Goods, or Slaves, to publick Sale, they pitched a Spear in the Place where the Sale was to be. Hence the *Latin* Expressions, *Subhastare*, *Hastæ subjicere*, to signify, *to set up to Auction*. The Javelin was the Signal, which gave the Publick Notice of this kind of Sale; and the real Design of this Custom was to shew, that the Auction was made by the Authority of the Magistrate. This Weapon, as the ancient *Civilians* observe, was the Symbol of Power. And for this Reason, the Gods of the first Class are often drawn on Medals, and ancient Monuments, with Javelins in their Hands. The first Kings of *Rome* carried them instead of Scepters. But *Junius Rabirius* in his Treatise *de Hastâ*, gives another Interpretation to this Custom. The Possession of whatever was taken in War, was, says he, deemed a lawful Possession: And he thinks, that the Design of the Javelin, was to shew that a Man's Right and Property, in whatever he bought by Auction, was incontestable. But be that as it will, it is certain, this Ceremony was enjoined by the Laws. Without it, neither the Sale, nor the Purchase, were deemed valid. It was generally used in the Sale of Slaves; nevertheless, some were sold *Sub Corona*, and others *Sub Pileo*. Enemies taken in War were sold *Sub Corona*. The Expression *vanire sub Corona* alludes, according to *Aulus Gellius*, B. 7. c. 1. to the Crowns of Flowers, and Garlands, which were put upon the Heads of the Captives. Or perhaps, it might be taken from the Ring the Soldiers made round the Prisoners, to prevent their escaping. But that Author agrees with *Cato*, in explaining the Terms *Sub Corona*, in the former Sense. *Antiquitus*, says he, *mancipia jure belli Capta*

coronis induta venibant, & idcirco dicebantur Corona venire vel quod milites custodiae captivorum venalium greges circumstarent, eaque circumstatio militum corona appellata sit. Sed id mi verum est quod supradictum. And lastly, so Slaves were sold, *Sub Pileo*. They wore a sort of Hat called *Pileus*, at the time of the Sale. By this Sign, the Seller gave the Buyer to understand, that he was to buy upon his own Examination and Judgment, and that the Seller would not pretend to warrant them. Thus *Aulus Gellius* remarks, *Pileus impositus demonstrabat, ejusmodi servos vendari, quorum nomine emptori venditor nihil pateret*. In proof of this, he quotes *Calpius Sabellus* an ancient *Civilian*, who confirms this Custom. Without that, he who sold Slaves, or the Master of a Family, who had a mind to part with any of his, was obliged to tell the Purchaser their bodily Imperfections, and bad Dispositions; otherwise the Bargain was thought fraudulent, and adjudged void by the Law of the *Aediles*. In this Case, the Buyer had a Right to Damages, in proportion to the Injury he suffered, and could bring his Action against the Seller. We find this Law in *Aulus Gellius* *B. 4, c. 2*, in these Words. *TITULUS SERVARUM SINGULORUM UTEI SCRIPTUS SIT COEPTO. ITA UTI INTELLIGI RECTE POSSIT, QUOD MORBI VITIÆVE QUOIQUE; QUIS FUGITIVUS ERIT, NOXAVE SOLUTUS NON SIT*; is, Let every Slave which is to be sold have a Writing about his Neck, shewing the Disease which he is subject to, and the Faults he is guilty of, as whether he be a Vagabond, and Rambler, or guilty of any other Vice. This was a necessary Provision against those whom a bad Education, the Loss of Liberty, the Hatred of their Masters, and



THEN the *Legions* were filled without further Opposition; and two large *Consular* Armies were raised, which acted separately. *Lentulus* marched his into *Lucania*, and *Curius Dentatus* entered *Samnium*. The *Samnites* were extremely dismayed. Nothing was heard among them, but Murmurs against the King of *Epirus*, for his Delays. His *Sicilian* Expedition was Matter of Complaint, with an unhappy People, who thought they could not be relieved too soon. *Pyrrhus* therefore no longer deferred giving them that Assistance, which was necessary for the Support of his own Interest. Had the *Samnites* been deserted by him, they would have had a plausible Pretence for returning to the *Romans*. Besides, *Lucania* was reduced almost to Despair, and ready to throw off his Alliance. So that the King found it necessary to divide his Forces, and oppose *Lentulus* with one part of them, and march against the *Consul* *Curius* with the other. *Pyrrhus* thought he could not fail of conquering both the Collegues, if he could but first get some Advantages over the most formidable General of the two; and he therefore marched himself against *Curius*, with the Choice of his *Epirots*. This *Consul* was advantageously posted, within reach of *Beneventum*, a considerable City of *Samnium*. The wise *Roman* had considered, that the *Epirot Phalanx* would be impenetrable, if he allowed it room enough to extend itself: and therefore *Curius* resolved not to give Battel, unless in narrow Places where *Pyrrhus's* Soldiers should be too much confined, and by being too much crowded, hurt one another. With this View he encamped in a rough, uneven Country, intersected by several Cross-roads, among Woods, and Rocks. But *Pyrrhus's* Earnestness to fight, in order to allay the Jealousy of his Allies, made him surmount all Difficulties. He resolved to endeavour to surprise the *Romans*, by appearing before their Entrenchments all on a sudden, and in the Night. He marched on his Troops by the Light of Lanthorns, which he ordered to be carried before them. But as soon as the Enemy's Army was arrived at the Hills which surround ²⁴ *The Taurasian Fields*, near *Beneventum*, the *Romans* perceived them. Upon which *Curius* instantly marched out of his Camp himself, at the Head of a Detachment of the *Legionaries*, resolving to fall upon the advanced-Guard, which was not drawn up in Battalia. And in this first Engagement he succeeded to his Wish. He routed the advanced-Guard of the *Epirots*, repulsed it, put the Army behind it into Confusion; and much Blood was spilt in the first Onset. A great Number of the *Epirots* were killed, and some of their Elephants taken by the *Romans*.

THIS first Success gave the valiant *Curius* new Ardour. Nevertheless, as he was a Man of Piety towards his Gods, and had great Faith in their *Aruspices*, he consulted the Entrails of Victims, which foretold nothing, but good Fortune. Full of Confidence therefore, he marched his Army down into *The Taurasian Fields*, and drew it up in a Plain, which was wide enough for his Troops (which were drawn up in three Lines after the *Roman* manner;) but too narrow for the *Epirot Phalanx*, which used to be formed into one great Battalion. *Pyrrhus's* Soldiers were so crowded, that they could not handle their Arms without Difficulty, and were therefore forced to have recourse to their Elephants. Upon the first Signal the Action began; and the Victory seemed at first to incline to the *Romans*. One of the Wings of the King's Army gave Way. On the

Year of
R O M E
CCCCCLXXVIII.
M. CURIUS
DENTATUS,
L. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS,
Consuls.

Frontin. B. 2;
c. 2.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Hardships of their Condition, rendered perverse and untractable.

But to return to the manner in which the *Romans* made their publick Sales by Auction. There was a sort of Inventory taken of the confiscated Goods; and the Crier specified the Things which were to be sold, and at the same time published the Day and Conditions of the Sale. *Plautus* has given us the Form of this Proclamation, in these Lines of his *Menæchmi*;

*Vis conclamari auctiōem fore? quō diē? diē septimi
Auctiō fiet. Menæchmi mane sane septimi,
Vanibunt servi, supellex, fundi, ædes, omnia
Vanibunt, qui qui licebunt præsentī pecuniā.*

Tertullian, Apologēt. makes the usual Place of publick Sales to be the Herb-market, or the *Capitol*. The Bankers, called at *Rome* *Argentarii*, were obliged to be present at the Sale. It was their Business to preserve Order, and to set down in Books made on Purpose, the different Prices set upon every

thing, till it came to be adjudged to the highest Bidder.

²⁴ On each side of the *Calor* there was a vast Plain, which reached to *Beneventum*, and which the Historians call, *Campi Taurasini*, or *The Taurasian Fields*. They were so called, from their Nearness to *Taurasium*, now *Taurasi*, in the Country of the *Hirpini*, which is at present *The Further Principality*. This City afterwards became a *Roman Colony*, according to *Frontinus*. *Florus* calls the Plain, where the Battel was fought with *Pyrrhus*, *Aurufini Campi*; and even says, it was fought in *Lucania*. So that he is guilty of a double Mistake, in disfiguring the *Latin* Word *Taurasini*, and in placing *Samnium* in the Territory of the *Lucani*. And *Orosius* is fallen into the same Errors, as well as *Frontinus* in his Book *Of Stratagems*. The latter says, the two Armies fought in *The Arufian Fields*, in *Campis Arufinis*, near *Statuentum*, a City utterly unknown.

other

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M. CURIUS
DENTATUS,
L. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS,
Consuls.
Orosius B. 4.
c. 2.

other hand, that part of it, where the King himself fought in Person, assisted by his Elephants, gained Ground, and repulsed the Enemy, quite to the Foot of their Entrenchments: but this Advantage did not last long. *Curius*, whose Foresight was equal to his Valour, had left a *Corps-de-reserve* in his Camp, to act as there was Occasion; and these fresh Troops falling suddenly on the Elephants, put them into Disorder. They carried burning Torches in one Hand, and their naked Swords in the other; and throwing the former against those furious Beasts, and defending themselves with the latter against their Guides, both the *Epirotæ* and their Elephants were forced to give Way to the valiant *Romans*. With their Fire they put these huge Animals to flight, and with their Swords mowed down the Men. There was a general Disorder in *Pyrrhus's* Army, which the return of the Elephants increased. After they had turned about, they broke into the *Phalanx*, as well closed as it was, trod the *Epirot* Soldiers under Foot, and did a great deal of Mischief to their Masters. And it is affirmed, that a remarkable Accident helped the *Romans* to conquer these monstrous Animals, which were brought against them. It is said, That a young Elephant, which was wounded in the Battel, made a terrible roaring; which the Mother hearing, left her Rank, ran to her young one, drew all the others after her, and thereby caused a Disorder. But be that as it will, the *Romans* gained a complete Victory. In the former Battels, the Elephants had once gained *Pyrrhus* the Advantage; had made the Success doubtful in the second Engagement; and now in the third, they made the *Romans* ample Amends, for all the Mischief they had done them. The Victory of *Beneventum* was indisputable; notwithstanding that *Pyrrhus's* Army consisted of eighty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, his *Epirotæ* included: whereas the *Consular* Army was scarce twenty thousand Men complete. Those who exaggerate the King's Losses, say, that the Number of the Slain on his side was thirty three thousand; others reduce it to twenty thousand. And all agree, that *Curius* took from the Enemy twelve hundred Prisoners, and eight Elephants. The most decisive Victory *Rome* had ever yet gained, which brought all *Italy* into Subjection to her, and paved the Way for those vast Conquests which made her Mistress of the World!

Orosius B. 4.
Eutrop. B. 2.

Frontin. B. 4.
c. 1.

§. IX. In the mean time, *Pyrrhus*, being vanquished, and flying, returned to *Tarentum*, attended only with a small Number of Horse. His Camp was taken and plundered; but the Riches the *Romans* found in it, were not the only Advantage they drew from it. They admired the Form of it, and made it their Model for the future. Their Camp had hitherto been nothing more than a wide Ditch, and a Rampart; within which the *Legions* encamped in great Disorder, in little separate Quarters, like so many Hamlets. But now, the *Romans* brought their Camps to Perfection, after *Pyrrhus's* Example. They learnt from him to pitch their Tents in Lines, separate their Lodgings from one another, and at the same time join them together, like the Houses of the same Street. After this, each Body of Troops had its proper Quarters assigned it; which was all the Improvement the *Romans* borrowed from the *Greek* Soldiery. We don't find, that they altered their manner of drawing up their Troops, which was then brought to its Perfection. As for the King of *Epirus*, who seems to have done the *Italians* no other Service, but that of teaching the *Romans* the Art of marking out their Camps, he now had Thoughts of leaving this fatal War, in which he had had no Success. But nevertheless it was necessary to conceal his Departure, and at the same time kept his Allies from sinking into Despair. With this View therefore he represented to them, That the Loss of one Battel was not utter Ruin: That the Constancy of the *Romans* had more than once recovered their Affairs, after they had been beaten by him; and That he could yet have recourse to *Ætolia*, and the Kings of *Macedon*, and *Illyricum*, who would not refuse him their Assistance. Accordingly, he dispatched away Ambassadors to all those Courts; demanding Money of some, Troops of others, and Succours of some kind or other from all. But the Answers of these Princes could not have been favourable to him; since he had no way left to support the drooping Spirits of his *Italian* Allies, but by reading to them forged Letters, which he pretended to have received from them. Such was the lamentable Condition to which this Hero was reduced. Being obliged to dissemble his Flight, he supported the Courage of his Friends with vain Hopes, and still kept his Enemies in play. But at length the time came, when he could no longer conceal his Departure. However, he palliated it in such a manner, as still to leave his Friends in *Italy* some Hopes, and to save his Honour.

Polynæus
Stratag. lib. 8.

nour, at least, for some time. He complained of the Dilatoriness of his Friends on the other side the Water; and pretending to be very impatient to receive their Succours, he burst out into a violent Passion all on a sudden, and said; *Then I must go my self, and fetch them hither.* In the mean time he had long been making Preparations for embarking his Troops; but nevertheless left behind him a strong Garrison in *Tarentum*, under the Command of the same *Milo*, who had kept the City for him, during his Stay in *Sicily*. And in order to keep this Governor to his Duty, out of Fear, *Pyrrhus* is said to have made him a very odd Present; which was, a Chair covered with the Skin of the unfortunate *Nicias*, that treacherous Physician, who had offered *Fabrizius* to poison his Master, and his King. After all these Disguises, and Precautions, *Pyrrhus* set sail for *Epirus*, with a fair Wind, and arrived safe at ²⁵ *Acroceraunium*, which was upon the Frontiers of his Dominions, and there he landed. What a change was there now made in *Pyrrhus's* Affairs, in the Space of six Years? Nothing could be more glorious or promising than his setting out; nothing more melancholy than his return. He scarce brought Home with him thirteen thousand of his ²⁶ *Epirots*, on board a very small Number of Ships. Upon his return, he found his Treasures exhausted, and his People discouraged. But he, who was never depressed with bad Fortune, and always satisfied, provided he had but a War upon his Hands, marched his Troops against a new Enemy. *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius*, then reigned in *Macedon*, which bordered upon *Epirus*; and this was the new Rival he resolved to contend with, both from a Love of Change, and in order to find Means to make his Troops some Amends, for the Pay he owed them; and to revenge the *Macedonian's* Refusal to send him Succours into *Italy*. But we shall not follow *Pyrrhus* in his new Conquests. We shall only observe, that he deprived ²⁷ *Antigonus* of the best part of his Dominions, and added a vast Tract of Ground to his Kingdom of *Epirus*. He had been but too happy, could he have carried on his Enterprizes with a Constancy, equal to the Resolution, with which he began them! But his natural Levity made him leave *Macedon*, when it was almost conquered, to go upon new Expeditions in *Peloponnesus*: where he was killed, two Years after he left *Italy*.

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M. CURIUS
DENTATUS,
L. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS,
Consuls.
*Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 6.*

*Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.*

§. X. *CURIUS* was not the only General whose Victories were celebrated at *Rome*. His Colleague *Lentulus* had made a very successful Campaign in *Lucania*. He had taken Towns, won Battels, and sacked the Territories of the united *Bruttii* and *Lucani*. And this was enough to gain him great Applauses: but *Curius's* Victory over *Pyrrhus* himself was too glittering, not to eclipse the Glory of his Competitors. So that a ²⁸ Triumph was in the first Place decreed *Curius*, which he solemnized in *February*, but we know not on what Day, with an extraordinary Magnificence. After he had already triumphed three times, he now drew all the Attention of the People on his present Glory. *Rome* had never yet seen a more stately Procession. The greatest Embellishments, which had hitherto adorned the triumphal Pomp, were only some *Sabines* in Chains, some Herds of Oxen taken from the *Volsci*, some broken Chariots which had been taken from the *Gauls*, or gilt and silvered Arms which had been picked up, after some Defeats of the *Samnites*. But now the Scene was changed. Now Vessels of Gold, made after the *Greek* manner, were first carried on Hand-barrows, in the Procession; and with them, purple Carpets, Statues, and Pictures of great Value; and in short, all the Fineries of the *Greek* Cities. Among the Captives, were *Epirots*, *Thessalians*, and *Macedonians*; not to mention the *Bruttii*, *Lucani*, and different Nations of *Apulia*. The Appearances and Dress

*Flor. B. 1. c.
18.*

²⁵ *Acroceraunium*, or the *Ceraunian* Promontory, was a part of those Mountains near the Sea, which the Ancients called *Ceraunii* and *Acroceraunian Montes*. They were so called from the two *Greek* Words *ἄκρος* and *κεραυνός*, because they were often struck with Lightning. This Promontory divides the *Adriatick* from the *Ionian* Sea. It stands over against the *Lacinian* Cape, and is but 75000 geometrical Paces from it. Most Geographers now call it, *Capo della Chimera*, from a City of the same Name near it.

²⁶ *Plutarch* says, that *Pyrrhus* returned to *Epirus* with only 8000 Foot, and 500 Horse.

²⁷ *Pyrrhus* was indebted for this Conquest, in part at least, to a Reinforcement of *Gauls*, with

which he recruited his Army, and to two thousand *Macedonians*, whom he had drawn off from *Antigonus*. Though this King had in his Pay a great Number of those *Gauls*, who at this time over-ran all *Greece*; yet he was driven from Post to Post, and reduced to the greatest Extremities.

²⁸ The *Fasti Capitolini* reckon this to be the fourth Triumph which was decreed *Curius*; and in this, they agree with the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*. But in this Number we are to include the Ovation granted him by the Republick for having overcome the *Lucani*. *Plutarch* and *Cicero* not speaking of the Ovation, mention only three Triumphs.

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DENTATUS,
L. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS, Consuls.
*Seneca de bre-
vitae Vitæ.*

*Pliny B. 16.
and Val. Max.
B. 4. c. 3. §. 5.*

of so many Foreigners, gave the Spectators Pleasure; but nothing so much raised their Admiration, as the Elephants which were taken in the Battel. These stately Animals were but four in Number; (the other four died of their Wounds) and they hung down their Heads, as they walked, as if sensible of their Servitude. They, with their Towers upon their Backs, were an agreeable Sight to the Romans, who had never seen any before, and who at first called them *Lucanian Oxen*. But they afterwards found out the Difference between these monstrous Beasts, and the Oxen in *Italy*. As for the triumphant Victor, he rode in a Chariot; and the Acclamations the People gave him were very sincere; the Republick thought she could never give Proofs enough of her Gratitude to *Curius*. The Senate empowered him to possess fifty Acres of Land, as his Property, though there had formerly been a Law passed, which forbid any *Roman* to have more than seven. But the modest *Consul* declined this honourable Mark of Distinction: and said, that he ought to be looked upon as a dangerous Subject, who could not live upon the Produce of seven Acres²⁹ of Ground; or who, not content with the ordinary Allotment, sought to distinguish himself by new Privileges. Of all the Spoils that he had taken from the Enemy, *Curius* reserved to himself only a little Vessel of Beech, to be used in his domestick Sacrifices. A wonderful Instance of Disinterestedness, and worthy of the wisest of the *Romans*! Can we, after this, wonder at the Progress of a Republick, which was governed by Virtue itself? This same *Curius*, who was thus wonderfully frugal of the publick Treasure, when his own Interest was in Question, was altogether as profuse, when the Service of the Publick required it. During his *Censorship*, which he held a few Years after his fourth Triumph, he built a magnificent Aqueduct, with the Spoils of the Enemy, and brought the Water of the *Anio* to *Rome*. Add to this, that as soon as his *Consulship* was ended, *Curius* returned into the Country, and there cultivated the little Field of his Fore-fathers. He lived to a very great Age, and made the Toils of an Husbandman, the innocent Pleasures of his Life.

To this magnificent Triumph of *Curius*, that³⁰ of *Lentulus* succeeded. He, in his Turn, entered *Rome*, in a triumphant manner, on the first Day of *March*. There was nothing new for the People to admire in his Procession; but they were very sensible, how much they were indebted to the triumphant Victor. Among his other Conquests, *Cornelius Lentulus* had taken from the³¹ *Samnites* the City of *Caudium*, which had formerly done the *Romans* so much Mischief. The Historians indeed say nothing of this Conquest, which wiped off the Reproach of *The Caudian Forks*; but it is nevertheless very probable, that it was made in this Campaign, and by *Lentulus*. The³² *Fasti Capitolini* give us Reason to believe, that from this time, the Appellation of *Caudinus* was added to his Surname. Which is one Proof among others, that his Descendants took this Surname from him, and that none of the Family could merit it, but this illustrious *Consul*. This happy *Consulship* ended with a *Census*, and a *Lustrum*. The virtuous *Fabricius*, and the famous *Æmilius Papus*, his constant Colleague, in all his military and civil Employments, had been made *Censors*: and the austere Virtue they professed, would not³³ permit them to tolerate the

²⁹ According to *Pliny*, the *Plebeians* were not suffered to possess more than seven Acres of Land in the first Ages of the Republick. The *Romans* gave the Name of *Jugerum*, or Acre, to as much Ground as one Yoke of Oxen could plough in a Day. *Jugerum vocabatur, quod uno jugo boum in die exarari posset.* *Plin.* 18. 3. Hence the great Difference of Acres in different Provinces. *Pliny* makes an Acre to be 240 Foot long, and 120 broad; that is, 28800 square Feet.

³⁰ Only the *Fasti Capitolini* have preserved the Memory of *Cornelius Lentulus's* Triumph. The Historians scarce mention his Victories over the *Samnites* and *Lucani*, and totally omit his Triumph. Nevertheless, *Plutarch* affirms, that *Lentulus* made War in *Samnium* and *Lucania*, whilst his Colleague *Curius* was gaining great Advantages over *Pyrrhus*. And the same Author adds, that the King of *Epirus* detached away a part of his Troops, to block up the Defiles, and hinder *Lentulus*, who was then in *Lucania*, from passing them; for fear the two Armies should join against him. *Pliny*, B. 33. c. 2.

takes it for granted, that *Lentulus* won a Battel in *Samnium*, where he says, that out of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, he gave *Servius Cornelius Merenda*, who had signalized himself by his Valour, a Crown of Gold.

³¹ *Pliny*, *Ibid.* says, that *Cornelius Lentulus* had taken a City in *Samnium*; *Samnitium oppido capto*. Possibly, the Word *Caudium* may have been dropped by the Copyists, or the Author might think that City sufficiently pointed out, in these Words *Samnitium oppido capto*. It is well known that this City was famous for the Misfortune of the *Romans*, in the Affair of *The Caudian Forks*.

³² There is indeed a Chasm in the *Fasti Capitolini*, in which there was at first another Surname of *Cornelius Lentulus*; but it is now too much defaced to be read.

³³ The Authority of the *Censors* was at that time formidable to any of the three Orders of Men in *Rome*, whether Senators, Knights, or *Plebeians*, who behaved themselves ill. It reached the *Patricians*.

the Corruptions which prevailed in *Rome*, and which reached to the chief Persons in the State, even those who had been more than once raised to the supreme Dignity. For when Reformation of Manners was the Question, *Fabricius* and *Papus* were incapable of Fear, or Partiality; so that when they had drawn up the List of the Senators, and published it, the People were surprized to find many Alterations in it. The *Censors* had struck the Names of all those who lived dissolute Lives out of the List. But the most astonishing Circumstance was, That the Name of *Cornelius Ruffinus* was struck out of the Roll: a Man, who had acquired no small Reputation as a Soldier; who had been promoted to the *Consulship*, preferably to so many others, by *Fabricius* himself; and lastly, who had been advanced to the *Dictatorship*. But the Times were changed. When dangerous Wars threatened the State, *Ruffinus* was a proper Man to be placed at the Head of *Roman* Armies. But now, his Avarice was thought to deserve Punishment: And he was degraded from being a Senator, only because he was found to have ten Pounds weight of Silver in Plate, for his Table. Happy times for the Republick, when Riches and Luxury were branded with Infamy! A Simplicity in Furniture, and a Love of Poverty, preserved the Virtue of the *Romans*, as long as they subsisted among them; and this People were never greater, than when State and Expence were banished their City. As for *Fabricius*, the richest piece of Furniture he had, was a silver Salt-feller, with an Horn-foot: and *Papus's* greatest Treasure, was a little silver Dish, in which he made his Offerings to the Gods, and which was transmitted down to him by his Ancestors. By the *Census*, taken by these two grave *Censors*, there appeared to be in *Rome* two hundred seventy one thousand two hundred twenty four Men fit to bear Arms.

§. XI. As for *Pyrrhus*, the Republick still feared him, even after his Departure. The bare Name of great Soldiers, leave lasting Impressions behind them. It was apprehended, that the King of *Epirus* would soon appear in *Italy* again, with a more numerous Army, than ever: And the *Romans* being under these Apprehensions, their *Comitia* once more promoted *Curius* to the *Consulate*, which was the third time he was raised to this supreme Dignity. The *Patrician* Colleague, the Electors gave him, was one *Cornelius*, surnamed *Merenda*, a Man of Valour, who had been honoured with a Crown of Gold the last Year, by *Lentulus*, as a Reward for his Exploits in *Samnium*, and *Lucania*. And the Republick may be said to have gained a second Victory over *Pyrrhus*, by her continuing *Curius* in the *Consulship*. It is probable, That the *Epirote* was afraid of coping again with so formidable a Rival, as this *Consul*, and despaired of conquering him; and That this alone was sufficient to deter him from making any farther Attempts upon *Italy*. And if it be granted, that the Fear of *Curius* was what alone determined *Pyrrhus* to turn his Arms against *Macedon*; it must be allowed, that no *Roman* ever acquired a greater Share of true Glory, or did his Country more Service, than this *Consul* did, by the bare Terror of his Name. As for the *Tarentini*, they had hated *Pyrrhus*, almost from the time he arrived among them; and now they began to despise him. His Flight, his Stay in *Sicily*, the Delay of the Succours he had promised them, and his new War in *Macedon*, made them fear, the Protector they had chosen, had deserted the common Cause. Yet still, *Milo* alone, with his *Epirote* Garrison, kept them as

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DENTATUS,
L. CORNELIUS
LENTULUS,
Consuls.
*Plut. Life of
Sylla. Seneca,
&c.*

Val. Max. B.
4. c. 4. §. 5.

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M. CURIUS
DENTATUS,
CORNELIUS
MERENDA,
Consuls.

cians as much as the meanest of the People. They had a Power of setting Marks of Infamy on them, by publishing their Crimes, either in writing, or viva voce. But their Decrees were not irrevocable. It was common, at least in *Tully's* time, for those who had been degraded by the *Censors*, to get themselves restored at the Tribunal of the People. For this Reason, *Cicero* says, *B. 4. de Republica*, that the Sentence of the *Censors* reached no farther than to the Ignominy and Shame of a publick Reprimand. *Censoris judicium, nihil fere damnato effert, præter ruborem. Itaque quod omnis ea judicatio versatur tantummodo in nomine, animadversio ignominia dicta est.* An Office of this Importance, required, without doubt, a Rectitude and Integrity of Mind, Proof against all Temptations, in those who discharged it. They being, in some measure, the Arbiters of the Reputation of private Persons, and the Honour of Families, it was to be feared, that they might abuse their Power; and that their

Resentments, or Revenge, might influence them in their Censures. For this Reason, before they entered upon the Exercise of their Office, they took a solemn Oath, that they would conform themselves to the Laws of Equity in all things, and would aim at nothing but how best to promote the Interest of the Publick, in laying the Subsidies, in the *Census* of the Citizens, the Valuation of every Man's Estate, the Application of the publick Money, and in the Exercise of their Power of inspecting Mens Manners, and branding those with Infamy who lived dishonestly. In short, they swore by all that was most sacred in their Religion, that they would not be influenced by any Motives of Hatred, or Interest. After this, the Senators came to the *Capitol*, to invoke *Jupiter*, to whom they offered a Sacrifice. See what we have said of the Institution and Prerogatives of the *Roman Censors*, p. 513, 526, 527, and 594, of the first Volume; and p. 55, 59, 113, and 115. of this Volume.

yet

Year of yet in Subjection. Nevertheless, they made some Efforts, to shake off the Yoke. They put one of their Citizens, named *Nicon*, at their Head, and forced *Milo*, and his Troops, to retire to the Citadel, and confine themselves there. And these Divisions, which began to spring up in the Bosom of *Tarentum*, made *Curius* neglect to lay siege to it. He, without doubt; hoped, that *Tarentum* would destroy herself with her own Weapons, and would in time be forced to surrender her self up to the Romans. So that the wise Consul employed his Forces only against the *Samnites*, and the *Lucani*. And as these People had abandoned their Lands and Cities to the Mercy of the Enemy, and retired to their Mountains, *Curius* left them perish with Hunger and Misery there, and subdued them, without once giving the Battel. If a Year so barren in great Exploits, did not furnish him with Matter for a Triumph, yet it at least procured him the Glory of having preserved Rome from her most dangerous Enemy.

§. XII. IN the succeeding Consulship, the Romans were a little confident, that *Pyrrhus* would return no more. The new Consuls were ³⁴ *C. Fabius Dorso*, and *C. Claudius Canina*; who had no Enemies to engage with, but the old Allies, *Pyrrhus*. Though the latter were a little suspicious, that the King would not perform his Promises, yet some Remains of Hope still kept them steady to their Cause. The King's Emissaries were continually suggesting to the *Samnites* and *Lucani*, that after he had conquered the *Macedonians*, he would return into *Italy*, as he had done, after reducing the *Carthaginians* and *Mamertini*, in *Sicily*. *Samnium* therefore, and *Lucania*, still in Conjunction with the *Bruttii*, took Arms again, and came down into their Plains, to defend their Towns, and preserve their Harvests. They had nothing more to fear from the invincible *Curius*, and thought themselves able to cope with *Claudius Canina*, the only Consul of the two, who took the Field. He indeed deserved to be preferred to his Colleague *Fabius*. This was the second time he had been in Office; and he gained the same Ascendant over these Enemies of the Republick, which the Romans had formerly done. He defeated them, once at least, in pitched Battel. But this Victory would not have come to our Knowledge, by the few Records we have of these Ages, if the *Fasti Capitolini* had not preserved the Memory of it. In them we find, that *Claudius Canina* triumphed over the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Bruttii*, in his second Consulship, on the Day of the *Quirinalia*, or the Festival of *Romulus*, that is, the seventeenth Day of February.

THESE new Advantages gained by the Republick, made the Romans formidable to the most distant Nations, and even to *Pyrrhus* himself, amidst his Conquests in *Macedon*. He ordered his Son *Helenus*, whom he had left in *Tarentum*, to return Home to him; which was a wise Precaution: but it plainly shewed, that he had no Design to visit *Italy* again. This made the *Tarentini* the more proud, and they watched *Milo* in his Citadel the more narrowly. And *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who perhaps was afraid of the Sallies of the ambitious King of *Epirus*, desiring to enter into League with the Romans, and unite himself to them, by Treaties, sent an Embassy to Rome, for that Purpose. This was the first time any *Egyptians* were seen there. The Romans were exceedingly rejoiced, to see Foreigners come so far, to seek the Friendship of a Republick, whose Power was yet confined to a narrow Compass, and who had scarce any thing but her Virtue to recommend her; and they did not suffer themselves to be outdone in Politeness. They sent away four Ambassadors to *Egypt*, who were chosen with the utmost Circumspection, by a Senate, whose chief Point in view, was to preserve their Reputation Abroad entire. The Head of the Embassy was, that *Fabius Gurgus*, who was so far from being of an avaritious Temper, that he had lost in his Youth his Reputation, by his Prodigality. His Consulships and Triumphs gave him a Weight and Dignity; and the three Associates joined with him, were *Curule Aediles*, whom we shall see soon afterwards promoted to the Consulate. Two of them were Brothers, of the *Fabian* Family; de

³⁴ Authors differ about the two Consuls for this Year. *Cassiodorus* and *Velleius*, call the first Consul, *Caius Fabius Dorso Licinus*. The other was *Caius Claudius Canina*, who had been Consul before, in the Year of Rome 468. *Eutropius*, says *Caius Fabricius Luscinus* was one of the Consuls, and not *Caius Fabius*. The *Greek Tables*, and those of *Cuspinian*, give the former the Surname of

Luscinus, and the latter, that of *Canina*. And it seems to us probable, that the Likeness of the two Names *Fabius* and *Fabricius*, as also of the two Surnames *Luscinus* and *Licinus*, may have occasioned the Mistake of the Annalists. It is certain both these Surnames were used in the *Fabian* Family, and may be observed in the Sequel of this History.

scended from that *Fabius*, who was called *Pictor*, because he ³⁵ painted the Temple of the Goddess of *Health*. The fourth Ambassador was *Q. Ogulnius*, who, though a *Plebeian*, was of a Family which had enjoyed great Offices. These Deputies set out from *Rome*, and arrived in *Egypt*, where *Ptolomy* gave them a Reception equal to their Merit, and worthy of so magnificent a Prince. It was customary for the Kings of *Egypt*, to send Crowns of Gold to those whom they invited to their Table: And the *Romans*, who were entertained at *Ptolomy's*, accepted these Crowns, purely out of good Manners, and in order to honour the King with his own Presents; for as soon as the Repast was over, they crowned his Statues with them. This Contempt of Riches gained the *Romans* great Honour in *Egypt*. Nevertheless, the King would not suffer the Ambassadors to depart, without new Presents, both for their Republick, and themselves. But the same Disinterestedness which they had, to their Honour, shewn in *Alexandria*, they likewise exercised upon their Return to *Rome*. They put all the Presents *Ptolomy* had given them for themselves, as well as those for the Republick, into the publick Treasury. Such was the Virtue of *Roman Citizens* at that time! They were afraid of reaping any Benefit by the Services they did the Republick. They would have Glory to be the only Reward of their civil and military Employments. But nevertheless, the Senate and People were so well pleased with this voluntary giving up of their own Treasures, that a Decree was passed, commanding the *Quætors* to restore the Ambassadors, all the Presents which the King of *Egypt* had expressly given to them. So that the Republick was as just, as her Subjects generous. At this time she sent out two Colonies, one to ³⁶ *Cosa*, a City situated on the *Tyrrhæan Sea*, and the other to ³⁷ *Pæstum*, a delightful Habitation in *Lucania*, which the *Dorians*, who founded it, called *Possidonia*. This City was upon the same Coast as *Cosa*; but at a considerable Distance from it. The *Romans* seem then to have had a View to securing some Sea-Ports, as if they had foreseen the Wars, which they were sooner or later to maintain with *Carthage*.

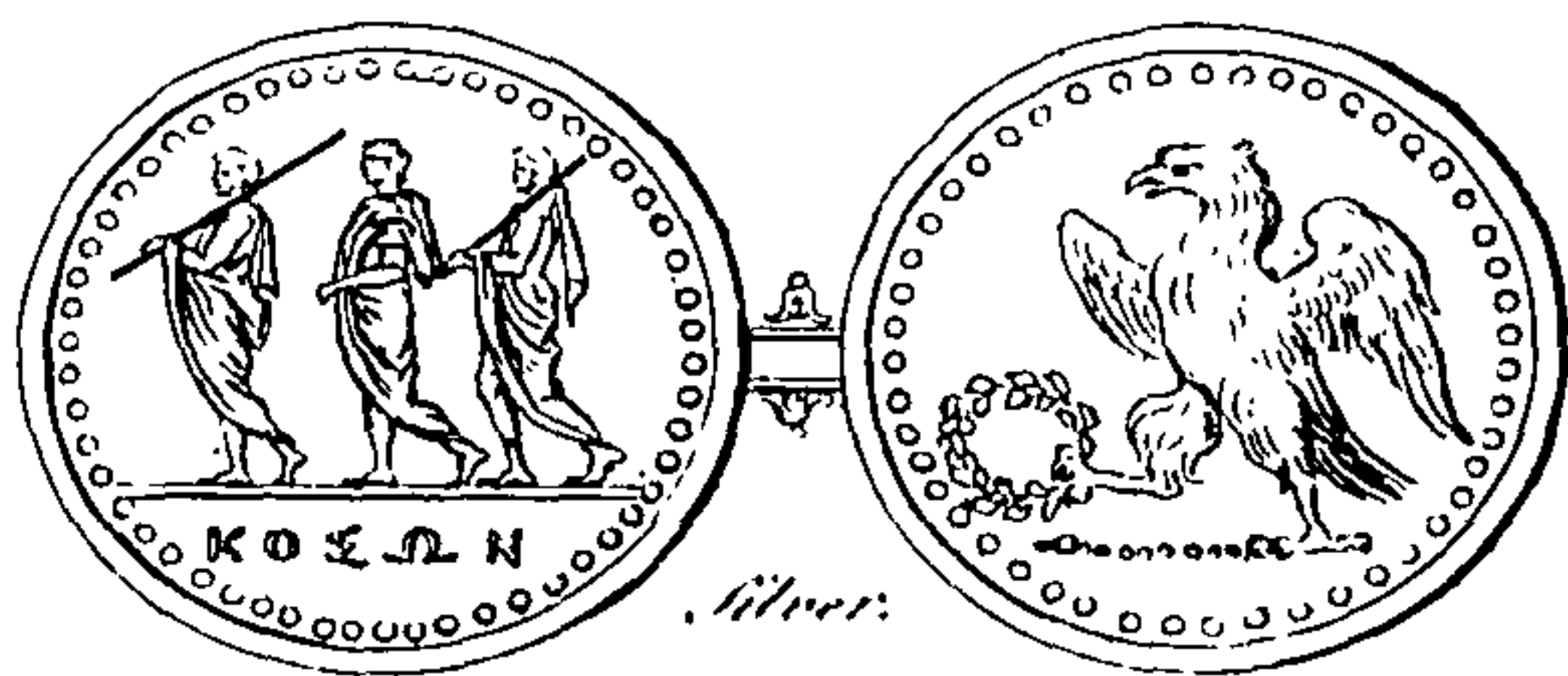
§. XIII. INDEED, the *Carthaginians* made the first Discovery of their Jealousy of the *Roman Republick*, in the ensuing Year. The *Centuries* had just chosen two new *Consuls*, who had already born that Office, and commanded Armies. These were *L. Papirius*, surnamed *Cursor*, the worthy Son of an illustrious Father;

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C. FABIVS
DORSO, C.
CLAVDIVS
CANINA, Con-
suls.
Justin. B. 18.
c. 2.

Val. Max.
B. 4. c. 3. §. 9.
and *Zon. B.* 7.
c. 6.

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L. PAPIRIVS
CURSOR, SP.
CARVILIVS,
Consuls.



³⁵ *Pliny* says, *B.* 35. c. 4. that this Painting was reserved, till the Temple itself was burnt down, in the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*.

³⁶ *Pliny*, *B.* 3. c. 5. mentions a *Roman Colony*, which was sent to *Cosa*. *Cosæ Colonia Volcentium Aulæ*. And he places this City in a Canton of *Etruria*, which he calls the Canton of the *Volcentes*, of whom we have spoken already. *Cosa*, according to *Strabo*, *B.* 5. stood on an Eminence near the Port of *Hercules*, now *Porto Hercole*, a Marsh, which had been made by the overflowing of the Sea, and is now called *Stagno d'Orto*. Near it was The Promontory of *Argentarius*, or *Mons Argentarius*, now called by the Natives *Monte Argentario*. The Situation of the ancient City here mentioned, agrees very well with that of *Lancedonia*. *Pliny* speaks of the Port of *Cosa*, *B.* 30. But it is uncertain, whether this Port be the same with *Porto Hercole*, or with that which is on the other side of *Monte Argentario*, and is now called *Porto*

di San Stephano. According to *Strabo*, the Sea abounded with *Tunnies*, in this Place. *Goltzius* has given us a Medal, which bears the Name of *Cosa*, or *Cossa*, as some ancient Authors write it: and the Antiquaries conjecture, that the three Men on the Medal represent the *Triumviri* of the Colony. But others suppose that the middle one is the chief Magistrate of this *Roman Colony*, who is guarded by two *Apparitores*. The Eagle of *Jupiter*, which holds a Crown of Laurel in one of his Claws, alludes to the Worship the Inhabitants paid to that God, in a Temple which they erected to him under the Title of *Jupiter Vicilinus*.

³⁷ See what we have said of *Pæstum*, *B.* 17. p. 194. of this Volume, Note 29.

³⁸ In the Epitome of *Livy*, mention is made under this Year of *Rome* 480, of the Punishment of a *Vestal* named *Sextilia*, who was condemned to be buried alive, for having broken her solemn Vows; and *Orosius* speaks of her Sentence, *B.* 4. c. 2.

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CARVILIUS,
Consuls.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus, and
Just. B. 25.

and *Sp. Carvilius*, surnamed ³⁹ *Maximus*. Perhaps these two great Men were chosen to oppose *Pyrrhus*, whose return into *Italy* was still dreaded. The King of *Epirus* was then Master of almost all *Macedon*; and he owed the greatest Part of this fine Conquest, to the Valour of his Son *Ptolomy*. This young Prince, though but twenty-two Years of Age, almost equalled his Father; and such Accounts were given of his Bravery, as were very surprising. It was therefore natural enough, for *Pyrrhus* to leave this young ⁴⁰ Hero, to complete the Ruin of King *Antigonus*, who had now nothing left in *Macedon*, but a small Number of Sea-Port Towns; and to return himself to assist *Tarentum*, and his Allies in *Italy*. But his Inconstancy, or rather his Fear of the *Romans*, made him take another Course. New Enemies, and new Hopes, drew him into *Peloponnesus*. Which is not near so surprising, as his taking his two Sons, *Ptolomy* and *Helenus* along with him; instead of leaving the eldest at least in *Macedon*, to be a Check upon *Antigonus*. But these Considerations would have been out of Character in *Pyrrhus*. He was more bold and enterprising, than prudent and cautious in his Measures; and by the Greatness of the Army he led into *Peloponnesus*, it was evident, his Design was to invade it. Nevertheless, he disguised his Intentions under the specious Pretence of re-establishing on his Throne *Cleonymes* King of *Lacedæmon*, a Prince, who had been oppressed by his Relations, and dishonoured by his Wife. This unfortunate Prince had been driven from his Capital by *Areus*, his ambitious Nephew, and by the Intrigues of *Chalidonis* his Wife. She was in the Bloom of Life, disliked an old Husband, and indulged her self in a Passion for *Acrotatus*, the Son of *Areus*. Under these Misfortunes, *Cleonymes* had recourse for Assistance to *Pyrrhus*, whose many Victories made him thought invincible: and *Pyrrhus* flew, ⁴¹ wherever his Ambition and restless Temper called him. In his Passage, he plundered ⁴² *Laconia*, as if he came with quite other Designs, than that of revenging the Injuries done to *Cleonymes*; and at length arrived before *Lacedæmon*, which he had certainly carried by Assault, if he had been diligent and expeditious. *Areus* had crossed the Sea, and was making War in *Crete*: and the *Lacedæmonian* Rebels were left defenceless. But *Pyrrhus* gave them time to ⁴³ breathe. They fortified themselves in their City, and the *Spartan* Women were not inferior to their Husbands, in Constancy and Courage. So far were they from quitting *Lacedæmon*, and retiring into the Island of *Crete*, as they were desired ⁴⁴ to do, that they undertook to finish the Entrenchments ⁴⁵ round the City during the Night; and thereby give their Husbands time to recover their Strength by Sleep, that they might be the better able to fight the next Day. The only Woman among these Heroines, that wanted Courage, was *Chalidonis*. She, stung with Remorse, and dreading to fall into the Hands of an enraged Husband, seized a Lance, with a Resolution to strangle her

³⁹ This was the second Consulship of *Papirius* and *Carvilius*. *Frontinus*, or his Copyists, are mistaken, in giving the latter the Name of *Calvisius*.

⁴⁰ *Justin* says, B. 25. that *Antigonus* being no longer able to keep the Field against *Pyrrhus*, chose to retire to *Theffalonica*, with the Remains of his Army, the greatest part of which were *Gauls*. There, says he, this Prince waited for a favourable Opportunity of reconquering his Kingdom. But *Ptolomy*, the Son of the King of *Epirus* was too active to give him time to fortify himself there. So that being pursued by the young Conqueror quite to the Place of his Retreat, he quitted all *Macedon* to him, and could find no Place to retreat to in his Misfortunes, but the Forests.

⁴¹ According to *Plutarch*, the King of *Epirus*'s Army consisted of 25000 Foot, 2000 Horse, and 24 Elephants.

⁴² In vain, says *Plutarch*, did the Ambassadors of *Lacedæmon* demand Satisfaction of *Pyrrhus*, for the Hostilities his Troops had committed in their Country; he gave them only provoking Answers. Upon which one of them, named *Mandricidas*, addressed himself to the King of *Epirus* in these Words. *If you are a God, you won't injure a People who have not offended you. And if you are a Man, we will find out another, who shall surpass you in Valour.*

⁴³ The Cause of this Delay was the King of *Epirus*'s fear, that his Soldiers would plunder the City, if they took Possession of it in the Night. And therefore, being persuaded that *Argos* was defenceless, he thought he might without any Danger delay the Assault till the next Day.

⁴⁴ *Plutarch* tells us, that one of them, named *Archidamia*, came into the Senate of the *Spartans* with a naked Sword in her Hand; and with Courage above her Sex, complained of the Affront which had been offered them, by the Opinion soon entertained, that they would survive the taking of *Lacedæmon*. At the same time, she declared the fixed Design of taking up Arms in Defence of the Country, with a full Resolution to conquer, or be buried in its Ruins.

⁴⁵ According to *Plutarch*, the Inhabitants of *Sparta* in general, without Distinction of Sexes, threw a Line parallel to the Enemy's Camp. It was, according to *Phylarchus*, six Cubits broad, four deep, and eight hundred Foot long; but not quite so much, according to *Hieronymus*, whom *Plutarch* quotes. The two ends of the Line were guarded by Chariots, fixed half the Depth of the Wheel into the Ground, that they might make the better Resistance, and be sufficiently strong to oppose the Force of the Elephants in the Enemy's Army.

self, in case the City was stormed. In the mean time, *Pyrrhus* came and attacked it by break of Day; and seemed to have met with new *Romans*, in the few *Lacedæmonians* he was come to engage with. The Attack was vigorous, and the Defence ⁴⁶ obstinate. The *Lacedæmonian* Women did their Husbands the Offices of Squires, and supplied them with Arms, whilst they were fighting. Night alone put an end to the Dispute; and then *Pyrrhus* retired ⁴⁷ with Loss. This first Advantage much encouraged the *Lacedæmonians*, who sustained the fresh ⁴⁸ Attack the next Day, with as much Bravery, though not so good Success in the beginning, as the Evening before. *Pyrrhus* forced the Barricades, broke through the Enemy, and entered *Lacedæmon*. The City resounded with the Shouts of these generous *Spartans*, and the Onset was renewed in the Streets and open Places. Then *Pyrrhus's* Horse was wounded in the Belly with an Arrow, and rising, threw the King, who had a dangerous Fall. And before he could raise himself up, there was a Skirmish round him, between the *Epirots*, and the *Lacedæmonians*. The former made it their Business to save their Prince, the latter to kill him, and drive the Enemy without their Walls. And at length the *Lacedæmonians* proved strongest. The *Epirots* gave Way, too happy, that they carried *Pyrrhus* alive out of the Gates of the City, which were immediately shut; and they continued the Siege.

THE *Lacedæmonians* had indeed now exhausted their Strength, and lessened their Numbers, by the brave Efforts they had made; and the Succours which were sent them from two different Quarters, were therefore very seasonable. *Antigonus* sent one of his Generals with some Troops, from *Corinth*; and they got safe into the besieged City. On the other hand, *Arenus* left the Island of *Crete*, and came full sail to *Lacedæmon*, bringing 2000 Men with him, to defend a faithful People, who had so constantly adhered to him. And when strengthened with these Reinforcements, the *Lacedæmonians* were no longer afraid of *Pyrrhus's* Assaults. The Women no longer mixed with the Soldiers; the fresh Troops only, took all the Fatigues of the Siege upon them. They fought with Success, and often forced *Pyrrhus* to retire; nevertheless, the King seemed obstinately bent on spending the Winter before the Place. But could he have any Dependence on his own Resolutions? A new Project came into his Head, and drew him from *Lacedæmon* to *Argos*. Two Rivals shared the chief Dignities in that City, each of which had his own Faction. Their Names were *Aristippus*, and *Aristias*; and the former having drawn King *Antigonus* into his Interest, this was enough for the latter to call in *Pyrrhus* to his Assistance. How

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⁴⁶ In this first Action, says *Plutarch*, young *Ptolomy* ran to the Assistance of his Father *Pyrrhus*, at the Head of 2000 *Gauls*, and the choicest Body of the *Chaonians*. After they had in vain endeavoured to break a Way through the Chariots, these new Troops tried to lift up the Wheels, and loosen them by mere Strength of Arm. *Acrotatus* was the first who perceived this, and he crossed the City with three hundred Soldiers; and marching a great way about in hollow Ways, in order to conceal his March, came and fell on the Rear of *Ptolomy's* Troops, all on a sudden, and forced them to face about to defend themselves. In the Disorder which this sudden Attack occasioned, most of the Enemy's Troops fell into the Ditch; others, who were under the Chariots, were cut in pieces by the *Lacedæmonians*; and at length, the rest, after an obstinate Fight, and the spilling a great deal of Blood, saved themselves by flight. The old Men and Women on the other side the Trench, who were Witnesses of *Acrotatus's* Valour, made the Air ring with their Acclamations. He himself, covered with Dust and Blood, passed through the City in Triumph, and returned to his Post; whilst the Men and Women were very earnest in extolling his Valour, and wishing him and his Wife *Chalidone*, a Posterity worthy of him.

⁴⁷ *Pyrrhus* also experienced the Courage of the *Spartans*. *Plutarch* boasts particularly of the prodigious Feats of Valour, performed by one of them named *Phyllius*. This valiant Man, having mowed down the *Epirot* Soldiers, which he endeavoured to force themselves a Passage, being

covered all over with Wounds, and ready to expire, resigned his Post to an Officer who fought near him, and went and fell dead in the midst of his own Men, to avoid leaving his Body to the Mercy of the Enemy.

⁴⁸ According to *Plutarch*, *Pyrrhus* dreamt the Night before this second Action, that he threw Lightning into *Lacedæmon*, and set the City on Fire: and when he awaked, he thought his Dream a sure Prefage of the Reduction of the City. He communicated it to his Confidants; and *Lyfimachus* was the only one, who judged otherwise of it, than the King himself did. He was of Opinion, that the Gods informed him by this Vision, that he should never take it: And he founded his Interpretation upon a Custom, which prevailed among the *Greeks*, to wall up all Places struck with Lightning. They were afterwards considered as Places religiously sacred, which no one was permitted to enter. Thus the Pagans drew good or bad Inferences from these Notions, which were borrowed from their Ceremonies, and the Worship they paid their Gods. They made it an Art to interpret these chimerical Visions; and it sometimes happened by Accident, that the Interpretation agreed with the Event. But *Pyrrhus*, who made no Use of these Prepossessions of Paganism, otherwise than as they promoted his Designs, was not a Man to be alarmed at so trifling an Allusion: and he endeavoured to keep up the Spirits of the Officers, which were nearest his Person. You ought to look upon the Honour of Fighting with *Pyrrhus*, said he to them, as the best of Auguries.

great

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CARVILIUS,
Consuls.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

Joseph B. 25.

Plut. Life of
Pyrrhus.

great was the Pleasure of the King of *Epirus*, to have such an Opportunity of changing ! He despised the Forces of *Antigonus*; looked on him as a deprived King, whom he resolved to force to renounce the Purple; and left *Lacedæmon* to repair to *Argos*. But as *Areus* was not ignorant of *Pyrrhus*'s Departure, he resolved to perplex him in his March. With that View, he lodged his Soldiers in Ambush, in inaccessible Places; suffered the advanced Guard of the *Epirot* Army, commanded by *Pyrrhus*, to pass by him; and then fell on a sudden on the Rear; upon which *Ptolomy*, *Pyrrhus*'s eldest Son, ran thither to its Assistance. His Courage carried him into the midst of the Battel; and there he lost his Life, fighting to save his Father's Army, which was too far advanced, and embarrassed in the narrow Passes. This Loss affected the King in a very sensible manner; he suddenly turned about on the Enemy, who were imprudently come down into the Plain; and revenged the Death of his Son, with Streams of *Lacedæmonian* Blood. After his Victory, when his Son's Body was brought to him, he said, *I am not at all surprized that Ptolomy lost his Life; my Astonishment is, that he lived so long !* Indeed *Ptolomy* inherited his Father's Courage. They were both brave, even to Rashness: of which we shall soon have a convincing Proof, in the last Expedition *Pyrrhus* undertook.

§. XIV. At length *Pyrrhus* arrived before *Argos*; but *Antigonus* had prevented him, and encamped in an advantageous Situation on some Eminences. *Pyrrhus* seeing this, immediately sent to offer him Battel; but the *Argians* understood their own Interest too well, to suffer two foreign Kings to fight at their Gates. They knew the Conqueror would infallibly seize *Argos*, and reduce a free City to a State of Slavery: and they therefore entreated the two Kings not to engage. *Antigonus* consented, and delivered up one of his Sons to the *Argians*, as their Security for the Performance of his Promise; and *Pyrrhus* gave them fine Promises, but without any Hostage. He only drew off his Men to some Distance from the City, towards the Port of *Argos*, and that not without Design. The factious *Aristias* ⁵⁰ had agreed to open one of the City Gates to the *Epirot*, in the Night. The Business was only how to deceive *Aristippus*'s Party, and, without being perceived, to convey *Pyrrhus*'s Men, in the dark, and while their Enemies were asleep, into the Market-place, which was in the Center of the City. And the King of *Epirus* had *Gauls* in his Service, who executed this part of the Project with wonderful Silence. Then *Helenus*, now the only Son of *Pyrrhus*, was commanded to march at the Head of a Body of *Epirots*, near the Gate, but not to enter it, till farther Orders. As for *Pyrrhus*, he looked upon *Argos* as already taken; and indeed the Stratagem had hitherto succeeded. But the Noise of the Elephants ⁵¹ which were ordered to enter the City after the *Gauls*, disconcerted all these Measures, which had been so well taken. The Inhabitants of *Argos* being awakened by them, ran to Arms, and those of *Aristippus*'s Party, desired *Antigonus* to enter the City at another Gate. Upon this the King of *Macedon* marched up to the Walls of the City, but would suffer none to enter it, but *Alcioneus* his Son, with a Body of Troops. *Areus* joined *Alcioneus* with a Body of *Lacedæmonians*; and it is easy to imagine the horrible Consequences of a Fight in the Night. *Epirots* against *Macedonians*, *Argians* against *Argians*, and *Lacedæmonians* against *Gauls*, all fought in Confusion. The Streets ran with Blood. At Day-break, *Pyrrhus* soon discovered what had been the Cause of so great a Slaughter; he saw the *Macedonian* Troops engaged with his own. Then he sent Orders to his Son *Helenus*,

⁴⁹ *Plutarch* on this Occasion, represents *Antigonus* as returning a very sensible Answer to *Pyrrhus*, who had sent him a Challenge by an Herald. *Tell your Master*, said he, *that my way is to fight and conquer, by well-timing every thing. As for him, if he is weary of his Life, he may find other Ways enough to put an end to it.*

⁵⁰ *Plutarch* in his *Life of Pyrrhus*, tells us, that this Prince's Enterprize on *Argos* was preceded by ill boding Prognosticks. The King of *Epirus*, says he, had just been offering Sacrifice; after which the Spectators were seized with Horror at the sight of the Heads of several Oxen, which though separated from their Bodies, thrust out their Tongues, and licked up their own Blood. At the same time, the Priestess of *Apollo Lycius*, ran through the City like one mad, and cried out with terrible Shrieks, that she saw all Places covered with the Blood of

the Dead and Dying, who fell confusedly together; and lastly, that she saw an Eagle come and stoop upon the Combatants, and immediately disappear. These sorts of Prognosticks suited the Taste of the ancient Historians. They took Advantage of the Credulity of the People, and the Enthusiasm of their Priests, to give the History of their Heroes a miraculous Air.

⁵¹ It unfortunately happened, that the Gate which was delivered up to *Pyrrhus* was not high enough for the Elephants, which had Towers on their Backs as usual, to pass under them. So that it was necessary first to unload these Beasts, in order to enable them to get into the City, and then to put their Towers upon them again. This Disorder caused the Delay, and made the Noise, which discovered *Pyrrhus*'s Stratagem.

with all Speed, to make a large Breach in the Wall, wait for him without the City, and favour his Retreat, in case he should be hard pressed by the Enemy. But there unfortunately happened to be so much Confusion at the Gate, which *Pyrrhus* had entered, that his Messenger could not get out of the City. An Elephant ⁵² of an enormous Size stopped up the Passage on one side; and *Helenus* on the other, did his utmost to get through the Gate, to come to his Father's Relief. At that instant *Pyrrhus* was in a part of *Argos*, where he saw two brass Statues in a Groupe by him, which were a Bull and Wolf fighting: and he then remembered, that the Diviners had foretold that he should die, whenever he saw a Wolf fight a Bull. This Reflection therefore startled, but did not discourage him. Nevertheless, he would fain have got out of the City, but his Son's Troops at the Gate were an invincible Obstruction in his Way. *Pyrrhus* in vain cried out, *I am the King*; his Voice was not heard for the clattering of Arms: And the Croud of those who pressed to get in at the Gate was so great, that it was not possible to get through them. They were so thronged under the Gate, that they wounded one another with their Arms. *Pyrrhus* therefore returned to the Fight, and having given his Diadem to one of his Friends, to prevent his being known, entered again into the midst of the Fray; and there received a slight Wound from an *Argian*, who seemed to be one of the meanest of the People. At the sight of his Blood, the King's Courage was enflamed, and he was going up to his Aggressor to stab him, when the Mother of the *Argian*, who saw the Combat from the Roof of an House, affrighted at the imminent Danger of her Son, that Moment caught up a Stone with both her Hands, and threw it down upon *Pyrrhus*. The Hero, ⁵³ wounded by the Hand of a Woman, staggered, fell, and lay senseless. Some of *Antigonus's* Soldiers crowded round him; but only *Zopyrus* the *Macedonian* knew the King of *Epirus*, and he dragged him into a Porch. There *Pyrrhus* recovered his Senses a little, found himself surrounded by Enemies, and saw *Zopyrus* ready to cut off his Head. Then some unaccountable Fit of martial Ar-
 our, inspired the wounded Hero with Fury; his Eyes sparkled with Rage; *Zopyrus* was terrified at the sight of him; his Arm failed him for a Moment, and he could not murder the King. At least he struck him very faintly; but at last, with several Strokes cut his Throat. Thus perished a Prince, whose Valour had equalled that of *Alexander*, had it been as well conducted. His Head was ⁵⁴ first brought to Prince *Alcioneus*, who carried it to his Father, and threw it down at his Feet. But *Antigonus*, who thought his Son the Author of this cruel Action, threatened him with his Cane, and drove him out of his Presence. This good King lamented the Death of his most formidable Enemy, made a pompous Funeral for him, and sent back *Helenus*, the Son of the deceased King, to succeed his Father in the Throne of *Epirus*. This Digression seems necessary, so far as it discovers the Character of the

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gold.

⁵² The horrible Confusion that *Plutarch* describes, is partly occasioned by another Elephant, who lost his Master in the Croud. This Beast, sensible of his Loss, ran with Fury through the Croud, and hindered one another, and shut up all the Armies. He turned about upon those who retired, and beat down all he met with in his Way, till he saw the Person he sought for. Then, finding him dead, he took him up with his Trunk, and carried him out of the City, tumbling down, and trampling under Foot all he met.

⁵³ *Pausanias* says, B. 1. that the *Argians* said, that *Pyrrhus* directed this Stone, which was thrown at *Pyrrhus*, and the Poet *Leuceas* took Advantage of

this fabulous Tradition, to do Honour thereby to the City of *Argos*; and mentions it in his History.

⁵⁴ We have yet an ancient Medal of *Pyrrhus* on which his Name is inscribed. On the Reverse which is shewn above, we see a winged Victory with a Crown in her left Hand. This was a proper Symbol for an Hero, who had signalized himself by a long Series of heroical Actions. The Trophy, the Victory holds in her other Hand, represents that, which he consecrated in the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Tarentum*, after the Battel of *Heraclea*.

Year of most formidable Enemy of the *Romans*; and it would probably have been thought a
 R O M E Defect to have omitted it. But to return to the Republick.

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 CARVILIUS,
 Consuls.
Florus B 1.
 c. 18.

Orosius B. 4.
 and *Flor. Epi-*
tome 14.

Frontin. Stra-
tag. B. 3. c. 3.

Fasti Capitol.

§. XV. BEFORE the Report of the Death of *Pyrrhus* had reached *Italy*, the *Consuls Papyrius* and *Carvilius* were entered into the Territories of the *Samnites*, *Bruttii*, and *Lucani*. The former, despairing of ever seeing their Defender again, ran all Hazards. After the Loss of *Pyrrhus*, they looked on their Liberty as absolutely lost. And indeed, one Historian so far exaggerates the Victory the *Romans* gained over them, as to say it was so complete, that *Samnium* itself was no more. At least it is certain, that after this happy Consulship, the *Samnites* long continued submissive and peaceable. Thus ended a War, ⁵⁵ which had cost the *Romans* seventy two Years Labours; but it procured them thirty one Triumphs. It seemed as if the *Romans* were to carry on their Conquests but slowly, till after the entire Reduction of the *Samnites*. Then the *Lucani* and *Bruttii* gave Way in their Turn, and submitted to the Yoke. So that only *Tarentum* remained unpunished for her past Outrages, and Imprudence, in bringing Foreigners into *Italy*, and the *Consuls* invested it. *Milo*, with the Remains of the *Epirotæ*, still continued to defend himself in the Citadel; and his Quarrels with the *Tarentini* had not obliged him to quit his Post; notwithstanding that he now despaired of receiving any Succours from *Epirus*, since *Pyrrhus* was dead. So that those who defended the City, and those who defended the Castle, were mutually afraid of each other, though they did not come to an open Rupture: and it is said, not without some Probability, that the *Tarentini* had sent an Embassy to the *Carthaginians*, and implored their Assistance. By this means, *Tarentum* was attacked by two Armies at the same time, that of the *Carthaginians* by Sea, and that of the *Romans* by Land. The *Carthaginian* Fleet pretended to have no Design but against the *Epirotæ*, and the Citadel. The *Romans* on the other Hand, attacked the City, taking care at the same time to hinder the *Carthaginians* from reducing the Castle: and in order to extricate himself out of this Difficulty, *Papirius* resolved to try, if he could corrupt *Milo*. He let him know, that if he would surrender up his Citadel to the *Romans*, both he and the Garrison should have their Lives, and be safely transported to *Epirus*, with all their Baggage and Effects. Upon this, *Milo* did more than was asked of him. He undertook to get the City itself delivered up to the *Consuls*. He assembled the *Tarentini*, prevailed on them to depute him to go to the *Roman* Camp, and promised them to make such advantageous Terms for them, that they should neither lose their Lives, nor Goods. And *Milo* kept his Word. Being sent on a Deputation to the *Consuls*, he demanded of them, that if he surrendered *Tarentum*, none of the Conquered should be put to death: and *Papirius*, without doubt, for fear lest the *Carthaginians* should prevent him, get a Footing in *Italy*, and fortify themselves there, promised him all he asked. Upon these Assurances *Milo* returned to *Tarentum*, informed the Besieged of the favourable Dispositions of the *Romans* towards them, and revived their Confidence, which soon degenerated into Security. Then *Milo* opened one of the Gates of the City to the Besiegers; the *Romans* entered it, without offering Violence to any Person, and made themselves Masters both of *Tarentum* and its Citadel. Thus the Expectations of the *Carthaginians* were frustrated. Their Fleet retired, and left the *Romans* under just Suspicions, that notwithstanding their ancient Alliances, their Design was to rob *Rome* of a Conquest, which as it were of Right belonged to her. It were indeed saying too much, to affirm with some Historians, that the ⁵⁶ Wars, which we shall soon see break out, between the two Republicks, had their Rise from hence. But it must be granted, that if this proceeding of the *Carthaginians* did not cause an open Rupture, it at least produced a Coldness between the two Nations.

AFTER this glorious Campaign was ended, the *Consuls* had nothing to do, but to return to *Rome*, and triumph. An Honour which they both ⁵⁷ enjoyed, perhaps on the same Day, and certainly for the same Reasons at least; which is an infallible

⁵⁵ This War between the *Romans* and *Samnites* began in the Year of *Rome* 410, when *Marcus Valerius Corvus*, and *Aulus Cornelius Cossus Arvina*, were *Consuls*. Now from that Year to this 481st Year of *Rome*, are seventy two Years.

⁵⁶ *Orosius* seems to have been of the same Opinion, when he says, that the *Roman* Republick gave the *Carthaginians* Notice, that their Attempts

against *Tarentum* should be looked on as an Infraction of the ancient Treaties.

⁵⁷ The *Fasti Capitolini* only mention the Triumph of *Papyrius* and *Carvilius*. The Ancients say nothing of it, though they mention the Victories the Republick gained by these two Generals.

Proof, that they had not made ⁵⁸ War separately. The Historians indeed give *Papyrius* the Glory, of having alone finished the Expedition against *Tarentum*; and it is not to be doubted, but that he had the chief part in it; and that his Colleague, out of Respect to his Birth and Merit, permitted him to assume a Superiority over him. *Pighius* says, there is yet remaining a famous ⁵⁹ Monument of this Victory, on a Medal, which the Conqueror himself, or his Son at least, afterwards struck. As for the Fate of the Conquered, the Senate determined it; and their general Rule was, to deprive the conquered Nations of a part of their Lands: And tho' the *Tarentini* were more blameable than any of their Allies, *Rome* punished them, without spilling their Blood; she only took from them their Arms and Ships, dismantled their City, and made it tributary to the Republick. A moderate Punishment; but the Senate thought themselves obliged to perform the *Consul's* Promise. The Year of *Papyrius* and *Carvilius's* Consulship was concluded with some Works relating to Religion, and Policy. *Papyrius* erected a Temple to the ⁶⁰ God *Consus*, that is, to *Equestrian Neptune*, in Memory of his Victory; and caused his Triumph to be painted on it, with his own Picture in a purple Robe. *Curius* ⁶¹ *Dentatus* was then *Censor*, with

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXI
L. PAPIRIUS
CURSOR, SP.
CARVILIUS,
CONSULS.
*Florus in Epi-
tome 15.*

⁵⁸ Nevertheless, *Zonaras* makes the *Consuls* go upon different Expeditions this Year. He ascribes the Glory of having subdued the *Samnites* wholly to *Spurius Carvilius*; whilst *Papyrius* was, on his part, bringing *Lucania* and *Bruttium*, under the Dominion of the *Romans*.

⁵⁹ The Face of the Medal is *A Rome* in an Helmet, on the Top of which is the Beak of a Ship, probably designed to point out the great Advantages the Republick drew from so famous a Sea-port, as that of *Tarentum*. The Reverse, is a Victory guiding a Chariot drawn by four Horses, to shew the rapid Progress of the *Romans* in their Victories over so many Nations. The Inscription is this; L. PAPIRIUS. L. F. SP. N. CURSOR. ROMA. The Scorpion under the Horse's Feet, perhaps represents, as some conjecture, the Cunning of *Milo*, who, in the midst of such imminent Danger, found Means to gain the *Romans*, by delivering up to them both the City and Citadel of *Tarentum*. But others pretend, that it is a Symbolical Allusion to the Treachery of the *Carthaginians*. We have already observed, that they, under Pretence of assisting the *Tarentini* against *Milo*, drew near to *Tarentum*, and had formed a Design of making themselves Masters of it, to the Detriment of the *Romans*. Besides, we know the Scorpion is an artful and cunning Animal. *Aristophanes*, *Sophocles*, and *Nicander*, all give us this Idea of it. Hence the ancient Proverb, ὁπὸ σκορπίου κρύβεται, that is, *Scorpions were hid under all the Clouds*. But it unfortunately happens, that we cannot find this Medal, which *Pighius* saw, in any of the Antiquaries, or in any Cabinet, though we have endeavoured to recover it with all possible Care. It is possible indeed, that this Author may have suffered himself to be imposed on, and that the Medal he saw may have been a fictitious one.

⁶⁰ See what we have said of the God *Consus*, and the Festival consecrated to him, under the Name of *Consualia*, B. 1. p. 7. of the first Volume. [*Neptune* was, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, the Brother and Admiral of the Great *Sesostris*, or *Sesac*, who reigned in *Egypt*, in the Year before Christ 1002, and conquered *Lebia*, and almost all *Africa*; and *Neptune* was called *Equestris*, because *Horses* came originally from *Lebia*. Chron. p. 16, 67.]

⁶¹ Though *The Capitoline Tables* are defective in this Particular, *Frontinus* has preserved the Memory of the two *Censors*, *Manius Curius Dentatus*, and *Papyrius Cursor*. He tells us in his Book of *Aqueductibus*, that in the Year of *Rome* 481, *Lucius Papyrius*, and *Spurius Carvilius* were *Censors*, the Republick built an Aqueduct from the *Tiber*, twenty Miles above *Tibur*, to *Rome*. This Work was finished by the Care and Directions of the *Censor Curius*. The Produce of the Spoils this Man had lately taken from the King of *Epirus* were set apart for that Purpose. To which *Frontinus* adds, that forty Years before, *Appius Claudius* had brought Water to *Rome*, by Aqueducts;

which Calculation agrees with that of the *Fasti Capitolini*. Indeed this present Year 481, was exactly forty Years after the *Censorship* of *Claudius*. From whence it is manifest, that through the Negligence of the Copyists, there is an Error crept into the Text of this Writer, with Regard to the Year of the Foundation of *Rome*. Instead therefore of the numeral Letters CDLXXXIX, we ought to read CDLXXXI, leaving out the last X, which is redundant; and if this Correction be allowed, the Year will be 481, and not 489. The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, as well as *Frontinus*, mentions the Aqueduct built for the Convenience of the City, in *Curius's* *Censorship*. *Aquam Anionem de manubiis hostium in urbem induxit*. Authors call this Aqueduct *Anio Vetus*, to distinguish it from another of later Date, which they call *Anio Novus*. We shall speak of it hereafter. That which *Curius* made, passed through *Trivoli*, and supplied that Place with Water, as well as *Rome*; so that it was reckoned to be 44287 geometrical Paces long, that is, above fourteen Leagues, from the Place where it begun, to the Gate *Trigemina*, where it ended. This Aqueduct was carried on above Ground, upon Stone-arches, for the Space of 702 geometrical Paces. The Mouth of this long Canal was in a Place called *The Salt-pits*, near the Gate beforementioned. There, was a Reservoir for collecting the Waters together, in order to their being conveyed into the different Quarters of the City from thence. It is probable, that in the Space of fourteen Leagues there were several other Openings made at proper Distances, for observing the Course of the Waters, and for the Convenience of mending the Pipes. Nine Years after this, about the Year of *Rome* 490, *Curius* and *Fulvius Flaccus* were ordered to complete this Work, in quality of *Duumviri*. But the former died five Days after his Promotion, according to *Frontinus*. It is easy to conceive, that a Work of this Nature could not be completed without immense Labour, especially if we consider the Rocks, or Mountains which were to be bored through, the Eminencies which were to be levelled, and the Ground which was to be raised, in order to preserve a Level above fourteen Leagues together. Yet this is but a faint Sketch of those famous Monuments, which have immortalized the *Roman* Name, and which Posterity will always admire, even in their Ruins. We find the Name of this Aqueduct, in an old Inscription, which time has spared, and which runs thus;

ANIO VET. L. VALERIO SER. OFF. PLUMB. PED. CCIX.

The two Abbreviations SER. OFF. which stand for *Servus*, and *Officinator*, signify, that a Slave, who was a Plummer, repaired the leaden Pipes of this Aqueduct, for 209 Feet in length. Yet after all, this Water was too muddy to be fit to drink; and served only for the Artificers in their Business, and for watering of Gardens.

a Nephew

Year of a Nephew of the *Consul Papyrius*; and they together took a ⁶² *Census* of the People, which ended with a *Lustrum*, which ought to be reckoned the four and thirtieth since their Institution.

ROM E
CCCCCLXXXII.
C. QUINTIUS
CLAUDUS, L.
GENUCIUS
CLEPSINA,
Consuls.

§. XVI. ALL the old Enemies of *Rome* were now subdued. Nothing more was said of the *Sabines*, *Volsi*, *Campani*, and *Hetrurians*. All these Nations, heretofore so formidable, together with the other Nations newly conquered, were now but Parts of one and the same State, of which that City, which had subdued so many others, was the Capital. But still the *Romans* had one thing left to do, which was to blot out the Stain and Dishonour, which a perfidious *Legion* had thrown upon the Republick. And as soon therefore as C. ⁶⁴ *Quintius Claudus* was chosen *Consul* out of the *Patricians*, and L. *Genucius Clepsina*, out of the *Plebeians*; the latter was ordered to take the Field with Speed, and turn his Arms against *Rhegium*, in the farthest part of *Italy* over against *Sicily*. We may remember, That when *Pyrrhus* attempted to make a Descent in *Italy*, the Inhabitants of *Rhegium* had had recourse to the *Romans*; That the latter had raised a *Legion* of *Campani* in haste, which was called the eighth *Legion*; That the Command of this *Legion* was given to one *Decius Jubellius*; and That *Jubellius* and his *Legion* had, to the great Reproach of the *Roman* Probity, expelled, or destroyed all the Inhabitants of *Rhegium*, seized their City, and erected a new Republick there, independent of *Rome*. Their Precedent for this were the *Mamertini*, *Campani*, as well as themselves, who had made themselves Masters of *Messana*, by the like Treachery. So that the *Mamertini*, and Usurpers of *Rhegium*, mutually supported each other in an equally base Usurpation: and the *Romans* had not been at Leisure to chastise these Traitors, during their War with *Pyrrhus*. But the Vengeance of *Rome* was only suspended. As soon as the Republick was at Liberty to punish these Villains, whose Behaviour brought her into Disrepute with her Allies, she ordered one of her *Consuls* to march against them. *Jubellius* was not now the chief Commander in *Rhegium*; that base *Tribune* had been driven thence, by *Cæsius* his Secretary, who got himself raised to be the Head of this Company of Profligates. *Cæsius* wanted neither Resolution nor Courage; he got some Succours from *Messana*, and having fortified his City, was not afraid to stand a Siege

Polybius B. 1.
c. 7, 8.

62 Though *Frontinus* has not distinguished this *Lucius Papyrius*, who was *Curius's* Collegue in the *Censorship*, from him who was *Consul* in the Year 481; it is nevertheless past doubt, that they were not the same Person. It was not then customary in *Rome*, to make the same Persons *Consuls*, and *Censors*. These two Offices had been divided ever since the Year 310. It is therefore probable, that this *Censor* was the Grandson of another *Papyrius*, who was five times *Consul*, and the Son of *Spurius Papyrius Cursor*: and in this Case, the *Consul* for this Year must have been his Uncle. Unless we say with *Sigonius*, that this *Censor* was the same *Lucius Papyrius*, who had been honoured with five *Consulships*, and several *Triumphs*, so long ago as the Year 440. The Office of *Censor* was then bestowed on none, but such as were venerable for their Age and Station in the Republick. This last Opinion is not absolutely unwarrantable, since there was just the Space of forty Years between the fifth *Consulship* of this venerable old Man, and this present Year 481.

63 It is plain, that this was the 34th *Lustrum*, since the *Fasti Capitolini* say the next was the 35th. It seems, as if the *Censors* then gave *Quintus Fabius Gurges*, the Title of *Prince of the Senate*. At least, *Pliny* gives us room to guess so, when he says, B. 7. c. 11. that the *Fabian* Family alone, produced three *Princes of the Senate* successively; namely, *Marcus Fabius Ambustus*, *Fabius Rullianus* his Son, and *Quintus Maximus Gurges*, the Grandson of the former, and Son of the latter. The last had survived the two others; and it is therefore probable that he was chosen to succeed his Father by the *Censors*, who closed the Year 481 with a *Lustrum* and *Census*, as usual. And if *Fabius Gurges* be allowed to have been honoured with this Pre-eminence, it must be granted, that he had been *Censor*,

as well as his Father and Grandfather. We have already observed, that generally speaking, the Honour of the highest Station in the Senate was only conferred on those who had been *Censors*. The Difficulty is, to find out the time when *Fabius Gurges* was *Censor*: and to supply the Defects of History, and *The Capitoline Tables*, which often fail us when we want them; we have therefore had recourse to Conjecture. It is said, in the *Epitome of Livy*, that after *Pyrrhus's* first Victory, about the Year of *Rome* 473, *Cneius Domitius*, a *Plebeian*, by Extraction, who was then *Censor*, made a *Census* of the People, which he concluded with the Ceremony of the 32^d *Lustrum*. The *Romans* then deviated, for the first time, from the ancient Custom of conferring this Honour on the *Patrician Censor*; though the *Censorship* had been divided between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, for seventy Years. The only remaining Question then is, who was *Domitius's* Collegue; which I am inclined to believe with *Panvini*, was *Fabius Gurges*. And indeed, unless we associate him with *Domitius*, we cannot fix the time of his *Censorship*.

64 The *Quinctian* Family was originally *Alban*. After the total Destruction of the City of *Alba*, *Tullus Hostilius* removed the *Quinctii* to *Rome*, and ennobled them; as we are informed by *Dion. Hal.* and particularly by *Livy*. When the latter reckons up the chief Citizens of *Alba*, who settled at *Rome*, he mentions the *Quinctii* among them. *Principes Albanorum in Patres, ut ea quoque pars reipublice cresceret, legit Tullios, Servilios, Quinctios, Geganos, Curatios, Cloelios.* *Cicero* in his *Oration for Cluentius*, mentions a *Quinctian* Family, which was reckoned *Plebeian*; and *Livy* does the same, B. 24. From this Family descended one *Lucius Quinctius*, who was a *Tribune of the People*.

by a *Consular* Army. The Besiegers attacked like *Romans*; the Besieged defended themselves like Men desperate. The latter had followed *Romulus's* Example, and opened an *Asylum* to all the *Banditti* of the Country; and this Reinforcement increased their Obstinacy. The Siege was long; the *Consular* Army began to want Provisions; and the Scarcity obliged the *Romans* to begin a Correspondence with *Hiero*, that generous *Sicilian*, whose Name will hereafter become so renowned.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXII.
C. QUINTIUS
CLAUDUS, L.
GENUCIUS
CLEPSINA,
Consuls.

THE *Consul* applied himself to him for the necessary Provisions he wanted for the Subsistence of his Army; and the *Syracusans* were not backward in supplying his Wants. Their Head thereby revenged himself, both on the *Mamertini* and their Allies, whom he hated. Nor did *Hiero* only furnish *Genucius* with Provisions; he also sent him some *Sicilian* Forces. This was the first time the *Romans* had any Soldiers from beyond Sea in their Armies. At length *Rhegium* was taken; and then appeared the Equity of the *Romans*, in the different Punishments the *Consul* inflicted on the Conquered. The *Mamertini* were Strangers, come to assist their Allies; and *Genucius* came to Terms with them, gave them their Lives, and Leave to return Home to their own Country. As for the common Herd of Villains, who all had deserved Death on other Accounts, the *Consul* exercised his Right, and condemned them to suffer different Punishments. But the *Legionaries* were most guilty. Their Revolt, the Murder of *Rhegiens*, and their Rebellion against the Republick, deserved a severer Punishment, than the Offences of the *Banditti*. Nevertheless, *Genucius* considered them as *Roman Citizens*, suspended passing Sentence upon them, and referred them to the Senate. They were brought to *Rome* in Chains, and delivered up to the Justice of the *Conscript Fathers*, who condemned them all to be first beaten with Rods, and then beheaded, by the *Lictors*. Nothing could be more just than this Punishment, and yet a *Tribune of the People* opposed it. It belongs to the People, said he, both by Law, and Custom, to judge, in all capital Cases, Roman Citizens: And indeed, no Soldier could be enrolled in the *Legions*, who had not a Right of *Citizenship*. Nevertheless, the Senate opposed the Clamours of the *Tribunes of the People*, and put their Decree in Execution. This was a military Cause, the Cognizance of which did not belong to the *Comitia*: and the Senate proceeded with Caution. Of this guilty *Legion*, which consisted at first of at least four thousand Men, there now remained three hundred to be executed. The rest had been killed in the several Attacks made upon the Place. And in order to prevent a Mutiny among the People, the *Conscript Fathers* took care not to spill so much Blood all in one Day; but divided the Criminals into several Companies, and beheaded them in the *Forum Romanum*, at different times, fifty at a time. By this means *Rome* cleared her self of the Suspicion of having sent the *Rhegiens* Succours, only to seize their City. The Vengeance was slow, and the Usurpers enjoyed their Usurpations ten Years; but the Punishment was at last complete, and gave the Nations in *Italy* entire Satisfaction. Those of the *Rhegiens* who had escaped the Cruelty of the *Campanian Legion*, were assembled together, and by a Decree of the Senate, reinstated in the Possession of their Estates, Liberties, and Laws.

Vol. Max.
B. 6. c. 3.

Page B. 1.
c. 7.

§. XVII. A Relation of *Genucius*, of the same Name and Surname with him, but whose *Prænomen* was *Caius*, whereas the preceding *Consul's* was *Lucius*, was raised to the *Consulship*, a second time; and with him *Cn. Cornelius Blasio*, an illustrious *Patrician*, of the *Cornelian* Family. The *Romans* had now no War of any Importance

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXIII.
C. GENUCIUS
CLEPSINA,
CN. CORNELIUS
BLASIO,
Consuls.

⁶⁵ It is very true, that by a Law of *The Twelve Tables*, State-crimes were ordered to be brought before the Tribunal of the People. But in a Case relating to the condemning to Death of a Company of rebellious Soldiers, it belonged to the General to determine it without Appeal; unless he voluntarily delivered up the Criminals to be tried by the Senate, or *Comitia* by Centuries, out of Respect to them. We have often observed already, that the Authority of the Generals in the *Roman* Armies was absolute, with Respect to Rewards and Punishments.

⁶⁶ *Livy*, B. 28, makes *Scipio* say, in an Harangue to his mutinous Soldiers, that four thousand Men were first beaten with Rods, and then put to Death: and *Orosius* says the same thing, B. 4. c. 3. But it

is not at all probable, that not one of these four thousand Soldiers, who made a very desperate Defence, should either lose his Life in the Siege of *Rhegium*, or die, during the ten Years they continued Masters of that City.

⁶⁷ The *Greek Tables* don't mention either of the *Consuls*, who governed in this Year 483. *Cuspinian* gives *Cneius Cornelius* the Surname of *Blasius*. But besides that we don't find this Surname in the *Cornelian* Family, we have the Testimony of the *Fusti Capitolini* to the contrary. They give *Cornelius* the Surname of *Blasius*, under the Year 488, when he was *Censor*, and in which the 35th *Lustrum* was performed. *Marianus*, instead of these two *Consuls*, makes *Lucius Genucius Clepsina*, to have been *Consul* a second time this Year, and *Cneius Cornelius*

Year of *ROME* *CCCCCLXXXIII.*
 C. GENUCIUS
 CLEPSINA,
 CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.
 Consuls.
Fasti Capitol.

ance to maintain ; such Terror did their Name strike into all *Italy*, since the Defeat of *Pyrrhus* ! Only *Umbria*, or rather a part of *Umbria*, was yet in Motion. The Inhabitants of this untractable Canton were called ⁶⁸ *Sarcinates*. They were for the most part, *Gauls*; and the *Gauls* were always brought to submit to the *Roman* Yoke, with the greatest Difficulty of any People. History does not inform us, what was the Cause of their taking Arms ; it is defective in this, as well as in many other Instances ; and all we know of this War is the Success of it, which was followed by a Triumph. The War was committed to *Genucius*, preferably to his Collegue ; doubtless, because he was *Consul* a second time. His Victory was complete, and he entered *Rome* in a triumphant manner. Besides this, his second *Consulship* was scarce remarkable for any thing, but the Severity of the Winter. The Snow lay forty Days on the Ground, and was of a prodigious Depth, in the *Forum Romanum*. The *Tyber* was frozen, and the Ice of it exceeding thick ; the Trees were dried up to the very Roots, and would bear no more Fruit ; the Cattel died in the Country for want of Forrage ; and the Cold produced a Scarcity of Corn.

Year of *ROME* *CCCCCLXXXIV.*
 Q. OGULNIUS
 GALLUS, C.
 FABIVS PICTOR,
 Consuls.

§. XVIII. THE *Romans* who were used to draw Presages from the most natural Events, ranked this with the many other ominous Things, which affrighted them the next Year, under the *Consulship* of Q. ⁶⁹ *Ogulnius*, surnamed *Gallus*, and C. *Fabius Pictor* ; who were two of the Ambassadors which the Republick had sent into *Egypt* to King *Ptolomy*. Never did more inauspicious Accidents happen in any one Year, than in theirs ; and yet never did *Rome* enjoy greater Prosperity, or greater Affluence. In the City, the Temple of the Goddess *Salus* was struck with Lightning, which had pierced into the Inside of it, and shattered its Walls. In the Night, three Wolves came into the middle of *Rome*, and brought with them a dead Carcase, which they half devoured ; but were hindered from making an end of it, by the Noises they heard. It was reported from ⁷⁰ Abroad, that the Lightning had fallen upon



lius Asina, to have been his Collegue. But the former had been *Consul* the Year before : and it was contrary to Custom, to continue the same Man in that Office for two Years together. And as for the latter, it is evident from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that his first *Consulship* ought to be placed ten Years after the present Year 483.

⁶⁸ The *Sarcinates*, or *Sassinates* inhabited the Territory of *Sarsina*, an ancient City, which retains the same Name to this Day. It stands on the left side of the River *Sapis*, now the *Savio*. The famous Comedian, *Atius Plautus*, was born in this City.

⁶⁹ *Cassiodorus* and *Marianus* omit these two *Consuls*, or at least their Copyists have left out their Names. But it is nevertheless certain, that there ought to be a *Consulship* between the last, and that of *Claudius*, which was in the Year 485. This appears from *Velleius*, who says, that *Claudius* and *Sempronius* were *Consuls*, five Years after *Claudius Caninus*, and *Fabius Dorso*, who governed the Republick in the Year 480 ; and consequently *Claudius* and *Sempronius* could not be raised to the *Consular* Authority, till 485. The Business therefore is, to find out the *Consuls* for the Year 484. And as *Pliny* has given us the Name of the first of them, when he says, B. 33, that the *Romans* first coined Silver, when *Caius Fabius* was *Consul*, five Years before the first *Punick* War ; so *Zonaras*, and *The Greek*

Tables tell us, that his Collegue was *Quintus Ogulnius Gallus*.

⁷⁰ The Goddess of *Health*, called by the *Romans* *Salus*, by the *Greeks* *Hygiea*, is represented on Medals, under the Figure of a Woman, sitting near an Altar, round which a Serpent is twitted, and offering the Serpent Drink in a Cup. She passed for the Daughter of *Æsculapius*, who is symbolically represented by a Serpent : and the Pagans often prayed to both. In this Sense *Terence* makes a Person say, in the third Scene, of the third Act of the *Hecyra*,

Male metuo, ne Philumena magis morbus adgravescat : Quod te, Æsculapi, & te, SALUS, ne quid sit, huius oro.

The Serpent is joined with the Goddess, either because, he represents *Æsculapius* the God of Physick ; or because, this Animal seems to grow young again every Year, when he shifts his Skin, and takes a new one ; or because, the Flesh of a Serpent is of great Use in Medicine, in several Distempers. The Temple of the Goddess *Salus*, stood near the Gate *Collina*, which was for that Reason called *Porta Salutaris*, according to *Festus*. The *Patera*, which the Goddess holds in her Hand, was a Vessel, used in Libations and Sacrifices. Perhaps the Design of it was to shew, that *Health* is the Gift of Heaven. But some Antiquaries think this Cup was designed

upon the City of *Formiæ*, between *Cajeta*, and *Minturnæ*, in so many Places, that it had thrown down the Walls of it. Lastly, it was reported as another Prodigy, That in a Plain in *Campania*, near *Cales*, or *Cale*, and Mount *Massicus*, the Earth opened all on a sudden; That subterraneous Fires burst out at the Passage; That they continued burning three Days, and three Nights, and consumed the Harvest and Trees; and That five Acres of Ground were burnt to a Cinder. And it is surprizing, that the *Romans*, who were so full of Superstition, did not suspend all Enterprises, in a time distinguished by such fatal Presages. But the 71 *Picentes* were yet to be subdued.

THEY were a considerable People, with Regard to the Extent of their Territory; and are said to have been originally *Sabines*. *Sabinia* being overstocked with Inhabitants, a Swarm of them left it, to seek their Fortune elsewhere, and came into the fine Country, that lies between the 72 *Æsis*, and the 73 *Aternus*. There, as they were thinking of seizing 74 *Asculum*, and making it the Capital of their new Territory, a Woodpecker, a Bird much honoured by the *Sabines*, is said to have come and perched upon their Ensigns. Upon this, they took the Bird for *Picus*, that ancient King of the *Aborigines*, who is said to have been the Son of *Saturn*, and was worshiped as a God by several Nations in *Italy*; and from this Accident, which they looked on as a Favour from the God, they called the Country where they settled after his Name; and themselves *Picentes*. Add to this, that their Removal was long before the Foundation of *Rome*, and the Tradition of the Woodpecker had its Rise in the fabulous Ages. Ever since the Republick had been enlarged by her Victories, the *Picentes* had had no Quarrels with her; and perhaps, the Ambition of the *Romans* was what alone made them now consider the *Picentes* as Offenders, without any just Cause; or, they might make their Liberty their Crime. All the rest of the *Eastern* Parts of *Italy* were now subject to the Republick, except the *Picentes* and *Salentini*; who were two trifling Conquests for *Rome*. However, the two *Consuls* were ordered to go together on this double Expedition, and begin with reducing the *Picentes*. But whether the *Roman* Armies then entered *Picenum*, and committed any Hostilities there, cannot be ascertained. We only know, that if the War was begun, under *Ogulnius* and his Collegue, they had not the good Fortune to finish it. A new Accident called them elsewhere, and the Presence of the two *Consular* Armies was thought necessary to extinguish a Flame, which, it seems, a small Spark had kindled.

§. XIX. ONE *Lollius*, by Birth a *Samnite*, had been delivered up to the *Romans*, by his Countrymen, as an Hostage for their Fidelity. He was, without doubt, a Man of Distinction in his Nation, then newly subdued; and *Lollius* escaped from *Rome*, joined a Company of Revolters, seized a strong Place in *Samnium*, and committed Robberies in all the Country. The Revolters drew the 75 *Caricini* also into their Measures, and made their City their Asylum, and the Magazine, where they deposited all their Booty. The *Romans* therefore, who knew the Nature of the *Samnites* too well, to give the Revolt time to ripen, and gather Strength, immediately ordered the *Consuls* to march their Troops against them. The Castle, from which

designed to represent a medicinal Potion. We find the Name of the Goddess *Salus*, on many Medals of the Emperors, and Empreßes, which have different Inscriptions. *SALUS PUBLICA. SALUS REIPUBLICÆ. SALUS AUGUSTI.* The Stamp above is the Reverse of a Medal of the Emperor *Maximianus*.

71 We have already spoken of the Country of the *Picentes*, or of *Picenum*. It is at present a part of the *Marquisate of Ancona*, and The Further *Bruzzo*. Some Authors, whom *Festus* mentions, will have the *Picentes* to have come originally from *Picenum*. The ancient Geographers join three other Cantons to *Picenum*; namely, *Ager Palmensis*, or the Territory of *Ascoli*, from the River *Tronto*, to the River *Sabinelli*, as *Cluver* conjectures; *Ager Præutianus*, or the Country round *Teramo*; and *Ager Hadrianus*, or the Country about the City of *Adriam*. *Strabo* and *Florus* commend *Picenum*, and the Fruitfulness of its Soil.

72 The *Æsis*, now called *l'Innesino Fiume*, divided *Umbria* from *Picenum*.

73 The River *Aternus* had lost its old Name, as early as in the Time of *Paul the Deacon*, and was called *Piscaria*, or *Pescera*; which it continues to be called to this Day.

74 The City of *Asculum*, now *Ascoli*, had the Surname of *Picenum* to distinguish it from another City of the same Name, which the Ancients call *Asculum Apulum*. *Strabo* says, B. 5. that *Asculum Picenum* was the strongest and most considerable Place in the whole Country. He affirms, it was surrounded on all sides by a Chain of Mountains, which made it almost inaccessible. It appears by some ancient Inscriptions, that this City had the Title of a *Roman Colony*; and *Cicero* tells us, in his *Oration for Lucius Sylla*, that, in his time, it was ranked among the *Municipia*.

75 The *Caricini*, as *Zonaras* calls them, or the *Caracini*, according to *Ptolomy*, were a People of *Samnium*, or in Alliance with the *Samnites*. They gave their own Name to a strong Place, which only *Zonaras* mentions, and calls *Caricium Castellum*.

Lollius

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TOR, Consuls

*Stephanus in
Geographia.*

Europ. B. 2.

*Zonar. B. 7.
c. 7.*

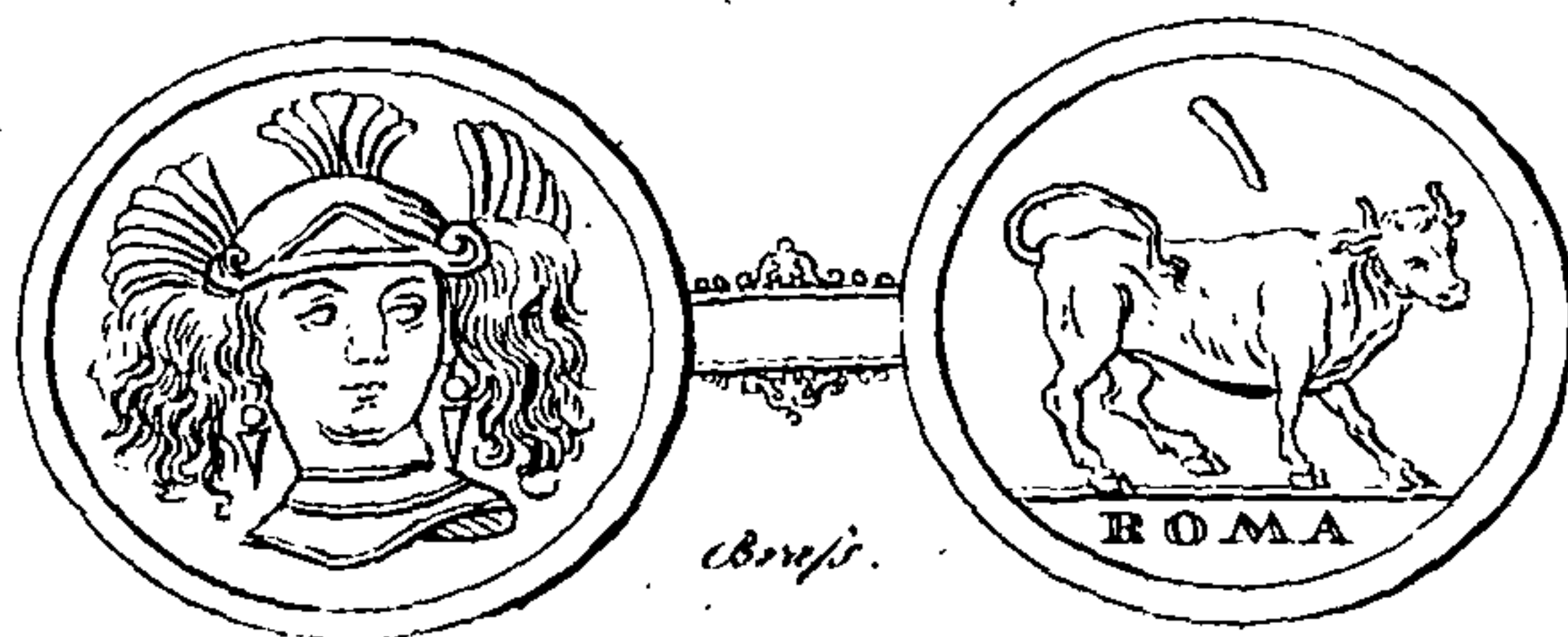
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Lollius made his Incurfions into the Country, did not hold out long againſt the Ro-
man Armies : but that was not the Caſe of the City of the *Caricini*. This Place,
which I believe was called *Carentum*, ſituated in *Samnium*, near the 76 *Frentan*,
made a vigorous Reſiſtance, and the *Romans* had like to have failed in their At-
tempts upon it. The *Conſuls* laid Siege to it indeed ; but made it their chief Buſi-
neſs to procure a Correſpondence with the City. Which being done, they, by the
Help of ſome Deſerters, whom they gained, brought their Troops into the City, in
a cloudy Night ; upon which the Beſieged ran to their Arms in ſurpriſe, and made
Head againſt the Enemy. Then a ſharp Action enſued, which by a ſudden Acci-
dent, had like to have proved fatal to the Beſiegers. In the Heat of the Diſpute,
the Snow fell all on a ſudden, in great Flakes ; and the Moon was overcaſt with a
Cloud, which increaſed the Darkneſs of the Night. The *Romans*, who neither knew
the Way about the City, nor could diſtinguiſh Friends from Enemies, loſt a great
many of the *Legionaries*, by the preſent inevitable Diſorder and Confuſion : And they
were ready to quit their Enterpriſe, with Danger, when the Cloud diſperſed, and
the Moon ſhone out again. But upon this, the valiant *Romans* recovered the Ad-
vantages over their Enemies ; and the City was taken, and plundered.

THE *Conſuls* would probably have triumphed after this Expedition, if the War
they had concluded, had not been deemed a civil War ; and for want of a tranſient
Triumph, they themſelves ſignalized their Victory, by more laſting Monuments.
Which is a part of Hiſtory, that deſerves our Conſideration.

Pliny B. 30.
c. 2.

§. XX. TILL the *Conſulſhip* of Q. *Ogulnius Gallus*, and C. *Fabius Pictor*, the Ro-
mans had never uſed any 77 Money in Commerce, but pieces of Braſs ; which from
King *Servius Tullius*'s time, were ſtamped with ſcarce any other Figures, but thoſe
of three tame Animals, 78 a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar. The Citizens of *Rome* were
yet too poor to coin any Silver-Money. But after the Surrendry of *Tarentum*, and
the Conqueſt of *Samnium*, the Riches of the Republick were increaſed ; and upon
the Removal of *Lollius*'s Plunders from the Country of the *Caricini* to *Rome*, there
being found a great Quantity of 79 Bars of Silver among his Treasures, which were
of no uſe to the Publick in that Form, the *Conſuls* thought it adviſeable to coin the
Silver, and introduce it in Commerce. In order to this, they appointed a Place for



76 *Strabo*, *Geogr. B. 5.* reckons the *Frentani* among the *Samnite* Nations. Their Territory extended Weſtward, to thoſe of the *Peligni*, and *Murru-
rucini* ; to the Eaſt and North, it was bounded by the *Adriatick* Sea ; and to the South, by the River *Frento*, now the *Fortore*, and *Apulia*. But when the *Romans* became Maſters of this Country, they confined it within narrower Bounds, and made the *Biſerno*, formerly called *Tiferinus Fluvius*, the Boundary of it. And this Conſideration makes *Pliny* conſiſtent, when he ſometimes makes the Banks of the *Fortore*, and ſometimes thoſe of the *Biſerno* to have been the Limits of the Territory of the *Frentani*. Their Country lay in the Eaſtern Parts of *Italy*, and is now a part of *The Hiſter Abruzzo*, and *Capitanata*.

77 We don't pretend to diſprove the ancient Tradition, which carries up the firſt Coinage of Money to the Ages of *Janus*, and *Saturn*. *Varro* contends for this Opinion ; and ſeveral others after him, bring the double Head of *Janus*, which we find on the *Roman Aſ*, in proof of it. But indeed, theſe firſt are ſuch fabulous Ages, that the ſafeſt

Way is to adhere to *Pliny*'s Opinion, who ſays *B. 33. c. 3.* that King *Servius Tullius* was the firſt who ſtamped Copper-Money. *Servius Rex primus ſignavit æs. Antea rudi uſus Roma Time tradit.*

78 Perhaps *Servius Tullius* imitated the *Athenians* ; who, as *Pollux* affirms, ſtamped the Figure of an Ox on their Money : and for this Reaſon ſays he, the piece of Money on which it was ſtamped, was called *An Ox*. We have ſome Piece of an ancient Copper-coin remaining to this Day the Face of which is the Head of *A Rome* adorned with Plumes of Feathers ; and the reverſe an Ox with this Inſcription, *ROMA*. And from hence, according to *Pliny*, Money was called *Pecunia*. *S. nata eſt nota pecudum, unde & pecunia appellata*

79 It is certain, that the *Romans* kept not only Money in their Treasury, but alſo Ingots of Gold and Silver, which they called *Lateres*, becauſe they were in the Shape of Bricks ; as we are informed by *Nonnius Marcellus*, in his ſecond Chapter on the Word *Later*, and in his twelfth Chapter ; where he quotes *Varro* in proof of it.

melting and coining it, and thought the Temple of *Juno*, on the *Capitol*, the most proper for that Purpose. The *Romans* had given this Goddess the Name of *Moneta*, from the Word *Monere*, because they thought she had given the Republick very wholesome Advice, on several Occasions; and particularly, in the late Wars with *Pyrrhus*, when her Statue was consulted concerning the exhausting the Treasures of the Republick, she ⁸⁰ had answered, if we may believe a Greek Writer, That the Revenues of the Romans should never fail, as long as they continued to be just, as well as brave. But whatever becomes of this fabulous Story, *Juno* was certainly called *Moneta*, before she gave this last Advice; and from the Place, where Silver was first coined at *Rome*, it was called in *Latin*, *Moneta*, from whence we have the Word ⁸¹ *Money*. This new Coin was made in a much more elegant manner, than those of the ancient *Romans*. Instead of being stamped with rude Figures of Animals, the Acti-

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⁸⁰ *Cicero*, de *Divinitat.* says, that *Juno* was called *Moneta*, a *Monendo*, because a little before the taking of *Rome*, this Goddess had advised the *Romans* to offer a Sow with Pig in Sacrifice, in order to put a Stop to an Earthquake, which then filled the City with Terror. See what we have said on this Subject, B. 15. p. 130. of this Vol. Note 103.

⁸¹ The Gold, Silver, and Brass, or Copper-Medals, which enrich the Cabinets of the Curious, and which are daily dug up, in the several Countries the *Romans* inhabited, are Pieces of *Roman Money*. There are indeed who think, That some of these ancient Medals, were like our Counters, or what we now properly call Medals, which are struck with a Design to convey to Posterity the Memory of some remarkable Events: and That others, which bear the Names of the *Roman* Cities, Provinces, and Colonies, were the Tributes which the Republick demanded of these Nations, when subdued, or which the People liberally offered her by way of Free-gift. But that this Opinion is absolutely groundless, is evident from these Considerations.

1. It is certain, that after the first Invention of Money, it never once grew out of use among the *Greeks*, *Romans*, or any other civilized Nations. And it is as certain, that in all Ages, the Quantity of Money coined, has been infinitely greater, than that of Counters, or Medals, properly so called, which were not used in Commerce. And how then comes it to pass, that so many of these Medals, which some Moderns are pleased to think like our Counters, should be transmitted down to us; and that scarce one of those infinite Numbers of Coins, of all sorts, which were used in Trade, should escape the Wrecks of time?

2. What unanswerably proves, that the *Roman* Medals we now have, which were struck in the Time of the Republick, whether they be Gold, Silver, or Brass, were a part of their current Money, is this, that several of them have Marks upon them, which shew their Value. As for Instance, the X. Q. and HS, shew the Pieces to be respectively worth a *Denarius*, *Quinarius*, or *Sesterce*. The Numbrer, 0.00.000.0000. we find on some Copper Medals, shew them to have weighed one, two, three, or four Ounces, &c. And the same thing may be said of the *Imperial*, as well as of the *Consular* Medals. Though we don't find these Marks on those which were struck in the Times of the Emperors, yet the Matter, Form, and Stamp of the Metal, fix their Value.

3. Without entering into a particular Account of all the solid Proofs which *Patinus*, *Savotus*, and the most celebrated Antiquaries have produced against those, who think that these Medals were not common Money, it is sufficient to shew, that the Defenders of this Opinion, must necessarily maintain a thing, which is naturally impossible; namely, that by one of the strangest Miracles that ever was, all the Money should be buried in the Bowels of the Earth, and be absolutely lost, whilst at the same time the *Medals*, properly so called, are every where to be met with.

4. As to the unreasonable Pretence urged in favour of the Opinion we oppose, that Princes would have thought it a Dishonour to them, to have had their Images stamped on the Money which was used by the People, it is a Dream of *Erizzo's* in his *Discorso sopra le Medaglie*. It is in vain to pretend, that the Pagans thought the Images of Kings and Emperors sacred, and holy, or rather so many Divinities, and consequently, that it would have been derogating from the Majesty of the Sovereign, to expose his Image to be treated as the vilest of the Populace thought fit. What does this prove more, than that the Liberty false Coiners took was a sacrilegious Crime which deserved Death? Certainly it cannot be doubted, but that the *Darius's* and *Philips's* were common Money; though the former bore the Figure of *Darius*, and the latter of *Philip*. We don't insist on what *Artemidorus* says, of the Dream of one *Stratonicus*, who imagining in his Sleep, that he had trod the King under his Feet, found, when he awaked, that he had walked over a piece of Money, on which his Figure was. Nor do we lay any Stress on the Testimony of *Cedrenus* and *Isidorus*, who say, that Money was called *Nummus*, from the Name of King *Numa*, because he ordered his Name and Image to be put upon it. The *Roman* Historians furnish us with more decisive Proofs in favour of our Opinion, than these. *Dio* tells us, that *Julius Caesar's* Head was stamped upon the *Roman* Money, by order of the Senate. *Suetonius* affirms, that in the Reign of *Augustus*, the current Species had his Head on one side, and *A Capricorn* on the other, to shew his Authority; because an Astrologer had persuaded him, that this Constellation had declared that he should have the Empire. And we have some Medals to this Day, which have this Constellation on one side, and *Augustus* on the other. But the holy *Evangelists* above all, are unquestionable Witnesses in this Case: And they say, that the Tribute-money, which the *Jews* paid the *Romans*, bore the Emperor's Image. And lastly, all the Historians, of the upper and lower Empire, unanimously attest the same thing, in numberless Passages of their Histories. *Cassiodorus*, who looked on this Custom as most ancient, and built on the best Authority, thought the Institution of it, a Master-piece of Prudence and Policy. *O magna inventa prudentum! O laudabilia instituta Majorum, ut & imago Principum, subjectos videretur pascere per commercium, quorum consilia non desinunt invigilare pro salute cunctorum! L. 6. Ep. 7.* And *Aristotle* says much the same thing, when he observes in his *Politics*, that a Prince, by causing his own Image to be engraven on Money, did in some Measure engage, that it was of due Weight, and proper Alloy. To which he adds, that no Means could be found out so proper as this to restrain the false Coiners; because this made the Alteration of the Species a personal Insult on the Sovereign, as it was defacing his Image. Hence the pompous Titles of *DIVA MONETA*, and *MONETA SALUTARIS*.

Year of ons of Heroes were represented on the new Species, in ingenious Symbols. Perhaps **ROME** the two *Consuls*, who first invented it, had brought from *Egypt*, where they **CCCCCLXXXIV.** had both been on an Embassy, a Taste for these Hieroglyphicks. They were a sort of Riddles, whose Meaning is not only to be gathered from the Figures themselves, but also from the Inscriptions, which are often written only in initial Letters, and which,

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Silver.

RIS. On the Medal of *Dioclesian* above, Money is represented under the Figure of a Goddess, with this Inscription, *SACRA MONETA*. The *Cornucopia* she has in her Hand, shews, that the Circulation of Money is the Soul of Commerce, and Plenty. The Balance in her other Hand, points out the just Proportion each *Species* bears to the rest, in order to ascertain the Value of them; or rather it is a Symbol of that Fidelity, which ought to be shewn, both in coining and circulating Money. Thus the Images of the Emperors were held in so great Veneration, that almost divine Honours were paid them. Agreeably to which, King *Theodoric* says, in *Cassiodorus*; *Omnino moneta debet integritas queri, ubi & vultus noster imprimitur, & generalis utilitas invenitur. Quidnam erit tutum, si in nostra peccetur effigie, & quam subjectus venerari debet, manus sacrilega violare festinet?* For this Reason, some Interpreters understand these Words of *St. Paul*, *Idolorum Servitus*, of an immoderate Love of Money.

5. It is granted indeed, that the *Medaillons* were not used as Money. The Height of the Relievo, and the Largeness of the Coin, are such, as would have made it troublesome to have used it. They were struck for publick Monuments, and were given to the People and to Strangers, at the Celebration of Games, at Triumphs, publick Ceremonies, &c. And indeed, most of the Reverses of them are Representations of Games, Triumphs, Buildings, or some great Action. Of this sort of Medal we are to understand *Suetonius*, when he says of *Augustus*, that in the *Saturnalia*, he presented his Favourites with *Nummos omnis notæ, etiam veteres regios, & peregrinos*.

6. We have already observed, That the Money used in *Rome*, before *Servius Tullius*'s Time, was nothing but rough Copper; and That this King stamped the Figures of Animals upon it, as particularly those of an Ox, a Ram, and a Boar. To which we here add, that it is probable, the *Romans* put no other Stamps upon their Money, till this Year of *Rome* 484; when they began to coin Silver. Then the Head of *A Rome*, or some Divinity, took Place of the old Figures. The Reverses were *Victories*, and Chariots drawn by two or four Horses. Hence the Names of *Victoriati*, *Bignati*, and *Quadrigati*, which the Ancients give these pieces of Money. *Note argenti fuere Bigæ, atque Quadrigæ, & inde Bigati, Quadrigatique; Plin. B. 33. c. 3. Tacitus* reckons among the ancient Coins, some which had the Stamp of a *Saw* upon them, or rather which were

jagged, and were therefore called *Serrati Nummi*. *Pecuniam probant veterem, & diu notam, Serratos Bigatosque*. Thus the Name of *Nummi* *Ratiti*, was in the first Ages, given to the Coin on which was the Figure of a Ship, or rather of the Prow of a Ship. Soon after this, the Magistrates, who had the Care of the Mint, caused their own Names and Titles, and the most illustrious Actions of their Families, to be engraven and represented on the Money. So that we find the Magistracies, Priesthoods, and Triumphs of their Ancestors mentioned on the Medals. The Gold, Silver, and Brass Coins, became the Records of great Events, and of whatever Ambition and Flattery could invent to eternize the Memory of Princes, and the Gratitude of their Subjects, in times of Slavery.

7. We ought likewise to reckon some lead Medals among the old Money. I know several Antiquaries are of a different Opinion. But what Answer can they make to those ancient Authors, who expressly mention this Money! What can they reply to this Passage of *Plautus*'s *Trinummus*?

—Ei ne aurum crederem?
Cui, si Capitis res fiet, nummum nunquam credam plumbeum?

That is, *What! Shall I trust him with pieces of Gold, whom I would not trust with Lead-Money?* Nor is *Martial* less express in this Matter than *Plautus*. *Centum merebor plumbeos die toto. 10. 74.* And *Plautus* speaking in another Place of a Person reduced to great Want, says, *That he was not worth more than a piece of Lead-Money in the World. Cui homini bodie peculi nummus non est, nisi plumbeus.* It may indeed be pretended, that these little Pieces, which the Ancients call *Nummi Plumbei*, were only some Copper Medals alloyed with Lead. But *Savot* proves, That this Alloy was not used till the time of *Septimius Severus*: and adds, That in the Trial he made of the oldest Medals, he did not find the least Grain of Lead. Whereas, the Writers we have quoted, lived long before the time of *Septimius Severus*.

8. What undeniably proves the Medals we have, not to have been barely Counters, is this; That we find *Counter-marks*, or second Stamps upon them, as if they had been Coins, whose Value was encreased, or diminished, at Pleasure. To which we ought to add by the by, that it was not lawful for any Magistrate in *Rome*, to cause his own Image to be struck on the Money. This Privilege was first granted to *Julius Cæsar*, and that by an express Decree

which, to this Day, put the Invention of our Antiquaries to the Rack, to explain them. It is probable, that at this time, the *Consuls* took upon themselves the Care of the Mint, and joined two Senators with them, in this Office; but afterwards the Heads of the Republick were eased of this Trouble, and sometimes two, sometimes three, sometimes four ⁸² Persons were appointed, on purpose to direct, and inspect the Coinage. We are said to have a great many of these silver Medals yet remaining, which bear the Names of ⁸³ *Ogulnius*, and *C. Fabius*; and notwithstanding all that is urged to the contrary, they may well be supposed to have been struck by these *Consuls*, who were the Authors of this Species in *Rome*. By this means, they made

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Decree of the Senate; and afterwards, the succeeding Emperors enjoyed it, as a Prerogative annexed to the supreme Authority. We find indeed, on the *Consular* Medals, the Heads of several great Men, who were concerned in the Government of the Republick, in their times, as those of *Scipio*, *Metellus*, *Regulus*, and *Caldus*. But these Coins were not struck whilst they were living. This was done by some of their Descendants, who were Supervisors of the Mint, and who struck these Coins to perpetuate the Names of their Ancestors, and the Nobility of their Families. The same thing is likewise to be said of the Medals, which have the Heads of *Romulus*, and the other Kings of *Rome*. *Plutarch* affirms, that *Marcus Brutus* alone, of his own Head, assumed to himself an Authority of causing his own Image to be struck on the pieces of Money, which he distributed among his Soldiers, during his War with *Mark Anthony*.

⁸² The Ancients call those Magistrates, *Triumviri*, *Quatuorviri*, and *Quinqueviri Monetales*, *Auris*, *Argenti*, *Auri Flatores*: as *Pomponius* the *Civilian* in particular does, in his second Book, *de Origine Juris*. On the Medals, the Offices of these Magistrates are expressed thus. III VIR. A. A. A. F. F. That is, *Triumvir*, *Auro*, *Argento*, *Aere*, *flando*, *feriundo*. And these Commissioners, who were appointed by the *Consuls*, or People, to inspect the Coinage, are sometimes described on Medals thus; CUR. X FL; which is explained by these *Latin* Words, *Curatores denariorum flandorum*. The Curators of the Mint were so called, till the *Triumviri Monetales* were created, which was done in the time of *Pomponius*, before the first *Carthaginian* War; or, according to others, a little before *Tully's* time. In *Julius Caesar's* Days, these Magistrates were called *Quatuor-viri Monetales*, because a fourth was then added to the first three.

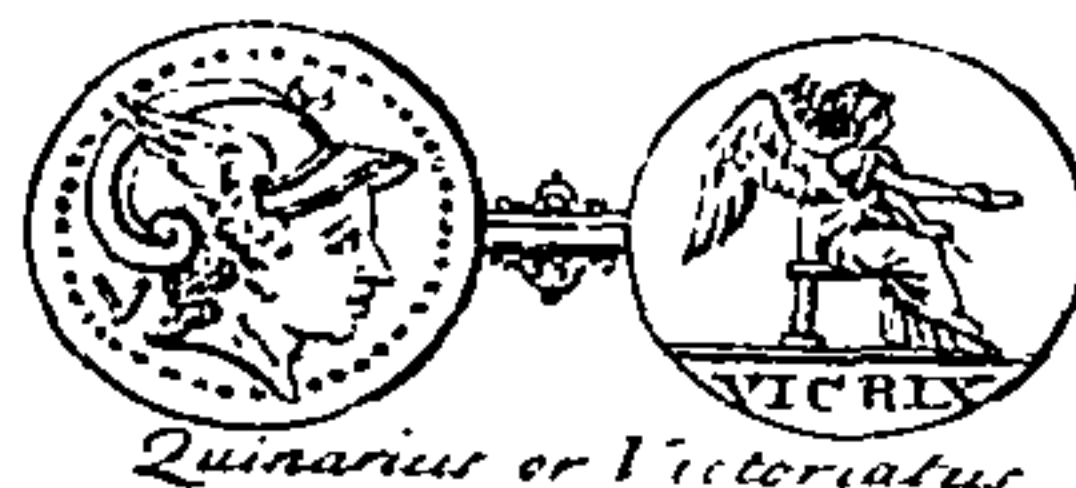
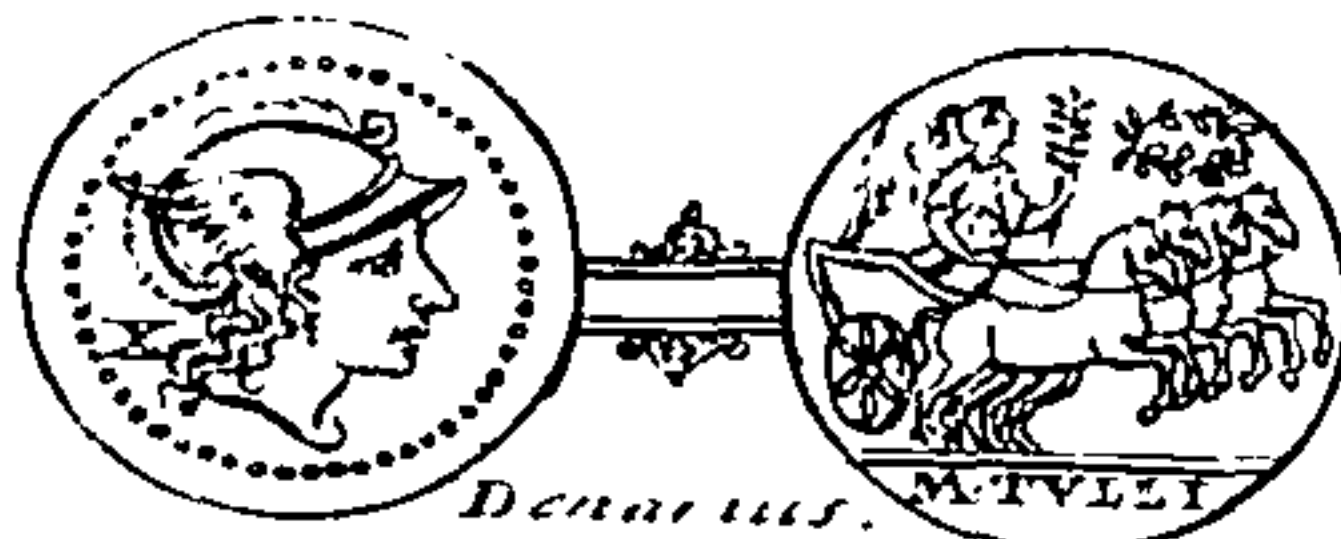
⁸³ Among the Medals of the *Fabian* Family, there is one in particular, that seems to have been one of the first that was struck in the Year Silver was first coined at *Rome*. The Face of it, is the Head of *Cybele* crowned with Towers, as she is generally represented on Medals. The Inscription of it is this, EX. A. PU. that is, EX ARGENTO PUBLICO, to shew that the massy Silver, which was lodged in the publick Treasury, was then coined into Mo-

ney, to be used in Trade. On the reverse we find the Name of *Caius Fabius*, and *A Victory*, driving a Chariot drawn by two Horses: which alludes to the *Games of the Circus*, which always concluded with Chariot Races, as *Dion. Hal.* expressly observes. For we are not to imagine, that these Chariots, drawn by two, three, and four Horses, always alluded to Victories, or Triumphs, gained by the *Consuls*, whose Names they bear. The Honours of the great Triumph, were granted only to Conquerors, or those who gained the Republick some great Advantages by their Exploits. So that they were obtained by very few, and not allowed to them, without exceeding great Precautions. Whereas, nothing is more common than these Chariots on the *Consular* Medals; the reverses of them are scarce any thing else. Besides, *Florus* says, that the Chariots of those who triumphed, were generally drawn by four Horses; whereas, those we find on the old *Roman* Monies, which were coined in the time of the Republick, are for the most part drawn by two, or three. So that the Medals with these Stamps upon them, do, generally speaking, allude only to the *Circensian Games*, with which the Magistrates, who took care of the Coinage, entertained the People, in their *Aedileships*. But to return to the Medal above, on which we find the Name of *Caius Fabius*; the learned *Annalist*, *Vinandus Pighius* conjectures, that the Republick turned the Presents of King *Ptolemy* before-mentioned, into Silver-coin: and endeavours to prove this Conjecture to be true, by the Symbols on this Medal. According to him, *Alexandria* the Capital of *Egypt* is here represented by the Woman crowned with Towers, which was a pretty common Emblem for walled Cities: and he thinks the Bird on the reverse is an *Ibis*; Birds which breed in *Egypt*, and feed on Serpents. The *Egyptians* often put this Bird among their Hieroglyphicks. But indeed, these are only arbitrary Interpretations, upon the accepting or rejecting of which, nothing depends. Others think, that this Bird, is a Bird of Prey, which the *Latins* called *Buteo*; and that the Coiner alluded thereby to a Branch of the *Fabian* Family, which was distinguished from the rest, by the Surname of *Buteo*.

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themselves Amends, for not enjoying the Honours of a Triumph, which could not be granted them. Each of these new pieces of Silver was worth *ten Asses of Brass*; and for that Reason they were called ⁸⁴ *Denarii*; and had the numeral Letter X stamped upon them, to shew their Value. And besides these, there were likewise other



⁸⁴ It is difficult to determine the exact Value and Weight of the *Roman Denarius*. What is most certain is, that, according to the unanimous Opinion of all ancient Authors, ten *Asses*, or ten Pounds weight of brass Money, which when reduced to Ounces, by multiplying them by twelve, amount to 120 Ounces, make one *Denarius*. Supposing then the Proportion of Silver to Brass to be as one to twenty six, which is as great a Difference as can well be imagined; upon this Supposition, the *Denarius* must have weighed an Ounce, before the several Reductions it underwent in the several Ages of the Republick and Empire. We cannot suppose the Silver *Denarius*, which was equal to ten Pounds of Brass, to be less worth than that; especially if we consider, that the Difference between these two Metals in Value, is now much less than what we have supposed. *Varro de Ling. Lat. B. 4.* gives us an unanswerable Proof of it. This Author, who was one of the most learned Romans in his time, and best understood the Antiquities of his Nation, says, there were three sorts of Silver Money, all less in Value than the *Denarius*. One he calls *Libella*, which was the tenth part of the *Denarius*. Another he calls *Sembella*, which was half the Value of the former, that is, a twentieth part of the *Denarius*. And lastly, he mentions another piece of Silver, which was yet smaller than either of these, and gives it the Name of *Teruncius*. This little Coin was worth three Ounces of Copper, that is, one fourth part of an *As*, which was twelve Ounces. *Varro's Words* are these. *Nummi denarii decuma LIBELLA, quod libram pondo As valebat, & erat ex argento parva. SEMBELLA, quod sit libelle dimidium, quod semis assis. TERUNCIVS a tribus unciis, sembellæ quod valet dimidium, & est quarta pars, sicut quadrans Assis.* So that here are three pieces of Silver; one of which was worth an *As*, reckoning it at twelve Ounces of Copper, which was the tenth part of a Silver *Denarius*; another, which was worth but the twentieth part of a *Denarius*, that is, six Ounces of Copper; and a third, worth only the fortieth part of a *Denarius*, that is, three Ounces of Copper. If indeed, as some Antiquaries pretend, the *Denarius* was absolutely fixed to a seventh, or as others, an eighth part of an Ounce of Silver, without any Variation, we must absolutely reject *Varro's* Testimony. Since we must think it impossible, that there ever could have been Silver Money used in *Rome* so very small, as not to exceed a Grain and a half in weight, or thereabouts.

And yet such must the *Teruncius* have been, if the *Denarius* itself was but sixty three Grains, which is the eighth part of a *Roman Ounce*, containing 504 Grains. Which surely has not the least Shadow of Probability. Besides, this Subdivision of the *Denarius* into three different Species, took place only in the Ages long before *Varro's* time; and he speaks of it in such a manner, as inclines one to believe, That there were no such Species either in his time, or for some time before; or at least, That they were no longer used in Trade: especially since the *Denarius* itself had been reduced to the Weight of an *Attick Drachma*. *Pliny* makes those two exactly equal in Weight. His Words, *B. 21, c. 34.* are these. *Drachma Attica denarii argentei habet pondus.* Inasmuch, that he often uses them as synonymous Terms. By the Difference of these Silver Medals, whether *Consular*, or *Imperial*, which were all called *Roman Denarii*, it is plain, that this Species underwent many Changes and Reductions after the Year 484, when it was first coined. And these Variations in the Weight of the *Drachma*, make both the Ancients and Moderns sometimes say, that the Silver *Denarius* was to the *Attick Drachma*, as 4 to 3; and sometimes, that it was as 8 to 7; which is the Proportion most generally allowed, with Regard to the *Consular* Medals. Most agree, that those which are marked with an X, which was peculiar to the *Denarii*, weighed each an *Attick Drachma*. and $\frac{1}{2}$ of a *Drachma*. But *Priscian* reckons six *Denarii* to be equal to the twelfth part of a *Roman Pound*. He says, the *Denarius* weighed ninety six Grains, and the *Drachma* but seventy two. Yet *Celsus*, and most Writers say, that seven *Denarii* were worth eight *Drachmæ*; that is, eight of the latter went to an Ounce, and but seven of the former. According to *Livy*, *B. 34.* the *Attick Tetradrachma*, an *Athenian* Coin, which weighed half an Ounce, or four *Drachmæ*, was worth three *Denarii*. And in short, it is demonstrable, both by the Testimony of the most judicious Writers, and the Weight of the Medals, That the *Roman Denarii* were of different Weights, at different Times; and That sometimes one of them was at least an Ounce; at other times, two, three, four, five, six, seven, and seven and an half of them went to an Ounce; till *Nero's* Reign, who determined they should be the Weight of the *Attick Drachma*. So that among these different *Denarii*, there were some which weighed as much as the *Greek Drachma*, which was equal to two *Drachmæ*. But notwithstanding the Augmentations of the Value of the *Denarii*,

other pieces of Silver coined, which were called *Quinarii*, and *Sestertii*, or *Sesterces*. The *Quinarii* were worth five *Asses* of Brass each, and were known, not only by their Weight, but also by the Letter V upon them. The *Sestertii* were worth but two *Asses* and a half, and were distinguished by the Letters HS. And from this time, these *Denarii* of Silver, which are struck with Art, and on the Reverse of which we find ænigmatical Figures, will be of Service to us, in compiling our History; but we shall use them with Caution. It were dangerous to form an History from Figures and Inscriptions, which are arbitrarily interpreted; and instead therefore of making such an use of these Medals, as thereby to derogate from the Authority of the Historians; our Business shall be, to make use of the Historians to clear up the Obscurity of these Medals.

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§. XXI. THE



Denarii, according to the present Circumstances and Wants, they always preserved their characteristic Mark, viz. the Letter X, which, on some Medals, has a transversal Line running through the middle of it.

What we have said of the Silver *Denarius*, may equally be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the *Quinarius*, and *Sesterce*. The former of these was half, the latter a fourth part, of a *Denarius*. The Ancients give the *Quinarius* the Name of *Victoriatum Nummus*, because at first the reverse of it was A Victory, in different Attitudes, sometimes on Foot and wearing a Crown, or carrying a Trophy; sometimes sitting in a Chariot, and driving it, to represent *The Circensian Games*; after the manner of the *Greeks*, who made use of several Symbols to represent on their Money, the Solemnity of the *Olympick Games*, and other Festivals, common to all Greece. *Varro, de Ling. Lat. B. 4.* speaks of the *Quinarius* thus; *Quam rationem duo ad unum habent, eadem habent viginti ad decem. In nummis similibus, sic est ad unum Victoriatum denarius, sicut ad alterum Victoriatum alter Denarius.* The *Denarius*, says he, is to the *Victoriatum*, as two to one, or twenty to ten. This is a decisive Passage against those who confound the *Nummus Victoriatum*, with the *Nummus Denarius*. *Pliny* says, *B. 33. c. 31.* that the *Victoriatum* was a foreign Coin, brought from *Illyricum* to Rome, and current among the Merchants: and adds, that by an express Law, of which one *Claudius* was the Author, the Republick ordered *Victoriatum* to be coined, of the same Stamp, and Weight. *Qui nunc Victoriatum appellatur Lege Clodia percussus est. Ante enim hic nummus in Illyrico advectus, mercis loco habebatur. Est autem signatus Victoria, inde nomen.* There are some Medals of this Coin left, on which we find these two Letters V and Q.

As to the *Sesterce*, it was first worth two *Asses* and a half, and then four *Asses*, when the Silver *Denarii* were current in Trade, at sixteen *Asses* each. They are therefore mistaken, who absolutely fix the Weight of this little piece of Money, at two *Asses* and an half, without distinguishing when it was worth four, in Proportion to the *Denarius*,

which was then worth sixteen. And lest the Reader should mistake, when he reads the *Latin* Authors and *Roman* Historians, who reckon Sums by *Sesterces*, according to the manner of computing, introduced among the *Romans*, after this *Species* was coined, it is proper to observe the Difference between the little and the great *Sesterce*. The former was expressed by the substantive masculine *Sestertius*, and stood for no more than its own intrinsic Worth. The latter was expressed by the neuter *Sestertium*, and stood for a thousand little *Sesterces*. So that the *Latin* Words, *Duo Sestertia*, *Decem Sestertia*, *Centum Sestertia*, are as much as to say, *Duo Sestertiũ Millia*, *Decem Millia Sestertiũ*, *Centum Millia Sestertiũ*, i. e. two thousand *Sesterces*, ten thousand *Sesterces*, a hundred thousand *Sesterces*. When the numeral Words are used adverbially, the great *Sestertes* were multiplied by hundreds. As for instance, these *Latin* Expressions, *Centies Sestertium*, *Decies Sestertium*, are as much as to say, *Centies Centena Sestertia*, *Decies Centena Sestertia*; that is, an hundred times an hundred great *Sesterces*, ten times an hundred Great *Sesterces*: i. e. an hundred times an hundred thousand little *Sesterces*, or ten Millions of little *Sesterces*; and ten times an hundred thousand little *Sesterces*, or one Million of little *Sesterces*. When therefore the great *Sesterces* are to be reduced to little ones, the Sum must be multiplied by a thousand; when the numeral Words of the Great *Sesterces* are adverbial, each Great *Sesterce* is to be multiplied by an hundred. It is easy to judge of the Form, and Stamps of the *Denarii*, *Quinarii*, and *Sesterces*, by the Figures we here give the Reader of them.

Among the Medals we likewise find some of those pieces of Money, which we have called in the Language of the Antiquaries, *Numismata Serrata*, or *Nummi Serrati*. *Tacitus* makes use of the same Expression to signify a piece of Money, indented or jagged at the Edges. We have several pieces of this sort among the *Consular* Medals, quite down to the time of *Augustus*. In the first Ages of the Republick, the Magistrates, who took care of the Coinage, had been obliged to use this Caution against false Coiners, who counterfeited their

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DIUS CRAS-
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Val. Max. B.
6. c. 5. §. 1.

Frontin. Stra-
tag. B. 1. c.
12.

§. XXI. THE next Year the *Romans* revived their former Design of making War on the *Picentes*, and both begun and finished it. One of the new ⁸⁵ *Consuls* was *P. Sempronius*, who had by his Wisdom deserved, and acquired the Surname of *Sophus*: and the other was the Son of the famous *Appius Claudius Cæcus*, whose good and bad Qualities had formerly done so much Service, and Mischief, to the Republick. The Surname of this *Appius Claudius*, who was now raised to the *Consulship*, was *Crassus*: whose Father had the same Surname, till his Blindness made him change it into *Cæcus*. Both *Consuls* seem to have entered *Picenum* together at first, and carried on the War jointly. But the new Commotions in *Umbria*, obliged them to separate. *Appius* went to restrain the *Umbri*, who, full of the Spirit of *Gauls*, bore the Roman Yoke with great Impatience. ⁸⁶ *Camerinum* was besieged, and taken by *Appius*, who seems to have been a Man of more Valour than his Father. But he at least, inherited from him, an Artfulness and Cruelty of Mind, of which the Conquered were but too sensible. After he had deceived the *Camerini*, he treated them barbarously, reduced them to Slavery, put the Money they were sold for into the publick Treasury, and made himself Master of their Lands. But the Republick had too much Equity to authorise a Fraud, which turned to her own Profit. She carefully sought out all these unhappy Slaves, and did them more good than the barbarous *Consul* had done them Injury. They were allowed the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*; had a Place assigned them for their Dwellings, in the City of *Rome*, on the Hill *Aventinus*; and had as much Land given them in Property there, as they had lost in *Umbria*. The Money which arose from the Sale of these miserable People, was consecrated to the Decoration of Temples, and to defray the Expences of Sacrifices. It was by these Instances of an exact Justice, that *Rome* gained her self the Affections of all Mankind, and deserved those surprising Successes, which made her Mistress of the World.

As for *Sempronius Sophus*, he also was making War on the *Picentes*, with more Success than Honesty. The two Armies were in fight of each other, and the *Consul* ready to give Battel, when an extraordinary Event suspended the Ardour of the Combatants, for some time. The Ground, which lay between the two Armies, which were ready to enter upon Action, trembled. This Prodigy sunk the Courage of the *Romans*: But their General was a Philosopher, who was not surprized, at a natural Effect. He encouraged his Troops, and represented to them, that the *Picentes* could not but be as much affrighted as they. *The Enemy's Land*, says he, *shews the Fear it is in, of changing its Masters, by these frightful Shocks. Let us address our selves to*

their Coin. Their Trick was to melt down the Money, after they had taken some thin Plates of Silver off from it, which Plates they put upon little pieces of Copper, which they struck with great Art, exactly of the same Sizes and Impressions, as the *Denarii*, and *Quinarii*. This false Money was current in the *Triumvirate* of *Augustus*. It is known by its cutting. The Antiquaries call it *Furred Medals*.

And lastly, though the *Romans* did not begin to coin Silver in *Rome*, till the Year 484, yet we are not to infer from thence, that they had none but Copper-money among them, for near five Centuries. The Traffick they were obliged to carry on with Foreigners, and People from beyond Sea, who traded with the *Hetrurians*, must doubtless have brought some Silver-money among them. Both Gold and Silver Species were known even in the time of *Romulus*, and used all over the *Roman* Dominions. This *Festus* affirms, and in proof of it, appeals to the publick Registers, and the Books of Accompts of private Persons; or rather to the ancient Archives, which ascertained the Truth of this Fact. *Solebant jam inde a Romulo nummis auri atque argenti signati ultramarinis uti; id quod publica & privata rationes Commentariorum docent.*

⁸⁵ It is *Eutropius*, and after him *Cassiodorus* and *Martianus*, who have transmitted down to us the Names and Surnames of these two *Consuls*. The *Greek Tables* give *Appius Claudius* the Surname of *Kusus*, though we find no Traces of it in the *Pa-*

trician Branch of the *Claudian* Family. But not to say any thing of the Testimony of the two Authors just mentioned, it is more natural to believe, that he inherited his Father's Surname, who was called *Crassus*, till he lost his Sight. And *Velleius* indeed tells us, that this *Consul* was the Son of *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *The Blind*, of whom we have often spoken in this Volume.

⁸⁶ The ancient City of *Camerinum* stood near the *Apennines*, which divide *Umbria* from *Picenum*, in the Place where *Camerino* now stands. *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* call it *Καμαρίνον*. *Plutarch* calls its Inhabitants *Καμαρίνιοι*, in his *Life of Marius*. Yet *Strabo* himself most frequently calls it *Καμίστην*: Whence the Name of *Camertes*, which the ancient Writers give the Inhabitants of the Territory of *Camerinum*. The ancient Historians extol this City for its Wealth, and its Lands for their Fruitfulness. *Clusium*, one of the most considerable Cities in *Hetruria*, had been called *Camers*, before the *Pelasgi* possessed themselves of this Country: Which has given room to believe, that the People of the same Canton, when driven out by these New-comers, took Refuge in *Umbria*, and gave their own Name to the Country they inhabited. *Festus*, in his Explanation of the Word *Prorsus*, highly extols the Riches and Beauty of *Camerinum*. *Camerini cives nostri oppidum pulchrum habuere, agrum optimum atque pulcherrimum, rem fortunatissimam.* And he quotes *Gato* on this Occasion.

the Goddesses ⁸⁷ Tellus, and endeavour to appease her Anger, by our Vows. Accordingly, the Consul made a Vow to build a Temple to that Goddess: And as the Prejudices of Religion scarce ever failed making strong Impressions on the Romans, they recovered their Courage, and fell upon the Enemy. The Army of the *Picentes*, to judge of it by the Multitude of the Inhabitants of the Country, must have been numerous; and their Resistance was such, as made it a bloody Battel to their Enemies. The Romans conquered indeed; but their Victory cost them dear. The greatest part of their Troops were killed in the Battel. However Rome, by the Death of so many brave Men, acquired a perpetual Dominion over a Nation, which was shut in between the *Senones* and the *Samnites*. *Asculum*, its Capital, surrendered to the Conquerors, and the *Picentes* submitted to the Republick, and continued faithful to her ever after. *Sempronius* had indeed alone deserved the Honours of a Triumph; but he nevertheless shared them with *Appius* his Colleague: the Battel having been gained, under the *Auspices* of both. The Romans discovered the more Joy on this Occasion; because this new Conquest alone, was able to supply the Armies of the Republick, with 360000 Soldiers for the future. It was these prodigious Numbers of vanquished People, and the incredible Populoufness of the Countries then subject to Rome, that put her in a Condition, to extend her Conquests beyond the Seas. It is said, ⁸⁸ that the Victory of *Appius* and *Sophus*, was also signalized by stamping new Medals of Silver; which shews, if it be true, that the Care of the Mint was in the Consul's Hands. After this, the Republick, the better to secure her new Conquests, and keep the *Senones*, *Picentes*, and *Samnites* in Awe, sent out two Colonies, one to ⁸⁹ *Ariminum*, the other to *Beneventum*. The *Sabines* had hitherto had no Privilege, except that of serving in the *Legions*, and not barely as auxiliary Troops. But now a Right of Suffrage in the City was given them, which made them entirely Roman.

§. XXII. THERE now remained but one Nation, from the *Po*, to the furthest part of *Italy*, to the East, which refused to submit to the Republick; and that was the *Salentini*. They were Neighbours to the *Tarentini*, and had imbibed their Hatred to the Roman Name. Their Security, in a great measure, depended upon the many Sea-ports, with which their Coast was guarded. The Country of the *Salentini* was, as the Vulgar say, in the Heel of *Italy*; and their chief Cities were *Hydruntum*, *Aletium* ⁹⁰,

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US SOPHUS,
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Florus, B. 1.
c. 19.

Orosius B. 4.
c. 4.

Fasti Capitol.

Plin. B. 3.
c. 13.

*Velleius Pa-
terculus*, B. 1.

⁸⁷ Under the Name of the Goddess *Tellus*, the Pagans worshiped *The Earth*, the common Mother of all Men. Or rather, they by her, meant Nature, which they supposed to be the Soul of the World, an universal Principle, which gives all Beings their Forms, especially Plants, Metals, and Stones, which grow in the Bowels of the Earth. She was said to be the Wife of *Cælus*, or *Heaven*, either because by the Universe we understand both the celestial and terrestrial Globe; or because the Stars by their Influences promote the Fruitfulness of the Earth. The Romans probably borrowed the Worship of this Goddess from the Greeks. At least *Pausanias* says, that before the Building of the famous Temple at *Delphi*, the Goddess *Tellus* uttered Oracles from the Bottom of a subterraneous Cave, which emitted a prophetick Vapour. The several Qualities the Pagans ascribed to the Goddess *Tellus*, were equally applicable to *Cybele*, *Vesta*, *Ops* or *Rhea*, *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, &c. So that the Mythologists think all these Goddesses differed only in Name, and were all but one, whom the Pagan Superstition, divided into so many, according to the Prejudices of that time, in order to make so many different Objects of religious Worship. They, who are curious to know more of Mythology, may consult *Vossius's* second Book, *De origine & progressu idololatriæ*, and *Lilio Gi-
raldi's History of the Gods*, Syntagm. 4. *Histor.
Deum*.

⁸⁸ We have taken it for granted, that these two Medals are authentick, upon the Authority of *Pi-
ginus*. He says, that on one of them, *Sempronius* was represented under the Figure of Wisdom, in

Allusion to his Surname of *Sophus*. The Inscription upon it contained his Name, and was this, P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. On the second, was the Head of *A Rome*, wearing an Helmet, with these Words, AP. CLAUD. CRAS. The Reverse of both were a Chariot drawn by two Horses. It is a Misfortune, that these two Medals are lost, if they ever did exist.

⁸⁹ *Ariminum*, now *Rimino*, or *Rimini*, was one of the most considerable Cities in *Umbria*, a little Way from the *Rubicon*, on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea. It took its Name from the River *Ariminus*, which watered its District. This River the Natives now call *Parecchia*. *Ariminum*, says *Festus*, a nomine fluminis propinqui est dictum. Besides the *Ariminus*, *Pliny* mentions another River, B. 3. c. 15. which he calls *Aprusa*, and which, according to him, ran near the same City. *Blondus* thinks the *Aplusa* was the same River with that he calls *Plusa*; but we know no River near *Rimini*, which is now called by this last Name. Unless *Blondus* meant the *Lusa*. And in that case, his Conjecture will but ill agree with *Pliny's* Declaration, since this last River runs ten thousand geometrical Paces West of *Rimini*. It is therefore more natural to suppose, that the *Aprusa*, *Pliny* speaks of, is the River now called *Ausa*, which runs near *Rimini*.

⁹⁰ The City of *Aletium* is now known by the Name of *Lezze*, or *Leocia*, in that Canton of *Calabria*, which now makes a part of the Territory of *Otranto*, beyond the *Apennines*. The Copyists of *Strabo* have disfigured the Name of *Aletium*, or *Aletia*, by writing it *Σαληπία*, instead of *Ἀλητῖα*.

and

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P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS, APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSUS, Consuls.
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L. JULIUS LIBO, M. A. TILIUS REGULUS, Consuls.

and *Brundisium* ⁹¹. This last Port especially, was what the *Romans* mightily coveted. It was so advantageously situated, that the same Wind would often carry you out of Port to *Greece* and *Illyricum*, and bring you into Port from thence. Besides, *Brundisium* was deemed a Place of Importance, and the Capital of the Country. For the *Romans*, to make themselves Masters of it, was to put themselves in a Condition to contend with the Nations beyond Sea, and to carry on War in *Africa*, *Asia*, and *Greece*. As soon therefore as the *Centuries* had chosen the new *Consuls*, the Republick ordered them to make War with the *Salentini*. The Pretence of the *Romans* was, that this Nation had favoured *Pyrrhus's* Descent, and espoused the Cause of the *Tarentini*. Pretences invented only by their own Ambition, in order to rob these People of their Liberty. The *Consuls*, whom the Republick charged with this glorious Commission, were ⁹² *L. Julius Libo*, a *Patrician*; and *M. Atilius Regulus*, a *Plebeian* by Descent, but greater by his Virtues, than the most illustrious *Patricians*. This is the first time we see that famous *Regulus* advanced to the *Consulship*, whose Death was even more glorious than his Life. The two Collegues marched together to finish a War, which would secure the *Romans* their old Conquests, and open them a Way to new ones. But the *Salentini* were brave, and defended their Country with Courage. They seemed to have even reduced the *Roman* Armies, to have recourse to the Gods, to deliver them out of their Danger. At least, it is certain, the *Consuls* made a Vow to ⁹³ *Pales*, the Goddess of Shepherds, to build her a Temple: and the

Florus B. 1.
c. 2.



⁹¹ *Brundisium*, now *Brindes*, or *Brindisi*, a maritime City, on the Coasts of the *Adriatick*, was formerly one of the most considerable Cities in *Calabria*. The ancient *Greeks* and *Latins* give it the different Names of *Brundisium*, *Brundetium*, and *Brenda*. It was, according to *Stephens*, called *Brentesium*, either because it acknowledged *Brentus* the Son of *Hercules* to be its Founder; or because it was of the Shape of a Stag's Head, which in the Language of the old Nations of *Messapia* was called *Brention*. But others will have it, that it was built by the *Aetolians*, under the Directions of *Dionemedes* their Leader. *Strabo* says, *B. 6.* that *Brundisium* was originally a Colony of *Cretans*, who came with *Theseus* into the southern Parts of *Italy*: And he affirms, that it was at first governed by Kings. It maintained a War with the *Lacedaemonians*, whom *Phalanthus* brought into *Great Greece*. He took a part of their Territory from the *Brundisians*. Yet they secured him an honourable Retreat within their Walls, and performed stately Obsequies for him after his Death. *Strabo* prefers the Territory of this City, to that of *Tarentum*, as well for the Fruitfulness of the Soil, as the Excellency of its Fruits. He boasts much of the Honey and Wool of *Brindisi*. It abounds particularly with Olives, which grow there in great Plenty. It had this Advantage over *Tarentum*, that its Port was more convenient, and safer from Storms. People generally embarked at *Brundisium* for *Greece*; tho' this was not the shortest, it was the safest Passage. *Brundisium* has the same Stamp on one of its Medals, as other maritime Cities have; namely, a *Neptune* with his Trident. The reverse is the Figure of *Tarat*, the Son of *Neptune*, or according to others, of *Phalanthus*, who was saved from a

Shipwreck by a Dolphin, as we have before observed. This Symbol, which we likewise find on the ancient Medals of the City of *Tarentum*, either alludes to the different Alliances of the two Nations, and particularly their Union against the *Romans*, in favour of *Pyrrhus*; or else was intended to perpetuate the Memory of the Origin of a Company of *Tarentini*, who being driven out of their own Country, had followed the Fortunes of *Phalanthus*, and were naturalized in *Brundisium*. The *Cornucopia* points out the Fruitfulness of the Country. The Club, and *The Victory*, allude to *Hercules*, the Hero of these Cantons. *Velleius* tells us, that *Brundisium* had the Title of a *Roman Colony*, from the Year of *Rome* 509.

⁹² The *Fasti Capitolini* have exactly preserved the Names of these two chief Magistrates, under this Year 486, in the Place where they mention the two Triumphs they obtained on the same Day. The Copyists have therefore altered the Text of *Enropius*, and *Cassiodorus*, by putting *L. Junius*, instead of *L. Julius*.

⁹³ We have already spoken of *Pales*, *B. 1. p. 23.* of the first Volume. The Pagans invoked her as the tutelary Goddess of Shepherds and their Flocks. And agreeably to this Prejudice, *Ovid* offers up this Prayer to her, *Fasti B. 4.*

*Pelle procul morbos, valeant hominesque gregesque,
 Et valeant vigiles, provida turba, canes.*

The *Romans* annually celebrated a Festival to her Honour, on the 21st of *April*, and called it *Palilia* or *Parilia*, according to some Authors quoted by *Dion. Hal. a partu quadrupedum*. This Festival was attended with odd Ceremonies, the Myserie of which it is the proper Province of the Mythology

the Reader may have observed, that the *Romans* scarce ever had recourse to divine Assurances, but when their Danger was imminent. But what could so weak a Nation do, against the Forces of so formidable a Republick? *Regulus* and his Collegue conquered, and took *Brundisium*, but did not disarm the *Salentini*. They disputed their Country Inch by Inch with the *Consuls*; and the Office of the two Conquerors expired, before they could give the finishing Stroke to the Liberties of these brave Men, who defended them to the last Extremity. Nevertheless *Libo* and *Regulus* were honoured with a 94 Triumph, eight Days before *The Calends of January*; but they left it to their Successors, to finish a Work they had so happily begun.

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gills to explain. On this Day, the People purified themselves with a sort of Perfume, made of Blood taken from an Horse for that Purpose, of the Ashes of a Calf taken out of a Cow's Belly, and of some Bean-stalks.

*Sanguis equi suffimen erit, vitulique favilla,
Tertia res dura culmen inane fabæ.*

This Calf must have been one of the thirty which the *Vestals* took out of an equal Number of Cows with Calf, which the thirty *Curie*, ever since their Institution by *Numa*, sacrificed to *The Earth*, or the Goddess *Tellus*, during the Solemnity of the *Fordicalia*, or *Fordicidia*. This was the Name which the *Romans* gave this last mentioned Solemnity; and which was taken from the ancient Term *Forda*, which was equivalent to *Bos gravidus*, or a Cow with Calf. *FORDICIDII BOVES FORDÆ, id est, gravide immolabantur, dicta a fœtu*, says *Festus*. And this Interpretation agrees with *Varro's*, *de Ling. Lat. B. 4. Fordicidia a Fordis Bubus. Bos FORDA quæ fert in ventre. A FORDIS cadendis, Fordicidia dicta, quod eo die publice immolantur boves prægnantes in Curiis complures*. These Trifles will probably be disliked by some Readers. But in a complete History, an Author ought to think himself obliged to omit nothing. Besides, these little Customs were an essential part of the *Roman* Religion. And as it is impossible to give an exact Account of them, without having recourse to certain *Latin* Terms, which cannot be rendered into our Language, we are forced to have recourse to the ancient Authors themselves, and quote their Words. To return therefore to the *Fordicalia*: *Varro*, *B. 2. de re rustica*, takes the Terms *Horda* and *Hordicidia*, to have the same Signification, as *Forda* and *Fordicidia*. His Words are these. *Quæ sterilis est Vacca, Taura appellata; quæ prægnans, Horda. In Fastis dies Hordicalia nominantur, quod tunc Hordæ boves immolantur*. In this Sense *Ovid* says, *Fasti*, *B. 4.*

*Forda Ferens bos est, fecundaque dicta ferendo,
Hinc etiam fœtus nomen habere putat.*

The Priests sprinkled the People assembled with the Blood of the thirty Calves, which answered to the Number of the *Curie*; and this Form of Expiation *Ovid* describes at length, *Fasti*, *B. 4.* And besides these Victims, there were some others which were kept to be sacrificed on the *Capitol*, as we learn from *Ovid*, *Fasti* *B. 4.*

*Pars cadit arce Jovis, ter denas Curia vaccas
Accipit, & largo sparsa cruore madet.*

The *Fordicalia* were celebrated on *The seventeenth of the Calends of March*, that is, on the fifteenth Day of *April*, the third Day after the *Ides* of that Month.

*Tertia post Veneris cum lux surrexerit Idus.
Pontifices Fordæ sacra litate bove.*

It was the Business of the oldest of the *Vestals*, to burn the thirty Calves then sacrificed: After which, she gathered up the Ashes, and reserv-

ed them for their proper Use, in the Festival of *Pales*.

*Ignem cremat vitulos quæ natu maxima Virgo est,
Luce Palis populos purget ut ille cinis.*

As soon as the Day for the Celebration of the *Palilia* came, the Country People prepared to purify their Sheep-folds and Flocks.

Pastor oves Saturas ad prima crepuscula lustrat.

And they made it matter of Religion to use Water, Sulphur, and Fumigations of Pine, Laurel, and several sorts of Herbs, in this Ceremony. They believed, that these Purgations preserved their Cattle from Diseases, and secured them against a Mortality. No Victim was slain in honour to *Pales*. A bloody Sacrifice would have ill become her, who was the Protectress of Cattle. Nothing was offered up to her but Libations of Milk, and Miller boiled in Wine. In the Evening, the People of the Village gathered some Hay or Straw together, set it on Fire, danced round it, to the Sound of Flutes and Drums, and leaped over it, as it were, by way of Purification. They pretended likewise to do this in Memory of the Day which gave Birth to *Rome*; and to revive the Ceremony, whereby the new Colony purified themselves, by leaping through the Flames. We have already observed, *B. 1. p. 23.* that the two Festivals of the *Palilia*, and the Anniversary of the Foundation of *Rome*, were blended together into one.

Urbi Festus erat dixere Palilia Patres

Hic primus cepit Mœnibus esse dies. Fast. B. 4.

94 *The Fasti Capitolini*, *Cicero de Finibus*, *B. 2.* the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, and *Eutropius*, have all preserved the Memory of the Triumph granted to both these *Consuls*. *Marco Attilio Regulo*, says the last mentioned Author, *Lucio Julio Libone Consulibus, Salentinis Bellum indictum est, captique sunt cum civitate simul Brundisini, & de his triumphatum est*. In an old Copy, quoted by *Pighius*, the Words are, *& de his iterum triumphatum est*, to shew, that before the two *Consuls*, another Person had triumphed over the *Salentini*. And indeed, the Victory the *Proconsul Lucius Æmilius Barbula* had gained over these People, in the Year of *Rome* 473, had procured him the Honours of a Triumph. *Goltzius*, in the *Fasti Consulares* gives us the Figures of two Medals, as two Monuments of the Triumph, with which both these *Consuls* were honoured. The Face of the first Medal, is the Head of *A Rome*, wearing an Helmet; and the reverse of it, is a Victory crowning the Conqueror, who is driving a Chariot, drawn by four Horses. The Inscription is, *M. ATIL. M. F. L. N. REGULUS*. On one side of the second Medal is a *Diana* with her Quiver; and on the other a Victory driving a Chariot drawn by two Horses; and holding a Branch of Laurel in her Hand. The Inscription is, *L. JULIUS LIBO*. But lest these Medals should be counterfeit, as several others are, which we find in *Goltzius's* Collection, we only give this Description of them.

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§. XXIII. A *Patrician*, named ⁹⁵ *Numerius Fabius*, who derived the Name of *Pictor* from his Branch of his Family, and *D. Junius*, surnamed *Pera*, were chosen in the *Campus Martius* to succeed them. Though one part of the *Ionian* Family was *Patrician*, yet it is well known from other Circumstances, and may be inferred from this, that some Branches of it were *Plebeian*. So that *Pera* was not chosen out of the Nobility: doubtless, the *Romans* would not have suffered two *Patricians* to be chosen *Consuls* together. *Fabius* and *Junius* joined their Forces together, and never fought separately, notwithstanding that the Republick had two sorts of Enemies to contend with. The first were these *Salentini*, who had not been subdued in one Campaign; and the others were some Remains of the Factious in *Umbria*, who were called *Sarcinates*, or *Sassimates*. The *Gauls* were too obstinate to be easily reduced, and the *Sassimates* were a Mixture of *Gauls*, and old *Italians*. The *Consuls* began their Campaign with the *Sassimates*, conquered them, and they submitted to the Republick; and then they marched from thence into the Country of the *Salentini*. These having had time to look about them, had drawn the ⁹⁶ the *Messapians*, or *Japygians*, into their Quarrel; but nevertheless, the *Consuls* completed their Reduction, took the rest of their Cities, and ranked their Nation among those which were become *Roman*. The Reduction therefore of two Nations in one Campaign, procured each *Consul* the Honours of two Triumphs; a thing, till then, unheard of in the Republick. Not that the two *Consuls* twice entered *Rome* in Triumph together, in the same Chariot, and Procession; but the four Triumphs were all solemnized on different Days. *Junius* entered *Rome* in Triumph, on ⁹⁷ The Fifth of the *Calends*

⁹⁵ It is evident from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that the *Prænomen* of *Fabius* was *Numerius*, and not *Marcus*, as *Cassiodorus* and *Marianus* call him. Others have confounded the *Prænomen* of *Numerius*, with that of *Cneius*, and have taken the latter for the former.

⁹⁶ We have often spoken of *Messapia*, or *Japygia* already, and have shewn that it was the native Country, and old Habitation of the Nations, who inhabited this part of South *Italy*, or *Great Greece*.

⁹⁷ No one is ignorant, that the *Romans* dated their publick Acts and Letters in a very different manner from ours. The *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, were, as it were, three general *Epocha's*, or fixed Points, from which they reckoned the Days of the Month; as is done to this Day, in the Chancery at *Rome*. And that we may treat the more regularly of this famous Division of Days, it is proper to make the following Remarks.

1. We must take it for granted, that in old *Rome*, the civil Year was regulated by the Motions of the Moon, according to *Numa's* Directions. This Prince followed the Method the *Greeks* then used, in dividing time; with this Difference, that instead of making the Year to consist of 354 Days, as they did, he made it to consist of 355. Which Addition of a Day was founded in a superstitious Prejudice, which prevailed among the *Egyptians*. They imagined, that even Numbers were accursed, and foreboded nothing but Misfortunes. *Numa*, prepossessed with this ridiculous Opinion, cut off a Day from the six Months of *April*, *June*, *Sexilis*, afterwards *August*, *September*, *November*, and *December*; which reduced them to twenty nine Days each, whereas before they consisted of thirty Days each, in *Romulus's* Calendar. The other Months, which had thirty one Days each before, were not reduced. We have already observed, that *Romulus's* Year consisted of only 304 Days; of which 304 *Numa* took away six, which reduced them to 298. In order therefore to make his Year of 355 Days, *Numa* added fifty seven Days to it, the six he had retrenched included: and these additional Days were divided into two Parts, one of twenty nine Days for the Month of *January*, and the other of twenty eight Days, for the Month of *February*. And because this last Month contained an even Number of Days, it was appointed, for

the time for offering Sacrifices to the infernal Gods, to whom even Numbers were thought to belong. Then the Month of *January* was placed in the Winter-solstice, and made the first Month of the Year; and *February* the second. So that *March*, which before was first, was now third. But it is both needless and improper to repeat what we have already said of the Defects of *Numa's* Calendar, and of the great Care he took, to adjust his *Lunar* Year to the *Solar*. The Reader may turn back to our first Volume.

2. After this first Reformation, the *Romans* reckoned the Twelve-months of their civil Year, by as many Moons. And indeed, twelve *Lunar* Months amount to very near 355 Days, which was *Numa's* Year; or rather, they make exactly 354 Days, eight Hours, and about forty eight Minutes. The first Day of the new Moon, or the *Neomenia*, was the first Day of the Month among the *Romans*, as well as among the *Hebrews*. In ancient Times, before *Flavius* had divulged the *Fasti*, with which he was entrusted, and revealed to the People the pretended Mysteries of the *Calendar*, which was lodged in his Hands, one of the inferior *Pontifices*, went up upon the *Tarpeian* Rock, towards the end of the Month, turned towards the East, and there waited, or pretended to wait, till the Moment the Moon entered her first Quarter. As soon as he had made his Observation, he went to the House of *The King of the Sacrifices*, and gave him Notice of the New-moon. Then they both, after the usual religious Ceremonies, which were concluded with the Sacrifice of a Victim, assembled the People in the *Capitol*, near the Place which the *Roman* Historians call *Curia Calabra*. Hence came the Name of *The Calends*, which they gave to the first Day of the Month. This Term alludes to the Word *Calare*, which signifies to call together; because, on every New-moon, the Citizens were assembled together by the *Pontifex*, for him to inform them, what religious or civil Duties were to be done in the ensuing Month, and when; as what Days were Festivals; what *Feria*; when Sacrifices were to be offered; what Days were permitted; what not permitted; when the Fairs, and when the *Comitia*, were held. *Plutarch* in his *Roman Questions* derives the Word *Calends* from the Verb *Celare*, because the Moon being then in Conjunction with the Sun

Calends of October; and Fabius on The third of the Nones of that Month; for having conquered the Saffinates. And Fabius enjoyed the same Honour again, on The Calends of February following; as Junius did, on The Nones of February; for having

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Sun, and receiving no Light from that Planet, she seemed to *hide* her self. But *Varro* will have it, that the first Day of the Month was called *The Calends* from another Custom, of which he gives us this Account. *Primi Dies Mensium dicti Calends, ab eo quod, his diebus, Calentur hujus mensis Nona a Pontificibus.* One of the *Pontifices* always told the People, how many Days there were between the first Day of the Month and the *Nones*. The Custom was for him to pronounce the Word *Kalē* with a loud Voice, five times together, if the *Nones* were the fifth Day of the Month, or seven if the seventh. And this is agreeable to what *Macrobius* says of it: whose Account of the Origin of the *Calends* is so particular and express, that I think it not improper to give it the Reader in his own Words. *Priscis temporibus, antequam Fasti a Cneio Flavio Scribā, invitis Patribus, in omnium notitiam proderentur, Pontifici minori hæc provincia delegatur, ut nova Luna, primum observaret aspectum, visamque Regi Sacrificio nuntiaret. Itaque Sacrificio a Rege, & minore Pontifice celebrato, idem Pontifex Kalatū, id est vocata in Capitolium plebe, juxta Curiam Calabram, quæ Casa Romuli proxima est, quot numero dies a Kalendis ad Nonas superessent, pronuntiabat: Et quintanas quidem, dicto quinque verbo Kalē, septimanas, repetito septies verbo, predicabat; & hunc diem, qui ex his diebus, qui Kalarentur, primus esset, placuit Kalendas vocari.* The Form of Words, in which the *Pontifex* published the *Nones*, is recorded by *Varro*, B. 5. de *Lingua Lat.* It was this; DIES TE QUINQUE KALO, JUNO NOVELLA! when the *Nones* fell on the fifth Day of the Month. And when they fell on the 7th Day of the Month it was this. DIES TE SEPTEM KALO, JUNO NOVELLA! But *Scaliger* in his Book de *Correct. Tempor.* II. p. 174. is of Opinion, that it ought to be read, JUNO JANA, which was the Name the Ancients sometimes gave the Moon, or *Juno*, which were often taken for one another, especially on this Occasion. *Varro* calls her by this Name, B. 1. de re *Rustica.* Nunquam rure audisti octavo Janam crescentem, & contra senescentem? The Surname of *Novella* was also given to *Juno*, whom the Romans then confounded with the New-moon. This Custom of publishing the *Nones*, was practised, in favour of the Country People, who came to *Rome* that Day, to learn of *The King of the Sacrifices*, what Festivals there would be in the Month which were to be observed; what were the Days which the Romans called *Fasti*, *Nefasti*, *Intercisi*, and *Comitiales* (of which we have already treated in several Places;) and lastly, what Days were appointed for the publick Sports, and for the Shews. The *Pontifex* invoked *Juno*, addressed his Prayers, and offered Sacrifices, to her, in the beginning of the Month, because she was thought to preside over the *Calends*. *Omnes Kalendas, says Macrobius, Saturnalis, B. 1. Junoni attribuit, & Varronis & Pontificalis affirmat auctoritas.* So that this Goddess was worshiped under the Title of *Juno Calendaris* among the Romans, as well as among the *Laurentes*, who, in this, adhered to their ancient Traditions. *Quod etiam Laurentes patriis religionibus servant, continues Macrobius, qui & cognomen Deæ, ex ceremoniis addiderunt, Kalendarem Junonem vocantes.* In the same Sense, *Ovid* says, that *Juno* claimed the *Calends* as her particular Care,

Vindicat Ausonias Junonis Cura Kalendas. Fast 1.

For this Reason, one of the *Pontifices* constantly offered a Sacrifice to *Juno*, at the beginning of every Month, in the Place called *Curia Calabra*; and he Wife of *The King of the Sacrifices*, who was

called *Queen at Rome*, sacrificed a young Sow, or ewe-Lamb, to that Goddess.

3. The *Nones* did not immediately follow the *Calends*; but at the Distance of four, or six Days. So that in the Months of *May*, *October*, *July*, and *March*, which were the only full Months in *Numa's* Calendar, the *Nones* were the seventh Day of the Month; and in the other Months, they were the fifth. That is, in those four Months, which consisted of thirty one Days each, you must reckon six Days from the *Calends* exclusively, in order to find the *Nones*; and in the other eight Months, which all, except *February*, had twenty nine Days, the *Nones* were the fourth Day from the *Calends*, or the fifth Day of the Month. This Difference is set down by *Ausonius* in these four Lines of his *Eclogue* 2. 1.

At Nonas modo quarta aperit, modo sexta refert lux.
Sexta refert Maii, Octobris, Martisque recursus,
Et qui Solstitio sua tempora Julius infert;
Cætera pars Mensum quartis est prædita Nonis.

And *Julius Caesar* had Regard to this ancient Disposition, when he reformed the Calendar, and left the *Nones* placed in the same manner as before he reformed it. Some have thought that the *Nones* were so called, because they were always the ninth Day before the *Ides*; or because the New-moon then began to appear. *Nonæ appellatæ, says Varro, B. 5. de Ling. Lat. aut quod ante diem Nonum Eidas semper, aut quod ut novus annus Kalendæ Januariæ ab Nono sole appellatæ, Novus Mensis, Nova Luna Nonis.* And the same Author confirms, by the Testimony of the ancient Annals, what we have before observed, That in the first Ages of *Rome*, the Country People were obliged to come to *Rome*, on the *Nones*, to learn of the *Pontifex*, what Days in the current Month, were set apart for the Worship of the Gods. *Ovid* observes, *Fast. 1.* That the *Nones* were under the immediate Protection of no God, or Goddess. *Nonarum tutela Deo caret.* Nevertheless, they were held in great Veneration among the Romans, from a Persuasion, that *Servius Tullius*, whose Memory they revered, was born on the *Nones*, though they knew not in what Month.

4. The Name of *Ides*, which the Romans gave the third Division of every Month, is a Substantive, say the Etymologists, derived from the old *Hebræan* Verb *Iduare*, which signifies to divide. And this Etymology agrees pretty well with the *Ides*, which divide the Months almost into two equal Parts. In those of *March*, *May*, *July*, and *October*, they were the 15th Day: in the other eight Months, the 13th. The same Order was therefore followed in them, as in the *Nones*, so as always to leave eight Days between them, viz. from the 7th to the 15th, and from the 5th to the 13th. Some have thought, that the *Latin* Term *Idus*, was derived from the *Greek* Word *ἰδέω*, which signifies *Beauty*, *Perfection*; and that it was to be understood in this Sense. On the Day of the *Ides*, which was the 13th or 15th of the *Lunar* Month, the Moon either was at full, or entered upon the full Quarter, and consequently shewed her self in all her *Beauty*. But be that as it will, the *Ides* were consecrated to *Jupiter*. On that Day, his Priests offered up to him a white Sheep, according to *Ovid*, *Fasti* 1.

Idibus alba Jovi grandior agna cadit.

And the Ancients therefore called this Victim *Ovis Idulis*. The High-priest of *Jupiter*, or the *Flamen Dialis*, usually reserved the Skin of this Victim for himself, to make him a stately Bonnet, which no Body

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subdued the *Salentini*, and *Messapians*. So that *Rome*, after these two ⁹⁸ Victories, was delivered from all her Enemies, and become Mistress of all the different Nations, which inhabited *Italy*, from the furthest part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian Sea*, one Way; and from the *Tuscan Sea*, cross the *Apennines*, to the *Adriatick*, the other Way. *Rome* was situated almost in the middle of all her Conquests, which she had extended from *The Lower* to ⁹⁹ *The Upper Sea*: And had she made no farther Progress, she was now become considerable enough, to make Posterity desirous of knowing her Story. But all these Nations did not enjoy the same Privileges under the Dominion of the Republick, though they were all united in Subjection to her, and all obeyed the *Roman Senate* and People. Some Nations were entirely subject to *Rome*, and had no Laws but what they received from thence. Others retained their old Customs, and ancient Forms of Government, but in Subjection to the Republick, with Respect to War or Peace. Some were tributary, others barely Allies; who were obliged to furnish the *Roman Army* with Troops, and serve at their own Expence. Some had the Privileges of *Citizenship* at *Rome*, and their Soldiers were incorporated in the

Body had a Right to wear but himself. This was the *Albo-Galerus* spoken of before, *B. 2. p. 59. of Vol. 1. Note 15.* This Sacrifice was agreeable to the Ideas the Pagans had formed of *Jupiter*; it is well known, that they thought him the Father and Author of Light. This Opinion gave Rise to the Epithets of *Lucetius* and *Diespiter*, which are often given him. Now because the *Ides* were a Day, on which not only the Sun shone all Day, but the Moon all Night, so as to dispel the usual Darkeness of it; therefore the *Ides* were thought to belong of Right to *Jupiter*.

5. Several have taken Pains to discover the Reasons, upon which this Division of the Month, into the three different Epochas, of *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, was founded; and have imagined, that it was built upon the three sensible Alterations that are most visible in the Moon. 1. When that part of her Disc which is opposite to us, receives no Light at all from the Sun. 2. When she begins to appear as a Crescent. And 3. When she is at full. On these different Aspects [at least as they fancy] *Romulus* formed his Calendar, and divided his *Lunar Month* into three Parts, answering to these three *Phases*. As to the Difference between the *Nones*, some of which he placed on the seventh, others on the fifth Day, he might perhaps observe, that the Moon continued longer hid, by the Rays of the Sun, in the Months of *March*, *May*, *July*, and *October*, than in the Months of *April*, *June*, *August*, *September*, *November*, and *December*. *Romulus*, who was no great Astronomer, probably took these Variations in the Face of the Moon, for regular Motions, and proposed them to his People as a fixed Rule for all Times. And what we say of the Difference between the *Nones*, may be equally applied to that between the *Ides*, or the full Moon. This is the most probable Account of that Matter. Nor do we think it necessary to guard the Reader in a particular manner against the ridiculous Dream of *Isaac Tzetzes*, which he affirms to be Matter of Fact. Among the many childish Fables, he has inserted in the Body of his History, that which he vents, concerning the Origin of the *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, is one of the most remarkable. The City of *Rome*, says he, was laid waste by a Famine, in the Empire of *Antoninus*; but was very happily relieved by three Men, whom he calls *Kalendus*, *Idus*, and *Nonus*. During this general Want, the first undertook to supply the City with Provisions for eighteen Days, the second for eight, and the third for four. And to perpetuate the Memory of this Benefaction, it was decreed, that their Names should be transmittted to Posterity, by calling the Days of the Month after them. Hence, says he, come the Terms *Calends*, *Ides*, and *Nones*. And it is surprizing, that the Pa-

triarch *Balzamon*, who is otherwise a judicious Writer, should be so little acquainted with the *Roman Antiquities*, as to adopt this Dream in his Works.

6. For the sake of those who don't understand the Nature of the Dates used by the *Romans*, it is proper to observe, that the four or six Days, which came between the *Calends*, or the first Day, and the *Nones*, took their Names from the latter. So that instead of saying, The second, third, fourth, and fifth Day of *January*, the *Romans* called those Days, *The fourth of the Nones*, *The third of the Nones*, *The Eve of the Nones*, and lastly, *The Nones of January*. And in like manner, the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth of *January*, were in the Language of old *Rome*, *The eighth*, *seventh*, *sixth*, *fifth*, *fourth*, and *third of the Ides of January*, *The Day before the Ides*, and *the Ides of January*. The Days of every Month which followed the *Ides*, took their Names from the *Calends* of the next Month. Thus the fourteenth, fifteenth, &c. of *January*, were *The nineteenth*, *twentieth*, &c. of the *Calends of February*; and so on, reckoning backwards, till you come to the last Day of the current Month, which was called, *The Eve of the Calends of the following Month*. In the Month, which had thirty one Days, and whose *Nones* were on the seventh, and *Ides* on the fifteenth Day, The second Day of the Month, was *The sixth of the Nones*, the eighth was *The eighth of the Ides*, the ninth, *The seventh of the Ides*, and so on to the fifteenth, which was *The Ides*. After this, the sixteenth Day of the Month changed its Name, and was called by the Name of the Month following; as for instance, the sixteenth of *March*, was *The seventeenth of the Calends of April*; the seventeenth of *March*, was *The sixteenth of the Calends of April*, and so on to the thirty first, which was *The Eve of the Calends of April*.

98 This double Triumph of the two Consuls expressly mentioned in the *Fasti Capitolini*. And we may believe *Goltzius*, the Memory of this Triumph was perpetuated by two Medals, which bear the Names of *N. Fabius*, and *D. Junius*. But we have not given them here, because that would have been to have declared them authentick, and to have determined, that they only belonged to these two triumphant Victors, exclusive of all others of the *Junian*, and *Fabian* Families, which had the same *Praenomina*, as these two Consuls.

99 We have spoken of *The Lower*, or *South*, and of the *Upper*, or *North*, *Italian Sea*, in several Places already. By the first was meant the *Tyrrhenian Sea*; by the second the *Adriatick*. And we have already said more than enough, to shew the Limit of these two Seas. The former is now known by the Name of *The Tuscan Sea*, the latter by that of *The Gulph of Venice*.

Legion

Legions. Others had likewise a Right of Suffrage in the *Campus Martius*, and in the Year of Elections made by the *Centuries*. These different Degrees of Honour, Privileges, and Liberty, were founded in the different Terms, granted by the Conquerors to the Vanquished by Treaty, upon their Surrendry: And these Honours and Privileges of the conquered Cities and Nations, were afterwards increased, according to their Fidelity, and the Services they did the Republick.

ROM E
CCCCCLXXXVII.
NUMERIUS
FABIUS, D.
JUNIUS PERA,
Consuls.

§. XXIV. THIS unexpected Increase of the Power of the *Romans*, since the Defeat of *Pyrrhus*, had made *Rome* respected and honoured in the Countries beyond Sea. Free Cities, and whole Nations, came from the other side the Seas, without Delay, to procure Alliances, with so powerful a Senate and People. ¹⁰⁰ *Apollonia* was the first City in *Macedon*, which sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, to desire her Protection. The taking of *Brundisium*, which was separated from *Apollonia* only by a short Cut of the Sea, was, probably, what gave the *Apollonians* the Alarm. However, it is certain, the Senate received the Ambassadors with Honour, without enquiring into the Motives of their Embassy. But some of the young Senators, elated with the Prosperity of *Rome*, despised the Ambassadors of a City, which was neither very rich, nor very considerable, and whose Fear alone made them have Recourse to the Republick. In some popular Commotion, in which the *Apollonians* were got among the Croud in *Rome*, two young *Patricians* not only reviled them, but added Blows to their Reproaches. These *Patricians*, it is said, were then *Ædiles*, and their Office required them to behave themselves with more Gravity, and less Passion. But be that as it will, they were both prosecuted, though they were Men of great Distinction in the Republick, on other Accounts, besides their Offices. One was of the *Fabian* Family, his Name was *Q. Fabius*; the other was *Cn. Apronius*, of a *Plebeian* Family indeed, but one that was distinguished by the Offices it had enjoyed. The Sentence passed upon them was, That they should be put into the Hands of the *Apollonians*, carried into *Macedon*, and there punished at the Pleasure of the People, whom they had offended, in the Persons of their Ambassadors. But before the Offenders set out, *Rome* is said to have obliged them to abdicate the *Ædileship*; and when they were delivered up into the Hands of the Ambassadors, who were to carry them into their own Country, the Republick took a very wise Precaution. Lest the Ambassadors should be insulted on the Road, by the Friends or Relations of *Fabius* and *Apronius*, *Rome* gave them a Guard, commanded by a *Quæstor*. In this manner they were conducted to *Brundisium*, where they embarked for *Apollonia*.

Florus in Epit.
tom. Lich. 15.

Val. Max.
B. 6. c. 6. §. 5.

NOTHING gained the *Romans* more Honour among Foreigners, than so very equitable, and moderate a Conduct, at a time when they were in the height of their Prosperity. And I am willing to believe, that Virtue had a greater Share in it, than Policy; though after all, it must be granted, that *Rome* paved the Way for the Conquest of the World, by these exemplary Acts of Justice. The Senate had shewn the *Apollonians* all the Regard she could expect from it; and *Apollonia* in her Turn, wisely shewed her Deference for the *Romans*. *Fabius* and *Apronius* were first graciously and hospitably received, and then sent back to *Rome*: And this memorable Event gave Rise to a Law, which lasted as long as the Republick itself. It enacted, that any Citizen, who insulted an Ambassador, should be delivered up into the Hands of the injured Nation.

Dig. Parag.
de Legatis.

§. XXV. THE Consequence of the Peace at *Rome* was Inaction. The *Romans* had neither Matter for new Conquests, nor Pretences to attempt them. The *Po* was a Barrier, which defended the *Ligures* and *Insubres*, from their Attacks. Besides, it was no easy Matter to enter a Country, which was full of *Gauls* quite to the *Alpes*. The Islands near *Italy* were indeed afraid of the *Roman* Power; but the Republick was not provided either with Ships, or Sea Forces enough, to carry on a War beyond the Continent. However, *Rome* chose for one of her Consuls, a Man famous for several Victories; which was the celebrated *Fabius Gurgus*, who had wiped out the Remembrance of his youthful Errors, by his Valour and good Conduct. He was then *Prince of the Senate*, and this was the third time he was promoted to the

Year of
ROM E
CCCCCLXXXVIII.
Q. FABIVS
GURGES, L.
MAMILIUS
VITVLVS,
Consuls.

¹⁰⁰ There were several Cities called *Apollonia*; that here spoken of stood on the western Coast of *Macedon*, sixty *Stadia* from the Sea, according to *Strabo*; but only fifty, according to *Scylax*. The latter tells us, it was built by a Colony of the In-

habitants of *Corinth*, and *Corcyra*. The neighbouring Country about this City was watered by the River *Aous*, as *Strabo* calls it; which is the same that *Mela* calls *Æas*, and that now bears the Name of *Polina*.

Year of Dignity of *Consul*. His Colleague ¹⁰¹ was *L. Mamilius*, surnamed ¹⁰² *Vitulus*. Their Administration may very well be supposed to have been confined to Works of Peace: And indeed, after all these vast Conquests, the Affair that most nearly concerned the Republick, in point of Interest, was to regulate the new Revenues, which she would receive from the subdued Provinces. These Revenues arose, from the Tributes each Nation was to pay; from the Rents of certain arable and pasture Lands, which the Republick reserved to her self, as her Demesns, whenever she distributed any conquered Lands among the Citizens; from the Tenth of the Produce of all Lands, which were dependent upon her; and lastly, from the Imports she laid upon all the Merchandize imported to any part of her Dominions. The four *Quæstors*, already appointed to receive and pay the publick Monies, were scarce sufficient for that Purpose, even before these Conquests. The two first had been created, almost in the very Birth of the Republick, by the *Consul* ¹⁰³ *Valerius Poplicola*, who eased himself of the Care of the *Finances*: and afterwards, in the Year of Rome 333, *Sempronius Atratinus*, who was then *Military Tribune*, and exercised *Consular* Authority, added two more *Quæstors* to the former, but assigned them quite different Provinces. The latter ¹⁰⁴ attended the *Consular* Armies; had the Care of the military Chest, paid the Troops, and sold the Spoils and Prisoners taken from the Enemy. The former always resided in *Rome*; had the Management of the publick Treasure, which was kept in the Temple of *Saturn*, supplied the *Military Quæstors* with Money; received foreign Ambassadors; and entertained them, at the publick Expence. Both the *Military Quæstors*, and those of *Rome* were accountable, and therefore had no Marks of Distinction annexed to their great Offices. They had neither *Curule Chairs*, nor *Lictors*, nor *Apparitores*; nor had they a Power of refusing to appear before the *Prætor*, when summoned, by any of the meanest of the *Citizens*. All the Privileges they had, were only a Power of assembling the *Comitia*; mounting *The Tribune*; speaking to the People from thence; and when in Armies, of haranguing the Soldiers. And to the time of *Fabius Gurgæ's* last *Consulship*, *Rome* had no more than four *Quæstors*, two for the City, and to take Care of the publick Treasure, and two for the Armies. But now, the great Increase of the Republick, caused the Number of the *Quæstors*

CCCCCLXXXVIII

Q. FABIVS
GURGES, L.
MAMILIVS
VITVLVS,
Consuls.

Cornel. Tacit.
Ann. B. 11.



¹⁰¹ *Cassiodorus* has omitted these two *Consuls*, *Quintus Fabius Gurgæ*, and *Lucius Mamilius Vitulus*; and yet it is evident from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that we ought to place a *Consular* Year, between that which precedes, and that which follows this. *Zonaras*, or his Copyists, have mistaken the Name of *Fabius's* Colleague, and call him *Æmilius*, and not *Mamilius*. But besides that the Surname of *Vitulus* can only belong in this Place to the *Consul Mamilius*; it is not probable, that the People should have chosen to promote two *Patricians* to the *Consulship* together, contrary to the received Custom. It is well known, and we have already observed it, that the *Fabian* and *Æmilian* Families, were Families of Distinction among the *Patricians*. It is therefore more likely, that *Fabius's* Colleague's Name was *Mamilius*; the *Mamilian* Family being *Plebeian*.

¹⁰² The *Mamilii*, tho' reduced to the State of *Plebeians* boasted of being descended from *Telegonus*, by one of his Daughters named *Mamilia*, whose Name they preserved in their Family. It was a received Tradition at *Rome*, that *Telegonus*, the Founder of *Tus-*

canum, was the Son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*. So that the *Mamilii* carried up the Origin of their Family to this *Grecian* Hero. And in order to eternise, in some measure, the Memory of this pretended Descent, one *Mamilius Limetanus*, ordered a Medal to be struck with his own Name, and with an *Ulysses* on the reverse of it. He is represented, as *Homer* describes him, upon his returning into his Island, as entering into his Palace in the Habit of a Traveller; and he is known, after twenty Years Absence, by his Dog, who runs to meet him. The Bonnet he has on, which is like a *Pileus*, is plainly taken from *Nicomachus*, who first made Statues of *Ulysses*, in this Dress, as we are told by *Pliny*, B. 3. c. 10.

¹⁰³ See B. 5. p. 206. of Vol. 1. Note 39, 40. B. 7. p. 293. of Vol. 1. Note 59. B. 8. p. 333. of Vol. 1. Note 6. B. 11. p. 505. of Vol. 1. Note 11. p. 543 of Vol. 1. Note 79; and p. 544. of Vol. 1. Note 81.

¹⁰⁴ For this Reason, the Ancients often give the *Military Quæstors* the Name of *Consular Quæstors*.

to be increased. Four new ones were created, who were called *Provincial Quæstors*. They had each his different *Province*; and in order to settle the Residence of the *Provincial Quæstor*, Rome divided all those Parts of *Italy*, which was then subject to her, into four large *Provinces*, or *Districts*. The *Intendants* of *France*, are indeed, in Office, very like the *Quæstors* of old *Rome*; except in this, that the latter were general-*Receivers*, in their *Provinces*. The Seat, or chief Office of the first *Province*, was at ¹⁰⁵ *Ostia*, a maritime City near *Rome*. This *Quæstorship* reached, in all Probability, from the Head of the *Tyber*, and the River *Arnus*, to the Mouth of the *Liris*; and comprehended *Hetruria*, *Latium*, the Country of the *Sabines*, *Umbria*, and in short, all the Coasts of the *Tuscan Sea*, and all the Lands between that Sea, and the *Apennines*. The Seat of the second *Province* was at *Cale*, in the delightful Country of the *Campani*; and it reached from the *Liris* to *The Gulph of Tarentum*. This *Province* contained *Campania*, *Samnium*, *Lucania*, the Country of the *Bruttii*, and *Oenotria*; and within it were the rich Cities on the Coast of the *Hetrurian Sea*: so that the *Romans* received very large Revenues from thence, in the Produce of the Lands, and in the Tolls, which were appropriated to the publick Treasury. The third *Province* reached from the *Apennines*, to the Shore of the *Adriatick Sea*, and was called *The Gallic Quæstorship*. It contained the Countries formerly conquered by the *Gauls*, especially the *Senones*, from the River *Rubicon*, to the *Æfis*. The Republick had got Possession of most of their Lands, and it was necessary, that some Person should be appointed to have the Government of this *Province*. But notwithstanding its Name, it contained also *Picenum*, the Country of the *Frentani*, and all the other Countries, as far as *Apulia*. And lastly, the fourth *Quæstorship*, of which we have not so distinct an Account as of the other three, could only comprehend *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the Territories of the *Salentini*, *Messapians*, and *Tarentini*. A fine *Province*, if we consider the great Number of its Sea-ports, in which Merchandizes were imported into *Italy*, from *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. For these four *Provinces*, *Rome* created four new *Quæstors*: and it was then settled, That all the eight *Quæstors* should, for the future, be chosen in ¹⁰⁶ *Comitia* by *Tribes*. After their Elections, which were renewed every Year, were over, the eight *Quæstors* drew Lots ¹⁰⁷, in the Presence of the People, to know, which should have the *Roman*, which the *Military*, and which the *Provincial* ¹⁰⁸ *Quæstorships*. The four *Provincial* ones, were sought for by the most ambitious, before *Rome* had extended her Conquests beyond *Italy*; but when she had brought the East and West into Subjection to her, and great Kingdoms were become so many *Provinces* under her Dominion, the four *Italian* ones were thought little worth the Care of the *Provincial Quæstors*, who were multiplied in Proportion as the Republick enlarged her Conquests. The *Proconsuls*, and *Proprætors*, that is, the Governors of these vast Regions, had each his *Quæstor*, or Superintendent of the *Finances*, for his Government: and then the

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXXXVIII
Q. FABIVS
GURGES, L.
MAMILIUS
VITULUS,
Consuls.
Cicero. in O-
rat. pro Se-
stio.

Cor. Tacit.
Annal. B. 4.

Cicero, in O-
rat. contra
Rullum.

Dio. Tacit.
and Suetonius.

¹⁰⁵ Tully, in his *Oration against Vatinius*, speaks of the *Quæstorship* of *Ostia*, as of one of the four *Provinces*, to which the Republick sent *Quæstors* to take care of the *Finances*.

¹⁰⁶ Nevertheless in extraordinary Cases, and great Crises, the Senate named the *Quæstor*, who was to attend the *Consul*, or *Prætor*. Thus *Lælius* was sent into *Africa* in quality of *Quæstor*, by *Scipio's* Command.

¹⁰⁷ That the *Quæstors* had only those *Provinces*, which fell to them by Lot, appears from Tully's third Epistle to his Brother *Quintus*, B. 2. You have a *Quæstorship*, says he to him, which was not your own Choice, but fell to you by Lot. *Quæstorem habes, non tuo judicio delectum, sed cum quem fors dedit.*

¹⁰⁸ The *Quæstors*, generally speaking, had their Secretaries and Clerks, whom they paid; and whose Business it was, to keep the Books of Accompts; and to set down in writing, what they received, and what they paid, for the use of the Publick, during their Administration. But in order to increase the State of the *Roman People*, the *Provincial Quæstors* never appeared in their *Provinces*, but with those Marks of Distinction, which were used by great Magistrates. They had a Right to wear the

Prætexta, or Robe bordered with Purple. They were guarded by *Lictors*, armed with *Fasces*; a Privilege never granted to the *Quæstors* of *Rome*, who were called *Quæstores Urbani*, or *Quæstores Aerarii*. For this we have Tully's Authority, in his third *Oration against Verres*. The two Sicilian *Quæstors*, says he, came before me with their *Fasces*. In his *Oration for Plancius*, he acknowledges it as a Favour in him, that, though he was then *Quæstor*, he came to receive him at *Dyrrachium*. In order to do me Honour, says Cicero, he sent away his *Lictors*, and stripped himself of the Marks of his Dignity. It is probable from several Passages of the Historians, especially of Tully in his Book *de Divinatione*, and of Suetonius in his *Life of Julius Caesar*, that the *Provincial Quæstors* had some Jurisdiction of their own, or at least, that they administered Justice in the Name of the *Prætor*, or *Proconsul*, who was invested with the supreme Authority. They were particularly concerned in all Cases relating to Provisions, and no Contract for Corn could be made without them. Though the *Quæstorship* was confined to one Year; yet the *Roman People* sometimes prolonged it, beyond the time appointed by Law; of which we shall meet with several Instances, in the Sequel of this History.

Prætorships

Year of
R10 M E
CCCCCLXXXVIII
Q. FABIVS
GURGES, L.
MAMILIUS
VITULUS,
Consuls.
Cicero in Vati-
cin.

Prætorships and *Quæstorships* of these large and distant *Provinces*, were most greedily sought for by those *Romans*, who were qualified to stand Candidates for them. They were there far out of the Senate's sight, and in rich Governments, where they could raise more Money, and were more honoured and respected. For this Reason, when the *Quæstors* drew Lots in the Presence of the *Roman Tribes*, for the *Quæstorships*, the Man, to whom any of the *Italian* ones fell, became the Jest of the People. He goes to the 109 Waters, said the People; meaning that the *Quæstor*, who had succeeded ill in drawing Lots, was going to enjoy his Repose near *Rome*; much as those *Romans* did, who went to *Baia* or *Puteoli*, for the Waters. But lest we should confound Times, let us return to our History.

Ortelius B. 4.
" 5.

Festus Capitol.

Livii Epi-
tome, and Eu-
trop. B. 2.

§. XXVI. WE have often observed, that it was a common thing for the *Romans*, to be afflicted with domestick Misfortunes, whenever they were not engaged in War; and this was the Case at present. During this Interval of Tranquillity, *Rome* was visited with a Plague; and, according to one Historian, who indeed often exaggerates, no Contagion ever made a greater Havock, both in the City and Country. Whether it begun in the preceding Year, or in the last *Consulship* of *Fabius Gurges*, is uncertain; but we are assured, it lasted above two Years. In these general Desolations, the Books of the *Sybils* were the usual Refuge; and as they were made to say, whatever those who consulted them pleased; it was now believed, that they discovered the present epidemical Distemper to proceed from the Anger of the Gods. The next Question therefore was, what Crimes had drawn down their Wrath upon *Rome*; and though ancient prophane Authors have boasted so much of the Continence of the *Vestals*, the *Romans* scarce ever failed of finding at least one Criminal among them, upon whose Head they might make the publick Curse fall. This was grown a common thing; and in the present Case, *Capparonia* was the unhappy Victim, who was to fall a Sacrifice to the Prepossessions of the People. Her sacrilegious Intrigues were proved upon her; the young *Romans*, who were her Accomplices in her Guilt, were discovered; and the *Pontifices* inflicted due Punishment upon them. The *Vestal* was condemned to be buried alive, without the Gate *Collina*, and her Lovers, as well as the Slaves, who had been Assistant in debauching a consecrated Virgin, were whiped to death, or perhaps beheaded, by the *Lictors*. But *Capparonia* preferred immediate Death to the Horrors of a subterraneous Dungeon, in which she was to end her Days, with Famine and Despair: She strangled her self with a Lace. However, *Rome* performed the same mournful Ceremonies over her Corpse, as used to be performed at the Funerals of *Vestal* Virgins, which were buried alive: and the Plague at length ceasing, there is no doubt, but this was imputed to the Punishment inflicted on *Capparonia*. Then the time came for a *Census* and *Lustrum*, which was the thirty fifth since their Institution; and in this Enumeration of the People, less Enquiry was made after the Number of those whom the Plague had swept away, than after those who were still living, and fit to bear Arms. But notwithstanding the prodigious Multitude of *Romans*, which the Distemper carried off, there were yet reckoned to be in the Republick, two hundred ninety two thousand two hundred and twenty four Men, fit to serve in the *Legions*. At first sight indeed, neither the War nor the Plague may seem to have made any great Ravages in *Rome*, because the Number of the Citizens appears by this last *Census* to be greater than ever. But in order to set our selves right in this Matter, we must remember, that the Republick had lately given all the Nation of the *Sabines*, a Right of *Citizenship*, and they doubtless were all included in this last Enumeration, which made the *Romans* the less sensible, how much their Forces were diminished. With this *Lustrum* ended the Magistracy of the two *Censors*, who had now been five Years in their Office; and were both Men of great Probity. The one was named *Cornelius Blasio*, the other *C. Marcius Rutilus*; and the latter especially, deserved particular Regard, both for his Family, and his Wisdom. He was descended from near Relation of *Numa Pompilius*, and from King *Ancus Marcius*, in a right Line and he had both the Prudence and Moderation of these his Progenitors. In regard to these good Qualities, the People had chosen him *Censor* at first; and being now assembled by *Centuries*, they insisted, that he should be continued in that Office

109 Some will have it, that this Proverb alludes to the Office of the *Italian Quæstors*, who were often obliged to go to the Sea Ports, to collect the Imposts the Republick had laid on, exported Goods.

This was a new Mark of Distinction; but *Marcus's* Merit was superior to his Employment. He himself was the only Person, who complained of the Honours the People did him. His Zeal for the strict Observation of the Laws, had more Influence upon him, than the new Distinction which was given him; and he therefore assembled the *Tribes*, and made use of all his Eloquence, to reproach them with violating the old Laws in his Behalf. *Your Fathers*, said he, *wisely ordained, that the Censorship should never be twice enjoyed by the same Persons. They foresaw the ill Consequences of continuing the same Men in the Exercise of so very great a Power. To the Censors belong the Choice of the Senators, the Regulation of the Manners of the People, and the Inspection even of the Judges of the Republick. Their Approbation paves the Way to Honours, and if they set Marks of Infamy on any, they thereby exclude them from the highest Dignities. What Mischief may a wicked Man do in such an Office, in ten Years time, if he is governed by his Passions? Is not continuing Men therefore in such a Post, running the Hazard, of suffering Virtue to languish in Oblivion, and of empowering Vice to triumph with Impunity? A Change is at least some Relief to the Oppressed, and restrains the Extravagancies of the Vicious, who are protected. Let this Change then, which the Laws have so prudently commanded, take Place in my Case. Give those whom I have made wretched some Relief; and put it into another's Power to treat the Offenders whom I have spared, with Severity.* But this Discourse only did honour to *Marcus*, and shewed him to be the more worthy of the Distinction the People had shewn him. He was continued in the *Censorship*, in spite of himself, and from thence, he and his Family ever after him, took the Surname of *Censorinus*. However, his Harangue had one lasting Effect for the future. A Law was made upon it, or rather the old Regulation was confirmed, which forbade any Person ever to exercise the Office of *Censor* twice.

Year of
R O M E
CCCLXXXVIII
Q. FABIVS
GURGES, L.
MAMILIUS
VITULUS,
Consuls.
Val. Max.
B. 4. c. 1. §. 3.

Plut. Life of
Coriolanus.

§. XXVII. IN the mean time, *Fabius* and his Colleague were tasting the Sweets of Peace at *Rome*, when there suddenly sprang up a War, even in the Bowels of the Republick; which I would not scruple to call a civil War, if the new Enemies of *Rome* had been of free Condition. *Volturnum* was a great and ancient City of *Hetruria*, and one of the Capitals of the twelve *Lucumonies*, which divided the *Hetrurians* into that Number of Cantons. This City, as well as the rest of *Hetruria*, was now under the Dominion of the *Romans*, and enjoyed the Terms which they had granted by Treaties to the *Hetrurian* Nation. *Volturnum* still preserved her Laws, and ancient Government: And the Tranquillity which the *Volturnenses* enjoyed by their Alliance with *Rome*, made them remiss in their Behaviour; and the neglect of the Laws caused their Ruin. They, no longer considering themselves as an independent People, despised the publick Offices, and suffered their *Freed-men* to usurp them. The *Citizens* of free Condition gave themselves up wholly to their Pleasures, and emancipated great Numbers of Slaves, who served them in their Diversions. By this means the Number of these dissolute Men, who had neither Manners nor Education, and were but newly released from their Chains, soon came to be as great as that of the ancient *Citizens*: And then it was with them, as it usually is with those, who are raised out of the Dust to great Dignities. They were no sooner made considerable in the little Republick, but they became the Tyrants of it. They made it their whole Business to humble their old Masters. They took away their Wives from them by force, and contracted scandalous and unsuitable Marriages with them, which they were forced to comply with to save their Lives. The Senate of *Volturnum*, which was filled with these Scoundrels, not only insulted the Husbands who demanded their Wives back, and the Fathers who demanded their Daughters; but carried their Licentiousness so far, as to make a Law, that no Free-woman should be restored to her Husband, till she had submitted to the Passion of a *Freed-man*. And to all these Brutalities, they added the Banishments and Proscriptions of the most venerable *Citizens*. Till at length those of the ancient *Volturnenses*, who had any Remains of Honour left, sought Means to redress these Grievances; and despairing of being able to put an end to them themselves, they resolved to send a Deputation to the Senate of *Rome*, and implore its Assistance. The Deputies set out privately, and when they came to *Rome*, made a great Secret of their Negotiation. They did not deliver their Petition in publick, but in private. There was no Day appointed for their Appearance as usual; nor did the Senate receive their Petition, in the Place where they generally met to give Audiences. The *Conscript Fathers* assembled without any Noise

Florus B. 1.
c. 21. and
Auth. de Vir.
Illust.

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Q FABIVS
GURGES, L.
MAMILIVS
VITVLVS,
Consuls.

Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 7.

in a private House, which served instead of a Temple, where they did these People Justice. The *Consul Fabius* was ordered to march towards *Volturnum* with some Troops, in order to deliver those unfortunate Allies from the Oppression they suffered, by the Tyranny of their Slaves. But though this Decree was thought to have been passed very secretly, and the *Romans* hoped to have surprized the guilty *Freed-men*, before they had made any Preparations against it; the Event was otherwise. There was a *Samnite* in the House, where the Senate met, who had been hospitably received there, was confined to his Bed by some Distemper, and was not seen; and he having heard the Debates of the Senators, and been a Witness to the Decree they passed, betrayed the Secrets of the Republick. The Deputies of *Volturnum* were therefore much surprized to find themselves cited before the Senate of the *Freed-men*, as soon as they were returned, and required to give an Account of their Stay, and Negotiation at *Rome*. And being convicted of having acted contrary to the Interests of their old Slaves, both they, and the most honourable *Citizens* in the City, were, by these Tyrants, condemned to die. In the mean time *Fabius Gurges* advanced towards *Volturnum*, rather with Thoughts of punishing the Guilty, than any Expectation of an Enemy, which was able to resist him: And it is probable, that *Gurges* carried with him only an Handful of Volunteers, raised in haste, and not a *Consular* Army, which consisted of at least two *Legions*. So that he was surprized to find the *Freed-men* upon their Guard, and in a Condition to make Head against him. They even ventured to face him in the Field, and give a *Consul* Battel. The Success indeed was answerable to the Valour of the *Romans*; and their General only paid dear for his obstinate Pursuit of the Fugitives quite to the City. He entered into it with the Crowd of Enemies which he drove before him; but an unknown Person reached him with a Dart, and gave him a mortal Wound. Thus fell a great Man, who had been honoured with *Consulships*, Triumphs, Embassies; and who, contrary to the Expectation of the Great *Fabius* his Father, did not degenerate from the noble Virtues of his Ancestors. But the *Romans* could have wished, that he had had the Consolation of having received his Death, from an illustrious Hand. As soon as the *Consul* was carried out of the Battel, the *Freed-men* made a Sally upon the *Romans*; but with what Success we are not told. The Historians only inform us, that one *Decius Mus*, probably Lieutenant General in *Fabius's* Army, invested *Volturnum*, and begun to besiege it in Form; but that it was not taken, till after the Arrival of *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the *Consuls* for the next Year. He took upon him the Command of the *Roman* Army, forced the *Volturnenses* to surrender at Discretion, and put the *Freed-men*, who had usurped the Magistracies of the City, to death. The ancient *Citizens*, and the Slaves, who had not been concerned in the Revolt, were transplanted to another Place, after he had razed their City: And this Conduct of *Flaccus* was so agreeable to the Republick, that she granted him the Honours of a Triumph. He entered *Rome* in State, on *The Calends of February*, in the Year succeeding this, which was the Year of his *Consulship*. We have anticipated this latter part of the Story, to avoid blending it with the great Events we are now going to relate; as judging it an Affair of too little Importance, to deserve to be related with the *Punic Wars*.

T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXIII.

§. I. **T**HE Romans were a People wholly given to War. They boasted of being descended from *Mars* himself, and either through Habit, or Prejudice, were grown insatiably fond of Battels and Victories. The Temple of *Janus*, which their second King had so wisely erected, to temper their Eagerness to run to their Arms on all Occasions, had not been shut since his Time, and

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The ancient Mythologists have given us the History of several Divinities, under the Name of *Janus*. According to the Author of the Book of *The Origin of the Romans*, this pretended God landed in *Italy*, made Conquests, and erected himself a little Kingdom there. Afterwards, he received *Saturn*, and not only offered him Protection in his Dominions, but shared his Government with him. So that *Janus* came into *Italy* before *Saturn*. For this Reason, the former always had the Preference before the latter, in all the Sacrifices the Pagans offered them. *Fabius Pictor* says, that the *Hetrurians* learnt all their Ceremonies relating to divine Worship, from *Janus*. He taught them to consecrate the *Pomoerium*, (or the Line, which was drawn round Cities, both without and within the Walls) and to build Altars in honour to the Gods. He taught them to join Oblations of Corn, and Libations of Wine, with their Victims. And in Gratitude to him, they thought it their Duty to invoke him before all other Gods, in all their religious Acts.

Aurelius Victor relates the Birth of *Janus* from fabulous Memoirs. *Creusa*, the Daughter of *Erechtheus* King of *Athens*, captivated *Apollo* with her Beauty; and he had a Son by her, who was sent to *Delphi*, to be educated in a manner suitable to his Birth. Afterwards *Creusa* was married to one *Nipheus*; who fearing lest he should have no Children, went to *Delphi*, to entreat the Favour of the God to his Wife, that she might be fruitful. The Oracle answered, that he had nothing to do, but to adopt the first Child he met; which happened to be *Janus*. Accordingly he was adopted, before he was known to be *Creusa's* Son; and when he came to Man's Estate, he went into *Italy*, and there founded a City, which from his Name was called *Janiculum*. Some time after, *Saturn* being driven out of *Arcadia* by *Jupiter*, took Refuge in *Latium*, where he found *Janus* very ready to assist him, and a faithful Friend. Being united to each other by the Ties of a most tender Friendship, they jointly governed the People of the Country. And according to *Draco*, as quoted by *Athenaeus*, *Janus* gave his Name to a Mountain, and River, in *Italy*. He first invented, says that Author, the Use of Crowns, and the Art of building Barks and Ships; and from hence it is, says he, that many Cities in *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, stamped their Money with the same Symbols, and the double Head of *Janus*.

According to *Macrobius*, this ancient King established a certain Ceremonial to be used in the Worship of the Gods, and in Sacrifices. And as he was deemed the first Lawgiver, as to religious Matters, he was himself worshiped as a God, after his Death, and the People accustomed themselves to pay their Homages first to him, in all religious Ceremonies. There was no Festival, or Sacrifice, which did not put them first in mind of him, whom they thought the Institutor, or the Restorer, of them. And this popular Opinion gave Rise to the Custom, which was introduced among the Pagans, of beginning their Forms of Prayer, with invoking the God *Janus*.

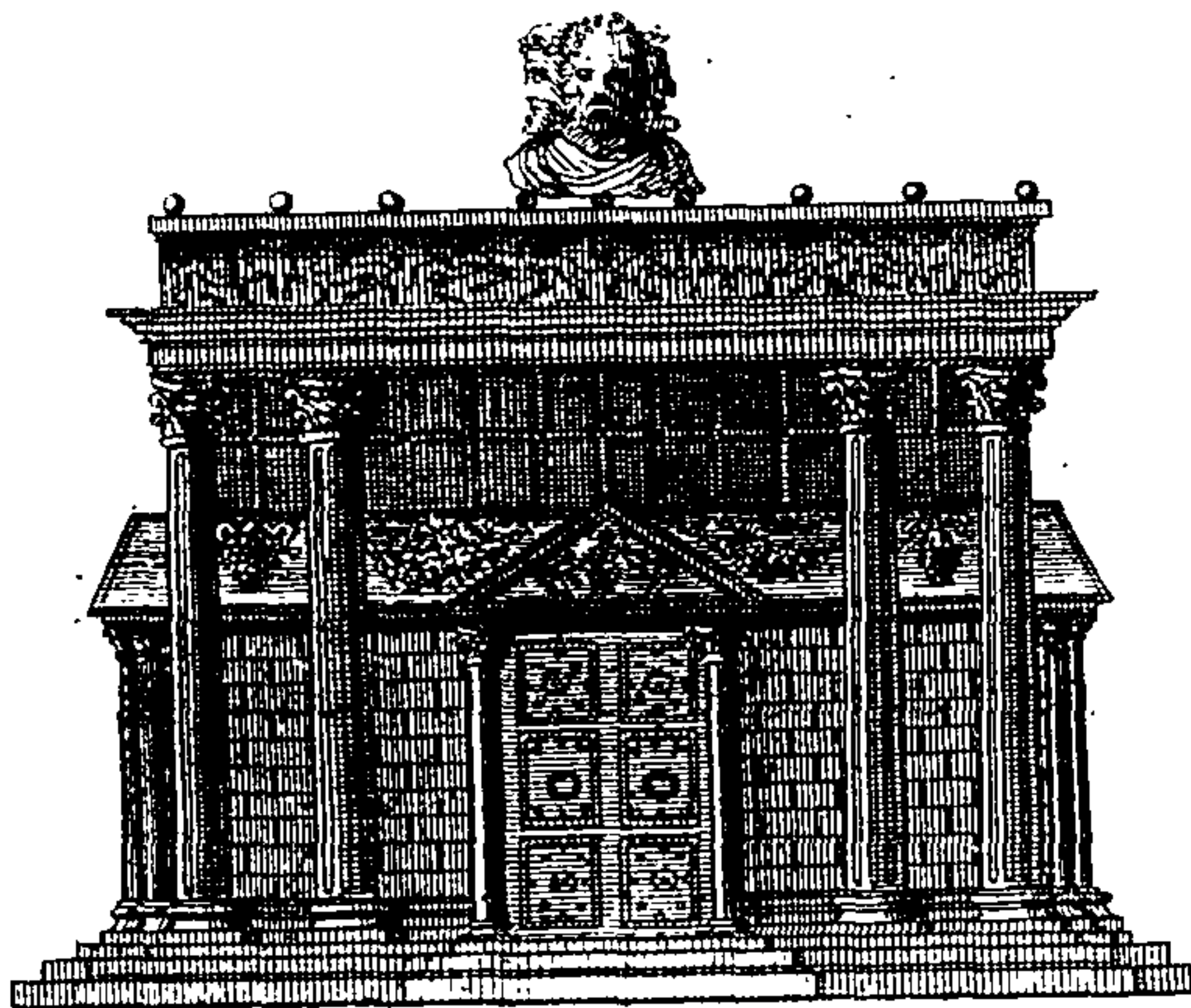
Some Authors, whom *Macrobius* mentions, understood that *Apollo* and *Diana* were meant by *Janus*; and they have found out several Offices, which were equally ascribed to all three. For instance, *Apollo* was called by the *Greeks* *Θυραῖος* and *Αἰγιός*, that is, the Superintendent of Gates, and Streets; and agreeably to this Idea of him, the *Greeks* erected Altars to him, near the Entrances into their Houses. It is well known, that *Diana* was honoured, as the Protectress of Ways, and Avenues, under the Names of *Trivia*, and *Jana*. And the same Functions are expressed in the Word *Janus*, which answers to the *Greek* Word, *Θυραῖος*; and are represented in his Statues, by putting a Key in one of his Hands, and a Rod in the other, to shew that he was the Inspector of Roads, and Gates.

Others think *Janus* was the same as the Sun; and observed, that they exactly agreed in all Particulars. The Sun, said they, is under the Name of *Janus*, represented as the Keeper of the two Gates of Heaven, the East, and West. Nor was it without Reason, that he was invoked in Sacrifices, since it is, by his means, that the Prayers of the People, and the Odours of the Victims, ascend up to the Thrones of the celestial Gods. The Motion of the Sun in the Ecliptick, is the Measure of the Astronomical Year, which contains a little more than 365 Days. And in several Statues of *Janus*, his Fingers were so placed, as to express the Number 365, according to *Macrobius*; or according to *Pliny*, 355, which was the Number of Days in *Numa's* Year.

Cicero, from an Opinion that *Janus* signified the Heavens, gives this God the Name of *ΕΑΝΟΣ*, *αβ*
εινδο,

Year of the first Years of his Successor's Reign. One War produced another; and Conquests were the only Test of the Merit of the Great Men in the Republick. Nay, it even seems to have been necessary for them to have been continually at War. Whenever they had any short Intervals of Tranquillity, a Plague, or some intestine Seditions or Revolutions in the State, kept them in Motion and Exercise; and it was therefore necessary to find Employment Abroad for their martial Inclination, which was infused into

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cando, because the Heavens are always moving round upon their Axis, without any Interruption. And the *Phœnicians*, who had the same Notions of this God, emblematically represented him, by a Snake, twisted round in a circular Form, with his Tail in his Mouth. They thereby alluded to the Circle the Firmament describes in its Course, and the constant Regularity of the Universe; which is supported, and, if I may so speak, nourished and kept alive, by this constant, and always equal Motion. And upon this Supposition, the four Faces of *Janus*, ought to be understood to signify, the four cardinal Points of the World, East, West, North, and South.

In the old Verses, which the *Salii* sung in honour to *Janus*, he is called the God of Gods. And in this Sense, some Authors, mentioned by *Festus*, thought him to be the common Father of Mankind, and Author of all created Beings. Nor is *Ovid* far from this Opinion, when he imagines that *Janus* was the Chaos, or that confused Matter, and shapeless Mass of Elements, which God separated and reduced to Order, to make the World out of them. The Poet represents the God as saying, *Fast. B. 1.* that he was buried, in that confused Heap of Substances, and did not assume the Form of a God, till after all the Parts of the World had been ranged in their natural Order:

*Tunc ego, qui fueram globus, & sine imagine Moles,
In faciem redii, dignaque membra Deo.*

Macrobius gives us the Panegyrick which *Messala* had made on *Janus*; and which begins thus. *Qui cuncta fingit, eademque regit, aquæ terræque vim, ac naturam gravem, atque pronam, in profundum dilabentem, ignis atque animæ levem, immensum in sublime fugientem copulavit, circumdato cælo; quæ vis cæli maxima, duas vis disparēs colligavit. i. e. The first Principle and Governor of Nature united the Earth and the Water, which by their Weight naturally sink downwards, with the Fire and Spirit, whose Activity naturally carries*

them up above terrestrial Things. He has shut up these contrary Beings within the vast Expanse of the celestial Sphere; and the Heavens, by a wonderful Power, keep these very different Qualities united. Upon this Opinion was founded the Attribute of *Conferivius*, with which the Romans honoured *Janus*. This Epithet derived from the Word *Confero*, was properly applied to a Deity, whom they confounded with the Author of Nature. Upon the same Principle, they often raised him above other Gods, paid their first Homages to him, and worshiped him as the sovereign Arbitrator of Times, the four Seasons, and the twelve Months of the Year. As such, twelve Altars were erected to him in Rome; and the Temple, which *Romulus* built to his Honour, is said to have had twelve Gates. *Arnobius*, in his *Review of the false Gods of the Heathen*, undertakes to prove these Variations, against the Polytheism of the Romans; and to shew the little Agreement there was between the ancient Mythologists, as to the Origin and Properties of *Janus*. *Incipiamus ab Jano patre, quem quidam ex vobis Mundum, Annum alii, Solem etiam providere nonnulli. L. 3.*

Janus shared with *Juno* the Inspection of all the *Calends*, and particularly those of *January*; and from this Office he was called *Junonius*. The Epithets of *Quirinus*, *Patulcius*, and *Clusivius*, are so many Latin Terms, which express the Custom formerly received among the Romans, of shutting the Temple of *Janus*, in time of Peace, and opening it in time of War. *Macrobius* founds this Custom on a fabulous Story, which Superstition, and the Credulity of the People, made to pass for true. The Fact, as he relates it, is this. When the *Sabines* came Sword in Hand, to demand their Daughters, whom the Romans had carried away; the latter made haste to shut the Gate, which was at the Foot of Mount *Viminalis*, and to drive away the Enemy from thence, who were trying their utmost to make themselves Masters of it. But it was in vain for them to shut it, it opened of itself three times.

into them at their very Birth. In Times of Peace, these restless Men, rent in pieces the Bowels of their own Country; and the Harangues of *The Tribunes of the People*, animated them as much to war, as the Trumpet of the *Consuls*. However, this Fire must now, in all Probability, expire, or abate at least, since the Republick was become so considerable, as to be at Leisure, to apply her self wholly to the enriching her Subjects by Commerce, or cultivating their Minds by Letters. The *Romans* had hitherto known scarce any other Art, but an Eloquence, acquired rather by an happy Turn of Imagination, and a continual Habit of speaking in publick, than by Reflections, and Rules. Indeed, there often sprung up Philosophers among them, whose natural Probity surpassed the studied Virtue of the *Grecian* Sages. An happy Education, and a kind of natural Instinct to Uprightness, not corrupted by a Love of Pleasure, supplied the want of Ethicks, and written Maxims. But the *Roman* Virtue was then attended with an inexpressible kind of savage Moroseness, and a certain Impoliteness, which distinguished it from the Virtue of the *Greeks* and *Asiatics*. The incessant Use of Arms, and a Life spent in the Labours and Fatigues of Camps, and Campaigns, helped much to guard them against Vice; but as little to polish their Manners, and inspire them with such a kind of Virtue, as is amiable, and engaging. The Love of their Country, was the Spring of all their Actions; and this single Passion, roused, or calmed all the rest; which will now appear in the War², they at last determined to enter into with the *Carthaginians*.

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times. So that the *Romans* chose only to place a Guard there, and to dispute the Entrance into it, with a great Body of *Sabines*, who attacked it. During these Transactions, a Report was spread, that *Romulus's* Troops were defeated by *Tatius*, in a Battel fought on another side: and upon this the *Roman* Soldiers took the Alarm, and abandoned the Gate *Janualis*, so called, in Memory of the pretended Prodigy. Then the *Sabines*, in their Turn, endeavoured to break through this Gate, but they were scarce got up to it, when a Torrent of boiling Water, which ran with Impetuosity from the Temple of *Janus*, drowned one part of the Assailants, and stifled the other. And from that time, says *Varro*, B. 4. de Ling. Lat. the Place, where these hot Waters burst out with such Violence, was called the *Lautole*. *Lautole*, a lavando, quod est ad Janum geminum, aque calidae fuerint. In Consequence of this Event, as incredible as it is, it was decreed, that the Temple of this God should be left open in time of War only, as it were to give him a free Passage, whenever the City stood in need of his Assistance. Such Stories as these plainly shew the extravagant Whimsies, and yet more clearly, the Blindness and Uncertainty, of Paganism.

Those, who are willing to discover Mysteries in all the Fictions of the fabulous Ages, believe, that by old *Janus* was meant *Noah*. He was so called, say they, from the Hebrew Word *Jafin*, which signifies Wine, because this Patriarch had first planted Vines. *Janus's* two Faces, according to them, signified his having seen the old World before the Deluge, and the new, which was peopled by those few Persons who escaped it. The Ship, of whom they make him the Inventor, was the Figure of the Ark, in which he and his Family were saved from perishing in the Flood. And lastly, these say, he was made to preside over the beginning, and end of all things, because he had been the end of the old World, and the beginning of the new.

We have several Heads of *Janus* preserved on ancient Monuments, some with two Faces, and some with four, after the Model of the Statue of this God, which was found at *Falerii*, a City of *Hennum*, after it had been conquered by the *Romans*. Besides, the Interpretation already given of these two Faces, out of *Macrobius*, some think they signified *Janus*, and his Colleague *Saturn*. Others, that they were a Symbol of the Union of

Romulus and *Tatius*, by the Interposition of this God, as Mediator. Thus the *Romans* thought *Janus* presided over Treaties of Peace, and Alliances. The four Heads, set Poll to Poll, are taken by some, for the Heads of the four most ancient Kings of *Italy*, *Janus*, *Saturn*, *Faunus*, and *Picus*. But others, in the room of the two latter, put *Romulus*, and *Numa Pompilius*.

In most of the Quarters of *Rome*, Temples were erected, either with two Fronts, in honour to *Janus Bifrons*; or with four, in honour to *Janus Quadrifrons*. Such was the Temple, of which we here give the Plan, after *Nardini*. These Edifices bore the Name of *Janus*, as appears by an Inscription, on one of *Nero's* Medals, which runs thus: PACE. P. R. TERRA MARIQUE JANUS CLAUSIT. Some of these Temples had twelve Gates, others two, others four, according to the different Mysteries to which they were designed to allude.

Among the Offerings made to *Janus*, some ancient Authors, and particularly *Festus*, mention a sort of Cake, which he calls *Janualis*. *Ovid* charges this God with the same infamous Actions, with which the other fabulous Divinities are reproached. As innocent as one of the most celebrated Fathers of the Church makes him, he was not insensible to the Charms of the Nymph *Crana*.

Viderat hanc Janus, visaque cupidine captus.
This Declaration of *Ovid* is not very reconcilable with what *St. Austin* says in his Book, *Of the City of God*. *De Jano non mihi facile quidquam occurrit, quod ad probum pertineat, & forte talis fuit, ut innocentius vixerit, & a facinoribus & flagitiis remotius.* Nor must we forget, that the Appellation of *Janus Quadrifrons*, was also given to the God, who presided over cross-ways. And sometimes this Term was used to signify an arched Building, in the Form of a Cross, in which four Streets centered. It was a Place at *Rome*, where the Merchants exposed their Merchandize to sale, in shelter from the Weather. [Sir *Isaac Newton* makes the *Janus* of the *Latins* to have been *Oenotrus*, the Son of *Lycaon*, the Founder of *Lycosura* in *Arcadia*. And according to him, this *Oenotrus* led the first Colony of *Greeks* into *Italy*, in the Year before Christ 1028. *Chron.* p. 15.]

² The Historians are not entirely agreed; what Year the first *Carthaginian* War began. *Livy*, *Hist. B.* 31. reckons 488 Years from the Foundation of *Rome*, to the Consulship of *Appius Claudius*,

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APP. CLAU-
DIUS CAU-
DEX, M. FUL-
VIUS FLAC-
CUS, Consuls.

THE Republick had just promoted *App. 3 Claudius*, (who before his Office expired, took the Surname of *Caudex*) and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, to the *Consulship*: One of whom must necessarily be sent against the *Freedmen* of *Volturnum*, to put an end to an Affair, which could be of no long Duration; and this fell to *Fulvius Flaccus's* Lot. The next Business was, to know how to employ his Colleague *Claudius*, and on what Expedition to send him. All the Nations in *Italy*, quite to the Banks of the *Po*, were subdued; and the *Gauls*, which were spread from that River to the *Alpes*, were too low to raise the Envy, or exercise the Valour, of the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians* were the only Objects of their Fears and Jealousy. These were daily extending their Dominions; and their Conquests had brought them to be too near Neighbours to the Countries subject to the *Roman Republick*. The *Romans* being Conquerors themselves, they envied the *Carthaginians* the rapid Progress of their Arms; and plainly foresaw, that when *Carthage* had once gained her Point upon *Sicily*, she would not be long out of *Italy*, which was divided from it, only by a very narrow Streight. This was no chimerical Apprehension; and the more the *Romans* reflected on the low Beginnings of the *Carthaginians*, and the vast Progress they had made, the more Reason they found to be alarmed at it. *Carthage* had been founded about 65 Years 4, before the Foundation of *Rome*, by a *Phœnician* Woman, whose true Name was, according to some, *Dido*; according to others, *Elissa*. This Princess surpassed all

dus, who first led a *Roman* Army into *Sicily*, against the *Carthaginians*. In some Editions indeed we read *CDLXXVIII* instead of *CDLXXXIX* Years; but it is a Mistake of the Copyists or Printers. And *Solinus* agrees with *Livy*, when he places the beginning of the first *Punick* War, in the Year of *Rome* 489. And the Testimonies of these two Authors, when joined with that of the *Fasti Capitolini*, amount to a decisive Proof in favour of this Date. *Gellius*, in the end of his seventeenth Book, adds a Year more. *Orosius* takes six Years out of the eighty eight. And *Dion. Hal.* and *Polybius* differ some Years. The former says, he had carried on his History to the 128th *Olympiad*, in which the first *Carthaginian* War began. The latter says, he begins his, with the first Voyage the *Romans* made into *Sicily*, in the 129th *Olympiad*, with which *Timæus* had ended his History.

3 The *Fasti Capitolini* have preserved entire the *Prænomena*, Names, and Surnames, of these two *Consuls*, and of those who succeeded them, to the last War with *Carthage*. Which will be of great Use to us, in supplying the Omissions, and correcting the Texts, of the Historians. *Orosius* does not distinguish the *Consuls* for this Year 489, by their Surnames; and he gives *Marcus Fulvius* the *Prænomen* of *Quintus*, contrary to the *Consular Annals*.

4 None can now be ignorant, that *Dido* lived above two hundred Years after *Æneas*. All agree, that *Virgil's* long Episode, concerning the Flight of *Dido*, and the Arrival of the *Trojans* at *Carthage*, is a mere Fiction. Perhaps the Poet thought it necessary to overlook the Anachronism, if he was aware of it, that he might not rob his Poem, of the Embellishments which *Dido* gives it. *Virgil* had nothing more in view, in bringing Times so distant together, but to magnify the Glory of *Rome*, and the Merit of his Hero. And this Licence was, in some Measure, necessary, in order to adorn his Poem. He makes the mutual Hatred, the two rival Nations bore to each other, to arise from hence. And that Book of the *Æneid*, wherein *Dido* bears the chiefest part, would not have been so intersting to *Romans*, if the same Adventures had been told, as happening at the Court of any other Queen, or in any other Country, than in *Africa*. Besides, it is probable, that in *Virgil's* time, the *Romans* were not acquainted with the Chronology of the Kings of *Tyre*. At least, most of them seem not to have known the Date of the Founda-

tion of *Carthage*, and consequently of *Dido's* Flight and Reign. It is certain indeed, that none of the *Criticks*, who were cotemporary with *Virgil*, or who lived after him till *Macrobius's* time, have reproached him with having been guilty of any Anachronism. It was never discovered till since *Jesephus*, upon the Credit of the *Tyrian Annals*, cleared up the Obscurities and Confusion of the Succession of the Kings of *Tyre*. *Appian* himself, after all his Enquiries concerning the building of *Carthage*, is either wholly silent, or at least speaks very ambiguously, of *Dido's* Arrival in *Africa*. But he speaks with more Confidence of the Origin of that City, which, he says, was first founded by the *Phœnicians*, fifty Years before the *Trojan* War. When he comes to *Dido*, he only says, that she built *Byrsa*; and then relates the Artifice that Queen used, to obtain a Settlement on the Coasts of *Africa*. As for the Age in which she lived, this Point of Chronology seems to have been a Mystery to him. Neither does *Varro*, *Dion. Hal.* or any of those many Authors, who have searched into the Origin of Nations, give himself the Trouble to determine the exact time, when *Carthage* was founded. *Tully* indeed has given us some Footsteps of it, in a Fragment of his *de Republica*. But if the Fragment be genuine, the Inference drawn from it, is at least as uncertain, as its Expressions are obscure. *Velleius Paterculus*, is the most clear of any in this Particular, when he places *Dido's* Flight into *Africa*, sixty five Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. But his Words plainly enough shew, what Uncertainty the *Romans* were in, as to the Age in which *Dido* lived. *Ant. annos quinque & sexaginta, quam Urbs Romana conderetur, ab Elissa Tyria, quam quidem Dido autumant, Carthago conditur.* *Justin*, the Abridger of *Trogus Pompeius*, reckons seventy two Years from the Foundation of *Carthage*, to the building of *Rome* by *Romulus*. But be that as it will, it is now no longer doubted, that there was a great Distance of Time, between the taking of *Troy*, and *Dido's* landing on the Coasts of *Africa*. The Chronologists, who carry the former of these Events farthest back, place it sixty Years before the Reign of *Saul*. And if from this Number we take eight Years, which, according to *Virgil's* Account, passed between the sacking of that Capital of *Phrygia*, and *Æneas's* Arrival at *Carthage*, this will reduce it to fifty two Years before *Saul*. To which, if we add the forty Years of *Saul's* Reign, and the forty others of *David's*, this will bring up the

all the Women of her Country, both in Beauty, and Courage; and her Father ⁵ *Belus* Year of had married her to *Sichæus*, whom some call *Acerbas*, and others *Sicharbas*. He, as *R O M E* High-priest of *Hercules*, was the second Man in the Kingdom, and was immensely *CCCCCLXXXIX.* rich. *Belus* died, and left his Son *Pygmalion*, and his Daughter *Dido*, Heirs to his Kingdom of *Tyre*: and then *Pygmalion* took Umbrage at *Acerbas*. The People had settled *Pygmalion* on the Throne; but as the Rights of his Sister were now conveyed to a wealthy Husband, he was fearful of the Loss of his Crown, which at best is but an uncertain Possession. This made him pursue the Measures his Ambition and Covetousness dictated; and he first killed *Acerbas* with his own Hands, and then went to seize his Treasures, which his Brother-in-law, had had the Precaution to bury in the Ground. *Dido* was greatly afflicted at the Loss of an Husband she tenderly loved, but dissembled her Grief. As if she could no longer bear *Acerbas's* House, where every thing put her in mind of her Husband, she desired the King to allot her an Apartment in his Palace. But this was only an Artifice to conceal her Flight. She had already hired some Vessels which were in the Port, and had brought a good Number of the *Tyrian* Senators into her Measures. Under Pretence therefore of removing her Goods to her Brother's Palace, she sent them on board her Ships, and with them her Husband's Treasures. Then she set sail with her Followers, put in to refresh in the Island of *Cyprus*; and there embarked a considerable Number of young Women, who were devoted to the Worship of *Venus*, to be a Recruit for the Colony, which she intended to settle, on the first convenient Place to which Fate should carry her. At length, she landed on a Peninsula, on the Coast of *Africa*, where Nature her self had made a very convenient Port. But *Dido* was not the first *Tyrian* who had founded a Colony on this Coast. A Swarm of *Tyrians* had settled here before her time, and built ⁶ *Utica*, about fifty Miles from the Place where she landed. The *Lybians*, the old Inhabitants of the Country, were then Masters of it; and it being necessary that the Queen should buy the Ground, on which she intended to settle, of them; Fable tells us, that she deceived the Barbarians, bought only as much Ground as she could cover with an Ox-hide, and then cut the Hide into so small Thongs, that she encompassed a considerable Space with them. And there she built a Citadel called *Byrsa* in the *Phœnician* Language, which approaches very near to the *Hebrew*, and which was always preserved in the new Colony. After this, the mild Government of the virtuous Queen drew great Numbers of People to *Byrsa*; insomuch, that the Citadel was too little to contain them. It therefore be-

APP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX, M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Consuls. *Solinus*, and *Justin*, B. 18.

Justin and *Strabo*.

the Sum to a hundred and thirty two Years. And upon the Supposition of the Truth of this Calculation, recourse was had to *Josephus* to confirm it. This Historian brings in proof of it, a Passage of *Menander of Ephesus*, (one of the Authors of the *Tyrian* Chronology) where this Writer runs over the whole Series of the Kings of *Tyre*, according to the Order of Time. He there speaks of *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, the Successor of *Abibalus*; which was the same *Hiram*, who entered into so strict a Friendship with *Solomon*, and supplied him with all the Cedar he wanted for the building of his Temple at *Jerusalem*. *Hiram* had ten Successors, the last of which was *Pygmalion*; and from the seventh Year of *Pygmalion* up to the Death of *Hiram*, was, according to *Menander*, 103 Years. To which, if we add the abovementioned 132 Years, which passed between the taking of *Troy*, and the time *Virgil* makes *Aeneas* land at *Carthage*, this will bring up the Sum to 235 Years; which is the Anachronism several charge the Poet with. We need not mention *Cedrenus*, and some other Historians, who bring *Aeneas* and *Dido* under the same Roof. This Anachronism is allowable in a Poet, but unpardonable in an Historian, who ought to adhere strictly to Chronology. For farther Satisfaction in this particular, we refer the Reader to our Dissertation, concerning the Foundation of *Carthage*, in the fourth Book of the *Aeneid*, and B. 15. of this History, p. 124. of this Volume, Note 94. [*Dido*, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, left *Tyre*, and sailed into *Africa*, in the seventh Year of the Reign of her Brother *Pygmalion* King of

Tyre, which Sir *Isaac* makes to coincide with the fifth or sixth Year of the Reign of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*. *Chron.* p. 108. And she founded, or renewed *Carthage* according to him, in the Year before Christ 883, twenty one Years after the Destruction of *Troy*, and 256 Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. *Ibid.* p. 32. For Sir *Isaac* brings down the Founding of *Rome*, to the 38th Olympiad, or about the Year before Christ 627, (which is 125 Years lower than it is generally placed) by allowing the seven Kings of *Rome* to have reigned but 119 Years; whereas, they are generally supposed to have reigned 244 Years. *Ibid.* p. 38, 128—130.]

5. It is *Virgil*, who gives the Father of *Pygmalion*, *Dido*, and *Anna*, the Name of *Belus*. *Josephus*, in his Enumeration of the Kings of *Tyre*, in his *First Book against Apion*, calls him, upon the Credit of the ancient Monuments, *Maligenus*. *Theophilus of Antioch* gives him the Name of *Matten*. And it is therefore natural enough to suppose, that *Virgil*, who knew nothing of the *Phœnician* History, had recourse to *The Grecian Tables*, in order to find out *Dido's* Father. He took the same Liberty in this, as in bringing her and *Aeneas* together. Unless we say of the Kings of *Tyre*, as well as of those of *Assyria*, that the Historians give the same Princes different Names.

6 The City of *Utica* is now only a little Town called *Biserte*, ten or twelve Leagues from *Tunis*. It was formerly one of the most considerable Cities in *Africa*. Nay, it even became the Capital of *Africa*, after the Destruction of *Carthage*.

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came necessary to add a City to the Fortrés; which accordingly *Dido* saw done in her Life-time, and she always remembering her old native Country, built there a Temple in honour of *Hercules Tyrius*, and in Imitation of that at *Tyre*. The Inhabitants of *Utica* were pleased to see a Colony planted in their Neighbourhood, by their own Countrymen, encouraged the Queen, and assisted her in her Undertaking. In the mean time, she made a Composition with the *Lybians*, and engaged to pay them an annual Acknowledgment for the Ground they granted her. The *Africans* had Hopes that the new Colony, who understood the Art of Navigation, and were famous for their Trade, would enrich all the Coast. The Queen, who had already named the Citadel, called the City *Carthades*, in the *Punick* Language, which signified *The New City*; and the *Greeks* called it *Carchedon*, and the *Romans*, *Carthago*.

DIDO was busy in embellishing her City, and settling a good Polity in it, when a *Mauritanian* King fell in Love with her, and interrupted her in the Pursuit of an Enterprize which was above her Sex. *Hiarbas* was the Name of the *African* King, and he threatened the rising Colony with a cruel War, in case the Queen refused to accept of him for an Husband. Ten of the wisest Senators of *Carthage* were intimidated by the Threatnings of the Barbarians, and used their Endeavours to persuade *Dido* to preserve her People, by a Compliance, which would free her City from great Misfortunes. But as they knew her inviolable Affection for her first Husband, and her utter Aversion to a second Marriage, they made use of a Stratagem, to gain her Consent. A foreign King, said they to her, demands, with Threatnings, a small Number of your Tyrians, to go and teach his Subjects the polite Arts and Manners of the Phœnicians. But which of your Subjects will sacrifice the Happiness he enjoys in *Carthage*? And *Dido*, with all her good Sense, not perceiving the Design of this Discourse of the Senators, replied; *Alas! Can any Man refuse to serve his Country, which he ought to do at the Expence of his Life? Your Decision turns upon your self, Great Queen!* replied one of them, *what binders you from sacrificing former Inclinations to the Preservation of the City, which you have founded?* *Dido* was embarrassed at this Reply; desired three Months time to determine; and then resolved to descend into the Infernal Regions to her former Husband. But she made it her whole Business to conceal her Design. She employed her self wholly in offering Sacrifices, to appease, as she pretended, the *Manes* of her dear *Acerbas*; and at last built a funeral Pile, on which she sacrificed her self with her own Hands. Thus fell *Dido*, a generous Victim to conjugal Fidelity; and as long as *Carthage* subsisted, the *Carthaginians* worshiped her as a Goddess, and paid the same Honours to the Foundress of their City, as the *Romans* afterwards paid to *Romulus*, the Founder of *Rome*.

7 A Colony of *Phœnicians* must have understood that Art. It is well known, that the *Phœnicians* excelled all other Nations in the Knowledge of Sea-affairs, and made themselves famous by the Extent of their Trade. Some Historians have even made them the Inventors of the Art of Navigation, of Trade, and of Astronomy, the Knowledge of which is necessary to Sailors; though this Honour is more justly due to the *Egyptians*. *Justin* observes, B. 18. that it was Trade, which procured *Dido* a free Permission to settle on the Coasts of *Africa*. She was favourably received, says he, by the People of the Country; all the neighbouring Cantons, brought the Provisions their respective Countries afforded, to the new Colony, and this Concourse soon produced the great and famous City of *Carthage*. And as Commerce gave Birth to it, it likewise increased it to such a Degree, as to make that City formidable to all the neighbouring Nations, in a very little time. *Carthage* indeed, had the Advantage over *Tyre*, by its Situation. It stood at almost an equal Distance from the Eastern and Western Boundaries of the *Mediterranean*, and in a Country, which abundantly supplied it, with all sorts of Corn necessary for its Support. And it is not therefore to be wondered at, that the *Carthaginians* should, according to *Polybius*, acquire a

more perfect Knowledge of maritime Affairs, than any other Nation. *Pliny* indeed seems to say, B. 71. c. 56. that they were the first People who traded by Sea. But that is not his meaning. He does indeed ascribe the first Invention of Commerce and Navigation to the People he calls *Pœni*; but it is plain, that he by this People meant the *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Carthaginians* descended. We have a Proof of this, in *Dionysius the Geographer*, who acknowledges the People of *Phœnicia* to have been the first Traders in the World. The Name of *Pœnus* is often used by ancient Authors for that of *Phoenix*; and *Tully* uses it in this Sense, in his 4th Book, *de Finibus*, where he calls the *Phœnicians*, *Pœnuli*. And in this Sense we are to understand the *Uterque Pœnus* of *Horace*, in the second Ode of his second Book. Whether he meant the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*; or not only the Inhabitants of *Carthage*, but those of *Cadix* too, whom *Cicero* calls *Pœni*, in his *Oration for Balbus*; it is certain, the *Latins* might very properly call the People of *Cadix*, *Pœni*, they having been a *Phœnician* Colony. [See *Dean Prideaux's* Account of the *Tyrian* Trade, particularly that part of it which related to the *East-Indies*, with the Rise and Removal of it to other Nations, down to this very Time. *Connex.* B. 1. under the Year 740.]

§. II. AFTER the Death of *Dido*, the *Carthaginians* threw off the monarchical Government. Doubtless, they could find no Body in their new *Colony*, who was so much superior to the rest in Birth and Merit, as to deserve the distinguishing Honours of a Crown. They therefore changed their Government into a Republick, wherein the supreme Authority was divided between the Senate and the People. Not that the Title of King was absolutely abolished in *Carthage*; this Title was bestowed by Election, on the *Citizen*, who distinguished himself most by his good Qualities. But he was in reality only the Shadow of a King, whose Power was limited at the Discretion of the People, and Senate. Hence it is, that the *Romans* often call these Heads of the *Carthaginians* only *Prætors*, or *Dictators*, in Allusion to the Officers in their own Republick. These Kings of *Carthage* presided in the Senate, commanded the Troops in the Field, and were born Arbitrators of all Differences that should arise between the Senate and People. On the other hand, the People had a Right of disannulling the Decrees of the King and Senate, when they thought them prejudicial to the Publick. The Senate of *Carthage* was exceeding numerous, but the Determination of all publick Affairs was lodged in the Hands of thirty of the Oldest Senators, who made a kind of supreme Council. One of these was *Censor*, and had the Care of inspecting the Manners of the *Citizens*; so that in this Particular, as well as many others, the *Carthaginian* Republick resembled that of *Rome*. But there were some Customs among the *Carthaginians*, strangely barbarous and brutal. In Times of publick Calamities, and especially in the time of a Plague, they offered up human Sacrifices to *Belus*; which were generally young Children, whose

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Aristot. Polit.
B. 2. c. 11.

Livy B. 30.
Justin B. 18.

Throats

8 Who this *Belus* was, to whom the *Carthaginians* paid so barbarous a Worship, Authors are not agreed. Some take him for the *Belus* of *Assyria*, whom most believe to have been the same with *Nimrod*. And he is the Person to whom *Pliny* ascribes the Invention of Astronomy. This *Belus* is said to have been the first Conqueror, and to have founded the Kingdom of *Babylon*. *Dionysius the Geographer* says, that after his Death, *Semiramis* dedicated a Temple to him. In process of time, the *Assyrians* gave him the Title of *The God of War*; some Mythologists will have him to have been the same Person, whom the *Greeks* and *Romans* worshiped, under the Name of *Mars*; and *Diodorus Siculus* seems to authorise this Conjecture in his fifth Book. Those, says he, who endeavour to reconcile Fable with History, think, that the People of the most distant Ages, gave the Name of *Mars*, to him who invented offensive and defensive Arms, and first taught Soldiers Discipline, and how to attack and defend themselves in order of Battel. This *Mars*, of whom the Historian speaks, pretty much resembles *Nimrod*. We know the Holy Scriptures represent him as the first Warrior. Nor is *Higynus* far from this Opinion, when he says, that the Latin Word *Bellum*, which signifies War, was taken from *Belus*. *Suidas*, and the Author of *The Chronicon of Alexandria*, declare themselves of that Opinion. They say, That the first Pillar the *Assyrians* erected, was consecrated to *Mars*; That the People decreed him divine Honours; and That they always worshiped him under the Name of *Baal*; a Name given by the *Persians* to *Mars* the God of War. *St. Jerom*, on *The 23^d Chapter of Ezekiel*, is of Opinion, that the Idol of *Baal*, or *Bel*, was intended to represent the ancient *Belus* of the *Assyrians*. *Idolum Baal, sive Bel, & ut apertius dicam, Beli Assyriorum religio, est consecrata a Nino Beli filio, in honorem Patris.* And this holy Father, in his Explanation of *The second Chapter of Hosea*, says, That *Belus* was the same Person as *Baal*, whom the *Sidonians*, and *Phœnicians*, and consequently the *Carthaginians*, their Allies, worshiped as a God. *Hunc BELUM, Sidonii & Phœnices appellant Babal.* But others have thought, that the Name and Attributes given to the *Belus* of the *Assyrians*, are very applicable to the

Sun. *Hel*, say they, in the Language of the *Assyrians*, and *Hal*, in the *Punick* Language, has the same Signification as *ἥλιος*, *The Sun*, in the *Greek*; and from thence came the Names of *Bel*, and *Babal*. And this Agreement between the Sun and *Belus* in Name, makes *Pliny* say, B. 37. c. 10. that a precious Stone, on which a Sun was engraven, was called *Belus's Eye*. *Beli oculus albicans pupillam pingit nigra in medio, aureo fulgore lucentem. Hec propter suam speciem Sacratissimo Assyriorum Deo dicatur.* The *Medes* and *Persians* paid the same Worship to this Pagan Deity, whom they thought to be the same with the Sun, and to be the supreme Arbiter of Nature. *Herodotus* tells us, that the Emperor *Aurelian* consecrated a Temple to the Sun, in which he placed the Statue of *Bel*. And if we credit the Conjecture of some Writers, the same Things that the *Greeks* and *Romans* ascribed to *Cælus*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, &c. the same the Eastern Nations reported of their God *Belus*, who was as it were the Origin and Forerunner of the fabulous Gods. Hence the different Names the Mythologists gave him. So that *Belus* was sometimes called *Jupiter*, and oftner *Saturn*, by the *Phœnicians*. And the best Way to reconcile these different Opinions, is to say, that the Name of *Belus*, or *Bel*, or *Baal*, was common to all the Gods of the East. And indeed, the Term *Belus* was a Title of Honour, which the Orientals gave only to superior Beings, and sovereign Princes. There were therefore several *Belus's* among the *Assyrians*, and *Phœnicians*. Even the *Indians* had their *Bel*, who, according to *Cicero*, B. 3. de *Natur. Deor.* was their *Hercules*. *Quintus in India HERCULES qui Belus dicitur.* This is so true, that the Scriptures comprehend all the Heathen Gods, under the Name of *Baalim*, in the plural. So that by this general Expression, the People of *Chaldea*, and *Phœnicia*, meant *Jupiter*, the Sun, the Master of Heaven, (that is, in the *Phœnician* Language, *Baalsamen*) *Saturn*, &c. and it was to the last of these, that the *Carthaginians* sacrificed human Victims, and sometimes their own Children. The *Phœnicians*, says *Eusebius*, in his Panegyrick on *Constantine*, annually sacrifice those of their Children, whom they love best, to *Saturn*. And *Ennius* tells us, that the same Barbarity was practised by the *Carthaginians*. *Poeni sunt soliti suos sacrificare puelllos.* They

Year of Throats were cut on the Altars. The four chief Divinities which were worshiped
 R O M E at Carthage, were ⁹ Juno, ¹⁰ Hercules, ¹¹ Æsculapius, and ¹² Apollo.

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They made it a cruel Law among them, says *Ju-
stin*, B. 18. to offer human Sacrifice; and to kill
 whatever was most dear to them, at the Feet of the
 Altars, in times of publick Calamity. A Father,
 who was bound in Duty to engage the Gods to
 interpose in the Preservation of his Son, led him to
 the Priest himself, and made it a Duty of Religion,
 to become unnatural and cruel to him. The Peo-
 ple, says *Plutarch*, saw the most flourishing part of
 their Youth, bleeding under the Sacrificer's Knife,
 without Pity or Concern. *Diodorus Siculus* says,
 B. 20. That the *Carthaginians* imputed the Defeat
 of their Army by *Agathocles*, to the Fraud, which
 they charged themselves with having committed, in
 substituting other Children in the room of those,
 which ought to have been sacrificed to *Saturn*.
 And they persuaded themselves, says *Lactantius*,
 B. 1. c. 21. and *Plutarch*, in his Treatise Of Su-
 perstition, That they could no otherwise appease
 the Wrath of their God, than by sacrificing to him
 two hundred Boys of the best born. And the lat-
 ter adds, that three hundred others voluntarily of-
 fered to die, to expiate the Crime, of which *Car-
thage* thought her self guilty. This bloody Cere-
 mony was always performed, with Flutes, and other
 Instruments of Musick playing, which drowned the
 Cries of the Children, whose Throats were cut-
 ting. The Mothers, who assisted at this tragical
 Transaction, gloried in appearing insensible, and
 stifling the most tender Yearnings of a Mother's
 Affection. If a Sigh escaped them, or a Tear
 dropped from their Eyes, this was thought an Im-
 piety, and was punished by the Magistrates with a
 pecuniary Fine. The Emperor *Tiberius* used all
 possible Means to abolish this horrible Custom.
 He gave Orders, that the Priests, who embrewed
 their Hands in the Blood of these unhappy Vic-
 tims, should be hanged on the Trees of the Avenue
 to the Temple of *Saturn*. But nevertheless, all the
 Precautions of this Prince could not hinder these
 Madmen, from exercising this execrable Office, in
 secret at least; and they continued it till *Tertullian's*
 time, as he himself says, in his *Apology for the Chri-
stian Religion*. *St. Austin* tells us, in his *Harmony
of the four Evangelists*, that the *Carthaginians* had
 so great a Reverence for their God, that they durst
 not repeat his Name. They only called him, *The
Old Man*: and this Veneration was carried so far,
 that a Place in *Carthage*, called *Saturn's Street*,
 was most commonly called, *The Old Man's Street*.
*Senem potius quam Saturnum dicentes, tam timida
superstitione, ut etiam pœne vico suo nomen mutave-
runt, Vicum Senis crebrius, quam Vicum Saturni
appellantes.* [The *Belus*, who was the God of the
Assyrians, was, according to *Sir Isaac Newton*, the
Pul of the Scriptures, whom he makes to have
 founded the *Assyrian* Empire, about the Year before
 Christ 790, that is, according to him, a hundred
 and sixty three Years before the building of *Rome*.
 He contends, That this Prince founded or repaired
Babylon; and That *Nabonassar*, who succeeded him
 in *Babylon*, in the Year before Christ 749, erected
 there the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* to his Father,
Chron. p. 34, 35.—268.—280. But the *Belus*, who
 is said by *Diodorus* to have led a Colony of *Egyp-
tians* to *Babylon*, and instituted Priests there called
Chaldeans, was, according to *Sir Isaac*, *Sesac* King
 of *Egypt*, who was slain in the Year before Christ
 956, and was afterwards deified and worshiped un-
 der different Names, in different Countries. *Ibid.*
p. 23, 24. The *Saturn* of the *Latins* was, accord-
 ing to the same Author, *Asterius* King of *Crete*,
 who was driven out of his Kingdom by his Son
Minor, in the Year before Christ 1015, when *Solo-
mon's* Temple was building, *p. 16.*

⁹ *Carthage*, says *Virgil*, *Æneid* 1. was the favou-

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rite City of the Goddess *Juno*. She was, accord-
 ing to *St. Austin*, honoured there with a particular
 Worship, under the Name of *Astarte*. *Juno autem
sine dubitatione ab illis [Pœnis] Astarte vocatur.*
 And because she was the tutelary Goddess of this
 City, therefore some ancient Authors have given it
 the Epithet of *Junonia*. [*Sir Isaac Newton* makes
Juno to have been *Danae*, the Daughter of *Eury-
dice*, the Daughter of *Lacedæmon* the Founder of
Sparta. Her Mother *Eurydice* erected a Temple,
 and instituted sacred Rites and Sacrifices to her,
 under the Title of *Juno Argiva*, about the time
 the Temple of *Solomon* was built, that is, about the
 Year before Christ 1015. *Chron. 134, 138.*]

¹⁰ Every Nation had its *Hercules*. The *Hercules*
 of the *Tyrians*, says *Tully*, passed for the Son of
Jupiter and *Asteria*, the Sister of *Latona*; and Fa-
 ble gives him a Daughter called *Carthago*, whom
Tully mentions, *de Nat. Deor. B. 3.* *Quartus Her-
cules Jovis est, & Asteriæ Latonæ sororis, quem
Tyrii maxime colunt, cujus Carthaginem filiam se-
runt.* We have already observed, *p. 2.* of this
Vol. Note 4. that the Inventions of the Pagans
 seem to have been exhausted in Fictions, in order
 to multiply their *Hercules's*. To which we shall
 here add, that the *Carthaginians* every Year fitted
 out a Ship very pompously, and sent her away load-
 ed with Presents for *The Hercules of Tyre*; as *Ju-
stin* assures us. The *Phœnicians* ascribed the Ho-
 nour and Success of their first Voyages into the
 West, to their *Hercules*. [The *Hercules* of the
Egyptians, who set up the Pillars, called *Hercules's*
 Pillars, near the *Streights of Gibraltar*, was, accord-
 ing to *Sir Isaac Newton*, *Sesac*, or *Sesostris* King of
Egypt, who reigned after his Father *Ammon*; and
 who, in his Father *Ammon's* Reign, invaded *Africa*
 and *Spain*, and set up Pillars in all his Conquests,
 particularly at the Mouth of the *Mediterranean*,
 about the Year before Christ 1008. *Chronol. p. 17.*
 The *Hercules* of the *Greeks*, was one of the *Argo-
nauts*, who went on their Expedition, about the
 Year before Christ 937: And this *Hercules* was dei-
 fied, about the Year before Christ 927. *Ibid. p. 26,*
27. The *Tyrian Hercules*, to whom *Carthage* paid
 Tenth, which she sent to *Tyre* every Year, was
 the chief Leader of some *Phœnicians*, or *Tyrians*,
 who, presently after the *Trojan War*, which ended
 about the Year before Christ 904, went beyond *The
Pillars of Hercules*, and first founded *Carthage* in
Africa, and built *Carteia* in *Spain*, and *Gades* in the
 Island of that Name, without *The Streights*. He
 was called *Hercules* from his Labours and Suc-
 cess; the *Carteia* which he built was called *Hera-
clea*. He was also called *Malcartus*, from his
 having built this City of *Carteia*, which was at first
 called *Malcarteia*. After his Death a Temple was
 built to him in the Island *Gades*, and was adorned
 with the Sculptures of the Labours of *Hercules*,
 and of his *Hydra*, and of the Horses, to whom he
 threw *Diomedes* King of the *Bistones* in *Thrace*.
Ibid. p. 111, 112, 113.]

¹¹ The *Carthaginians* were exceeding fond of
 the Worship of *Æsculapius*, upon the Credit of
 a Tradition among them, that this God was born of
 a Woman of their Country. *Strabo* and *Appian*
 say, that the Inhabitants of *Carthage* built a Tem-
 ple to him, in the Citadel of *Byrja*. *Æsculapius*
 was, according to *Sir Isaac Newton*, one of the
Argonauts, who went on their Expedition, about
 the Year before Christ 937. He was deified about
 the Year before Christ 927, that is, three hundred
 Years before the Founding of *Rome*. See *Chron.*
p. 26, 27.]

¹² Most of the Divinities of *Greece* were wor-
 shipped at *Carthage*, among the rest the Goddess
Urania.

THE *Dictators* by Degrees extended the Frontiers of this State, which was at first confined to the City of *Carthage* alone; and how far they carried their Conquests in *Africa*, is uncertain. We only know, That they freed themselves from paying the *Lybians* the annual Tribute they demanded of them for the Ground on which *Carthage* stood: and we shall see elsewhere, that a part of the Coast round the City, was brought into Subjection to it. But by Sea, this Republick made a more considerable Progress. And indeed, the Art to which the *Carthaginians* applied themselves most, was that of Navigation. They came originally from *Tyre*, which was always famous for its Trade by Sea; and the *Colony* imitated her Mother-City. The greatest Men in *Carthage* were the greatest Merchants. From whence it came to pass, that together with a Love of Trade, all the Vices of Traders were also introduced into the Republick; such as Unfaithfulness in Treaties, Cunning, and Deceit. As much as the *Citizens* of *Rome* neglected enriching their Families, and preferred the Interest of the Publick to their own; so much did the *Carthaginians* prefer their own Advantage, to the Glory and Prosperity of their Country. And indeed, if rightly understood, it was this which chiefly made them sink at last under

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Urania, whom some take to be *The Moon*, others *Venus*. St. *Austin* speaking of this City, upon *Psal.* 98. calls it *Regnum Veneris*. *Cybele* was also worshiped there; this holy Father, B. 7. Of the City of God, exclaims against the Effeminacy and Debauchery of the Ministers dedicated to her Worship. They broke through all the Bounds of Modesty, says he, passed through the very Streets of *Carthage*, with their Hair oiled, their Faces whited, and an effeminate Gate; and were not ashamed even to ask Alms of them they met, to support them in their Licentiousness. [*Cybele* was, says Sir *Isaac Newton*, *Europa* the Wife of *Asterius* King of *Crete*, the Saturn of *The Latins*, and the Mother of *Minos* King of *Crete*, the *Cretan Jupiter*, who expelled his Father *Asterius*, and reigned in his room about the Year before Christ 1015. *Europa* was called *Rhea* and *Magna Mater*, and from the Places where she was worshiped, *Cybele*, *Berecynthia*, *Pessinuntia*, *Dindymene*, *Mygdonia*, and *Idæa Phrygia*, p. 16, 148, 152. She was worshiped in the Form of a Woman sitting in a Chariot, drawn by Lions, with a Drum in her Hand, and a *Corona turrita* on her Head, like *Astarte* and *Isis*, p. 151. The Mysteries of *Rhea*, were instituted in *Phrygia*, in the City *Cybele*, about the Year before Christ 1007. p. 17. *Cybele*, the Wife of *Jafius* a *Samotheacian*, (whose Sister had married *Cadmus*, one of those who fled from *Zidon* and *David*, into *Asia Minor*, *Crete*, *Greece*, and *Lybia*) and her Daughter *Corybas*, and *Dardanus* her Husband, *Jafius*'s Brother, went into *Phrygia*, and carried thither the Mysteries of *The Mother of the Gods*; and *Cybele* called the Goddess after her own Name, and *Corybas* called her Priests *Corybantes*, p. 157, 158.] Among the Gods of the *Carthaginians*, they themselves also reckoned, *Anna Perenna*, the Sister of *Dido*, and *The Abaddires*; of whom St. *Austin* tells us nothing more, than that their Priests were called *Encaddires*. *Apollo* had, according to *Appian*, a magnificent Temple in *Carthage*, the Roof of which was covered with Plates of Gold, and a stately Statue, which the *Romans* carried to *Rome*, after the last *Punick War*. It was placed over against *The Great Circus*.

13 The *Carthaginians* not only subdued all this vast Coast, which reached to *Syria* on one side, and to *Hercules's Pillars* on the other, for the Space of a thousand *French Leagues* at the least; but also gave Law to all the maritime Countries, lying South of *The Streights of Gibraltar*, where *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* founded a great many Cities, and Colonies. Not to mention the vast Island, which the Author of the Book *Of Wonders* (ascribed to *Aristotle*) and *Diodorus Siculus*, say, had been discovered and inhabited by the People of *Carthage*. By the Description these two Authors give of it, there is room to conjecture, that it was *America*. Tho'

at the same time it is very difficult to conceive it possible for them then to cross such vast Seas, without the Use of the Compass. But *Diodorus* indeed says, that the Persons to whom *Carthage* was indebted for the Discovery of this Island, were thrown upon it by a Tempest, probably an East-Wind, and which almost always blows in the Torrid Zone, and which carried the *Carthaginian* Ships to the *West-Indies*. And it is reported, that the Senate of *Carthage* made a Decree, forbidding any private Persons to settle there, for fear the People, charmed with the Pleasantness and Fruitfulness of so fine a Country, should desert their native Country, to go and inherit a Place, of which Travellers told so many wonderful Things. The Republick of *Carthage* carefully concealed the Knowledge of this new Country from other Nations; and as is pretended, would not suffer the *Tyrians* to go to it, but reserved the Possession of this Island to themselves, as a Place of Retreat, in case of Need. It is pity we cannot recover the Relations, the two *Carthaginian* Captains, *Hanno* and *Himilco*, gave of their Voyages. Posterity would have drawn great Light from thence, in relation to the vast Extent of the Conquests and Commerce of the *Carthaginians*. The former had written Memoirs of his Voyages in the Ocean, from *Hercules's Pillars*, along the western Coasts of *Africa*: The latter of his Cruisings along the western Coasts of *Europe*. But their Writings are unfortunately lost. For the *Periplus*, which now goes under the Name of the former, is deemed Supposititious, and thought to be the Work of a later Writer.

14 The *Carthaginians* had shared the Empire of the Seas with the *Tyrians*, till the first *Carthaginian War*. *Carthage* was at that time Mistress of a part of *Africa*, and *Spain*; and of *Sardinia*, and the adjoining Islands. Afterwards, she extended her Dominions so far, as to have three hundred Cities subject to her, on the Continent of *Africa*.

15 The *Carthaginians* had inherited a great Knowledge of Trade, and a great Skill in the Art of making all sorts of Carpenters and Joiners Work, from the *Tyrians*. Every one knows, that *Solomon* had not only all the Cedar he wanted, but the most able Workmen too, for the building of his Temple at *Jerusalem*, from *Tyre*. And the *Carthaginian* Wainscot was no less esteemed at *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* were also most remarkable for that Way of dressing of Leather, which is preserved in *Africa*, to this Day: from whence we have that fine *Morocco* Leather which is so useful to us, on many Occasions. And to these means of enriching themselves, the *Carthaginians* added an excellent Oeconomy, and great Frugality, in their Way of Living. They fed so coarsely, that the *Romans* called them *Pap-eaters*, by Way of Derision.

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the Arms of a Republick, which was less powerful than their own. The Art of Navigation, and the Multitude of Merchant-ships, which always were in the Ports of *Carthage*, made her formidable to all the neighbouring Islands: and *Sicily* seems to have been the first Place, upon which the *Carthaginians* made a Descent. *Maleus* ¹⁶, one of the *Dictators*, took some Cities there, conquered a part of that fine Island; and then made an Attempt upon *Sardinia*. But he was not equally successful there, the General lost the greatest part of his Troops, and was banished for it. So little Regard was shewn to these sort of Kings in *Carthage*! *Mago*, who succeeded *Maleus*, taught the *Carthaginians* military Exercise, settled a good Discipline among the Troops; but was as unfortunate as his Predecessor. He was worsted in *Sicily*; and out of Shame for it, and for fear of being condemned by the Senate to suffer a painful Death, he killed himself. And then his Countrymen could only revenge themselves on his Body, which they did by affixing it to a Cross. *Mago* ¹⁷ had two Sons, *Asdrubal* and *Hamilcar*; who inherited their Father's Bravery, and were Heirs to his *Dictatorship*. *Asdrubal* failed to *Sardinia*, signalized himself by his Exploits there; and was killed in Battel. He was a great Commander; had held the *Dictatorship* eleven Years; received all military Honours; enjoyed four Triumphs; and *Carthage* sincerely lamented his Death. And indeed, the Enemies of *Carthage* seemed to revive, when *Asdrubal* was gone. This great Man, just as he was ready to expire, of the mortal Wound he had received in the Engagement, transmitted the Command to his Brother, who did not long survive him. He was killed in *Sicily*, and left three Sons, *Himilco*, *Hanno*, and *Gisco*. *Asdrubal* also had three Sons, *Hannibal*, *Asdrubal*, and *Sappho*; who were all *Dictators* in their Turns, and made *Carthage* a very flourishing State by their Conquests, on the Continent of *Africk*. But the constant Succession of so many Persons in one Family to the greatest Dignity, raised the Jealousy of the Publick. Their Glory and their Services were made their Crimes. In order to moderate an Authority, which is generally suspected in free Cities, the *Carthaginians* erected a Council of an hundred Judges, whose Business it should be to inspect the Behaviour of the *Dictators*, and judge of all Complaints that should be brought against them, for Misconduct. After this Precaution, which was thought necessary, the Republick entrusted *Himilco* with the Command of the Troops, which his Father *Hamilcar* had commanded in *Sicily*; and he greatly signalized himself by his Valour and Conduct, both by Sea, and Land. He won Battels, and many Cities in *Sicily* surrendered to the Conqueror. But a Plague put a Stop to his Victories, and raged so violently, that it carried off almost all his Army. Upon this *Himilco* was no longer Master of himself; he returned to *Carthage*; shut himself up in his House; would not suffer so much as his own Children to come into his Presence, and stabbed himself. And this he might do, out of Grief, for having survived his Soldiers; or fear of being condemned by the hundred Judges; or Despair, at seeing the Affairs of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* utterly ruined. How-

¹⁶ This was the same *Maleus* who besieged *Carthage*, in order to revenge himself on it, for having banished him; and he took it by Assault. But being content with his Victory, he drew no Advantage from it, more than the cruel Pleasure of seeing those who had declared against him, expire in Torment. *Justin* mentions one inhuman Act of this *Carthaginian* Captain, which has made his Name odious. Whilst he was attacking *Carthage*, his own Son *Carthalo* was ordered by the Senate to conduct to *Tyre*, the Ship, which, according to Custom, was to carry thither the Tenth of the Spoils, his Father had brought away from *Sicily*. The *Carthaginians* sent such an Offering as this to the *Hercules* of their Metropolis every Year; as has been already observed. *Carthalo*, who was obliged to pass through his Father's Camp, refused to see, or confer with him, under Pretence that he was indispensably obliged by the Duties of the sacred Office, with which he was entrusted, not to stop; and therefore postponed the private Conference *Maleus* had desired to have with him, till after his return from *Tyre*. *Maleus* thought this Refusal of his Son was treating him with Contempt, and

was enraged at it; nevertheless, he durst not, out of Respect to Religion, offer any Violence to his Son, on his Journey. After his return to *Tyre*, *Carthalo* repaired to *Maleus*'s Tent, as he had promised: and this cruel Father, after reproaching his Son, in the most bitter manner, had the Inhumanity to crucify him, in the priestly Habit, which he had worn at *Tyre*. Soon after, *Maleus* being accused for attempting to make himself a Tyrant over his Country, was justly punished with Death for his Treason, and the Murder of his Son.

¹⁷ *Mago*, at the Request of *Icetas*, the General of the People of *Leontini*, went into *Sicily* with an Army of sixty thousand Men, and a Fleet of a hundred and fifty Sail. The latter was besieging *Syracuse*; but had a formidable Enemy to contend with, which was *Timoleon* of *Corinth*, who came to the Relief of the *Syracusans*. This great Man was not surprized at *Mago*'s Arrival. He conducted himself with so much Prudence and Valour that he forced the *Carthaginian* General to return aboard his Fleet, weigh Anchor, and sail back to *Africa*.

ever, his Brother *Hanno*, being chosen *Dictator*, raised new Levies, and returned into *Sicily*. And there the Jealousy of a Competitor had like to have proved fatal to him. He went to declare War with *Dionysius the Tyrant*; but a *Carthaginian*, named ¹⁸ *Suniates*, betrayed his Secrets. This Traitor kept a Correspondence with *Dionysius*, to whom he wrote in *Greek*. But his Letters were intercepted, and this occasioned the Order the *Carthaginians* made, forbidding any one to learn the *Greek* Language. It is probable, that *Hanno* made some Conquests in *Sicily*. At least he thought himself powerful enough in his Republick to be able to usurp a Tyranny over it. With this view, when he gave a great Entertainment to all the Senators of *Carthage*, at the Marriage of his Daughter, he ordered the Wine they were to drink to be poisoned. However, the Treason was discovered, and the Discovery of it dissembled. Nevertheless, the Traitor, who dreaded the Revenge of the Publick, took up Arms against his Country, raised the Slaves, and joined the *Lybians*. Being Master of a Fort, he sustained a Siege in it; but it was taken by Storm, and he suffered the Punishment he deserved. The Bones of his Arms and Legs were broken, his Eyes put out, and he whipped to death. And to complete the Ignominy, his Body was fixed up to a Cross: and the Hatred of the Publick reached even to his Children, and his Relations. Thus ended a Race, whose Valour had raised, and whose Ambition had destroyed, them.

In the mean time, *Alexander the Great* drew near *Carthage*. He was already Master of *Egypt*, and had given his Name to the City of *Alexandria*. *Carthage* had therefore Reason to fear, that the Conqueror of *Asia* would enter farther into *Africa*, and think the Coast of *Lybia* worth subduing. And in order to divert the Storm, the *Carthaginians* had recourse to Artifice, which was their usual Refuge, and in this Case, their only Remedy. They suborned one of their *Citizens*, whose Name was *Hamilcar*, (for the same Names often return in the History of *Carthage*, and create Confusion in it) who took the Surname of *Rhodon*, was an expert, insinuating, brave Man, and went over to *Alexander*, as a Defter from his native City. This Man, by the Means of *Parmenio*, procured Access to the Prince, and became his Confident, only the more effectually to abuse his Friendship. He, by Letters, written on Boards covered with Wax, gave his Countrymen, whatever Intelligence was necessary for their Safety; and by his Address, found Means to turn the Arms of *Alexander* against other Countries, and keep them from his own. These were such Services as his Country could never enough acknowledge; but the *Carthaginians* were as ungrateful as suspicious. *Hamilcar* had too great Abilities not to be suspected by them. He returned into his own Country, after the Decease of *Alexander*, and all the Reward he received from his Countrymen, was Death. A remarkable Instance of Ingratitude, Distrust, and Cruelty! As long as *Alexander* lived, the *Carthaginians* did not abandon their Design upon *Sicily*. They kept their Footing there, in the Reign of *Agathocles*. One of their *Dictators*, who was also named *Hamilcar*, first came to the Assistance of this King, who was driven out of his Dominions; and he made *Agathocles* swear upon the Altars, that he would do the *Carthaginians* as much Service in extending their Dominions in *Sicily*, as they should do him, in bringing him back to *Syracuse*, from whence he had been banished. *Agathocles* promised every thing, and did nothing. As soon as he was reinstated in his own Country, he did not spare the *Carthaginians* his Benefactors. *Hamilcar* was therefore blamed at *Carthage* for his Conduct. It was imputed to him as a Crime, that he had assisted a perfidious Man. The Senate had already passed Sentence of Death upon him, but kept it very secret; and as soon as *Hamilcar* knew it, he stabbed himself with his own Sword. His Son *Gisco* was placed at the Head of the Troops, in the room of his Father; and this brave *Dictator* fought several Battels with *Agathocles*, and always defeated him. At length he laid Siege to *Syracuse* itself; and then *Agathocles* went upon an Enterprize, which seems to have been purely the Effect of Despair. He marched out of *Syracuse*, though it was besieged; left Provisions for the Garrison which was to defend it; took with him only a small Number of Soldiers; gave all the Slaves he could find Liberty, and Arms; and embarking in some Ships, he had made ready in

¹⁸ This *Carthaginian* was a very powerful Man, says *Justin*, and a Man of great Distinction at *Carthage*. His Hatred to *Hanno*, made him serve *Dio-*

nysius the Tyrant, to the Prejudice of his Country. But his Treason was discovered and punished with Death.

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the Port; set sail, without discovering his Design. It was thought, that he was going to ravage the Coasts of *Italy*; but he landed on the Coasts of *Africa*. The Cities which were subject to the *Carthaginians*, were then, properly speaking, nothing more than great Towns situated in the midst of Plains, without any Walls, or Fortifications. *Agathocles* therefore took them, plundered them, and filled the whole Country with Slaughter. Nay, he laid Siege to *Carthage* itself. *Ophella*, one of *Alexander's* Captains joined him, with a Design to conquer *Africa*: but *Agathocles* found Means to get rid of him, by an Assassination, and retained his Troops in his Service. With this Reinforcement, he beat the *Carthaginians*, within sight of their Capital; and *Bomilcar* was ready to deliver up the City to him, when the Traitor was discovered, and crucified. Nevertheless, he was a Dictator; but the *Carthaginians* were profuse of the Blood of their Governors. *Agathocles* had nothing more to do, but to force *Carthage* to surrender; for *Utica*, the second City of the *Carthaginians*, had just submitted to him. But notwithstanding all this, his Uneasiness about the Siege of *Syracuse* carried him back into *Sicily*. Upon his Arrival, all the Cities, which had stood neuter, or had surrendered themselves up to the Foreigners, followed the Standards of a General, who was grown famous for his Conquests in *Africa*; and he cleared *Sicily* of the *Carthaginians*, who had long been making War there, and always with some Advantage. So that *Agathocles* might have been satisfied with having delivered his Country from a troublesome Enemy; but he unfortunately returned into *Africa*. There, being overcome by those very *Carthaginians*, whom he had so often vanquished, he, after the Loss of one Battel (a strange Effect of Dejection) embarked in the Night; returned to *Syracuse*; left his Son, and his Army, to the Mercy of the Enemy; and they being reduced to despair, by being deserted by their General, surrendered to the *Carthaginians*.

THEN *Carthage* made her Advantage of the Flight of *Agathocles*, and the surrender of his Troops. She recovered her Affairs in *Sicily*; and by a Treaty of Peace, obliged the King of *Syracuse* to restore her all the Cities which she had formerly possessed. Nor was this all. As soon as she was informed of the Death of *Agathocles*, she dispatched away Ships and Troops to complete the Conquest of *Sicily*: and it was then that *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Sicilians*, abandoned the War he had begun with *Rome*. But the same Levity which brought him from *Italy*, carried him back thither, after he had driven the *Carthaginians* to the extreme Parts of *Sicily*; and his Departure recovered them from their Dejection. Then, the first Wars they had to maintain were with King *Hiero*¹⁹, who succeeded *Agathocles*, and who had a Sovereign Power in *Syracuse*. Thus

¹⁹ The History of the Reign of *Hiero* is so interwoven with the following Events, that we think it necessary to give it the Reader in this Place. He was descended, by the Father's side, from *Gelo*, who governed *Syracuse* with absolute Authority, but by the Mother's side his Extraction was much meaner. His Mother was a Slave, with whom *Hierocles*, or *Hieroclytus*, as *Justin* calls him, fell in Love. But he thought it beneath him to take any care of the Education of a Son, who was the Fruit of an unlawful Conversation with a Woman of mean Extraction; and therefore he exposed him, and left him to the Mercy of any one that would pick him up. The Child is said to have been fed some Days by a Swarm of Bees, which laid their Honey in his Mouth. The Diviners were consulted about the Prodigy, and they declared it an happy Omen, and that the Gods had destined *Hiero* to mount a Throne. Then *Hierocles* his Father, pleased with this Answer, owned him; and educated him in a manner suitable to his Birth. When he came to Man's Estate, *Hiero* distinguished himself by his Courage, and a very prudent Conduct. He made his first Campaigns under *Pyrrhus*. This King honoured him with his Esteem, and thought him worthy of the military Rewards Generals used to give to brave Men. In his first Campaigns, an Eagle perched upon his Helmet, and an Owl upon his Pike. And these two Birds, the former sacred to *Jupiter*, and the Symbol of Va-

lour, the latter sacred to *Minerva*, and the Emblem of Wisdom, seemed to confirm the first Prediction. But we cannot warrant Facts of this Nature, upon the Credit of those who probably report them, only to celebrate their Hero. After the King of *Epirus's* Departure, *Hiero* was elected *Prætor* with *Artemidorus*, by the *Syracusan* Army, contrary to the Inclination of the Inhabitants of the City. But he made himself so acceptable to the People, by his great Affability, and the Mildness of his Government, that they unanimously confirmed his Election. During his *Prætorship*, he was supported by all the Interest of *Leptinus*, a Man of great Authority in *Syracuse*, and in order to strengthen this Friendship, he had married his Daughter. He began his Government with dismissing the foreign Troops he had Reason to suspect, and keeping only Natives in his Pay; and after he had vanquished the *Mamertini*, he was chosen King of *Syracuse* by common Consent. Then all the *Sicilians* gave him the Title of their Captain-General against the *Carthaginians*, who had long been aspiring at the Conquest of the whole Island; and in this Quality, he continued the War with the *Mamertini*, who called in the *Romans* to their Assistance, and thereby gave Rise to the first *Punic* War. The other Actions of *Hiero*, and all the different Circumstances of his Life, will be mentioned in the Sequel of our History: and we shall conclude this Account of him with *Justin's* Picture of this Prince. He was very handsome

Thus the *Carthaginians* still maintained their Power in *Sicily*, and even increased it. They had likewise begun to make some Conquests in *Spain*. The Inhabitants of *Gades*, who were originally *Tyrians*, had called them in, to their Assistance; and when once the *Carthaginians* had a Footing in *Spain*, this was enough to induce them to try to make Conquests there. They soon brought the Coasts of the *Mediterranean* into Subjection; and *Sardinia* ²¹ and *Corfica* obeyed these Conquerors; but we

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handsome, says this Historian, and was a Man of a robust Constitution, and prodigious Strength. His Affability in Conversation, his Equity in the Management of Affairs, and his Moderation in the Government of his People were such, that he seemed to want nothing regal, but a Crown. *Justin's* Words are; *Pulchritudo ei corporis insignis, vires quoque in homine admirabiles fuere. In alloquiis Blandus, in negotiis justus, in imperio moderatus, prorsus, ut nihil regium deesse, præter regnum, videretur.*

²⁰ Near the Mouth of the *Bætis*, or *Guadalquivir*, twenty five Miles from *Hercules's Pillars*, or *The Streights of Gibraltar*, stood the ancient City of *Gades*, in an Island of the same Name, formerly about seven hundred geometrical Paces from the Continent, according to *Strabo*. It now has a Communication with the Continent by a Bridge. The *Tyrians*, who came from the *Red Sea*, advanced as far as this Island, which the Ancients thought the end of the World: and there they founded a Colony and City, which they called *Erythræa*; but the *Carthaginians* called it *Gadir*. *In capite Bætice*, says *Solinus*, c. 23. *ubi extremus est noti orbis terminus, Insula a Continenti septuaginta passibus separatur, quam Tyrii a Rubro profecti mari Erythræam, Pœni lingua sua Gadir, id est, Scpem, nominarunt.* The ancient Geographers thought the Name of *Gades* agreed very well with a neighbouring Island, which *Strabo* calls *Erythia*, and of which there are now no Footsteps remaining. We find the Island of *Gades* described by the Ancients, under the different Names of *Cotinussa* (which was its first Name) *Tartessus*, *The Island of Juno*, and *Aphrodisius*, or *the Island consecrated to Venus*. *Strabo* tells us, it was at least a hundred *Stadia*, that is, 12500 geometrical Paces, long; and three thousand Paces broad, in the widest part, and a thousand in the narrowest. The Inhabitants of the Island and City of *Gades*, were particularly devoted to the Worship of *Hercules Tyrius*; either because this Hero, was held in great Veneration by the People of *Tyre*, from whom those of *Gades* descended; or because he had, according to the fabulous Traditions of those Times, finished his Labours, and Conquests, in this part of *Spain*. The Temple the Inhabitants of this Island erected to this God, was famous for its Magnificence, and the Concourse of People to it, to pay their Vows, and make their Offerings there. Some think it was built upon the Point of the Island, five Miles from the City. *Saturn* also had a Temple here, as well as at *Carthage*, and *Tyre*. The Capital of this Island was afterwards called *Julia Augusta Gaditana*; and it became one of the richest *Roman Colonies*. It is now called *Cadix*. See *Pliny* B. 4. c. 22; *Stephen of Byzantium*, and *Strabo* B. 3.

²¹ *Diodorus Siculus*, *Procopius*, *Lycophron*, and *Dionysius the Geographer*, give the Island of *Corfica* the different Names of *Cursæa*, *Cerneckis*, *Corfir*, and *Siatis*. The *Greeks* called it *Cyrnos*, because *Cyrnus* the Son of *Hercules*, founded a Colony there, if we may believe *Servius*, and *Isidorus*, on this Head. *Corfica*, says *Pliny the Naturalist*, B. 3. c. 26. lies in the Sea of *Liguria*, and is called *Cyrnos* by the *Greeks*. *In Ligustico mari est Corfica, quam Græci Cyrnon appellavere.* *Eustathius* derives the Name of *Corfica* from a Woman, whom he calls *Corfa*; who, according to him, was a Herds-

Woman, whose Bull first swam over into this Island, which was till that time unknown to the *Ligures*. *Corfa*, adds he, seized a Bark, and pursued the Beatt to the Place where he stopped. But *Eustathius* ought to have considered, when he vented this Fable, that *Corfica* is sixty thousand geometrical Paces, that is, twenty Leagues from the *Italian Shore*; and that it is very improbable, a Bull should be able to swim so far. The ancient Geographers give us different Accounts of the Length and Breadth of *Corfica*. *Strabo* reckons it to be a hundred and sixty Miles long; *Ptolomy* a hundred and thirty; *Capella* a hundred and sixty; *Pliny* but sixty; and *Cluver* a hundred and twenty. Nor are they better agreed as to the Breadth of it. *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* make it seventy Miles broad; *Pliny* and *Capella* fifty; and *Orosius* no more than twenty five. But it is now reckoned to be exactly 106000 geometrical Paces long; 54000 broad, and 300000 in Circumference. The Ancients looked on it as an ungrateful and barbarous Country, on account of the Barrenness of this Island, and the Barbarity and savage Tempers of the Inhabitants. This is *Seneca's* Account of it; *Consol. ad Helvian. Saxum nudum, abruptum, fœdum, immansuetum, horridum, intemperans.* Nevertheless, *Corfica* abounded with Wax and Honey, which received a bitter Taste from the Yew-trees, which grow here in great Plenty. Which made *Virgil* say, *Eclog. 8.*

Sic tua Cynæos fugiant examina Taxos.
Ovid ascribes this Bitterness to the Hemlock, which poisoned the Island. Its Wine was thought excellent: and its Forests produced Trees of an extraordinary height. It had some Pastures, wherein good Horses were bred; but the Dogs of *Corfica* especially, were very much esteemed. *Athenæus* and *Eustathius* tell us, that the Inhabitants generally lived to a pretty advanced Age. It is said to have been first possessed by the *Ligures*. Then the *Phœci* planted a Colony there, about the 56th Olympiad, and in the Reign of *Cyrus*, according to *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*. But they were driven out of it by the *Tyrrhenians*. Afterwards it was conquered by the *Carthaginians*, who kept it till the first *Punic War*; and then they gave it up to the *Romans*, who made a Settlement there. Nevertheless, the Mountaineers, jealous of their Liberty, refused to submit to them for a great while. They cantoned themselves in their Mountains, and put the *Romans* under the Necessity of going and forcing their Trenches. And then these untractable Men preferred a voluntary Death to the Shame of submitting to the Conqueror's Will. Those who could not escape the Enemy by flight, were reduced to Slavery. And they were more remarkable than other Slaves, for a natural Stupidity, which is often mentioned to the Reproach of the *Corficans*.

Sardinia, which lies South of *Corfica*, had several different Names. The *Greeks* called it *Sardon*, and from thence the Inhabitants were called *Sardonii*. According to the Mythologists, one *Sardus*, whom they make to be the Son of *Hercules*, landed in this Island, at the Head of a Company of *Lybians*, planted Colonies there, together with another Adventurer named *Norax*, the Son of *Mercury*, incorporated those Colonies with the old Inhabitants of the Island, and gave his Name to the whole

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we know not the exact time, when they made themselves Masters of them. This was much the State of the Republick of *Carthage*, when she gave the *Romans* Umbrage. As these two Powers drew near each other by their Conquests, they became Rivals, notwithstanding the Treaties which had united them. How different were the Manners of these two Nations, which were now ready to contend for Superiority! The *Romans* professed strict Probity; the *Carthaginians* looked on Perfidiousness as a Trifle. The former acted wholly by Rules of Honour; the latter had no Guide but their Interest. The one kept their Words; the other thought Fidelity a Weakness. The *Romans* had more Rusticity in their Behaviour, but were more upright. The *Carthaginians* affected an *Asiatick* Politeness, but it was only first to deceive, and then ruin, those who lay any Stress upon it. The Senate and People of *Rome* encouraged their Generals, by honourable Rewards. The Senate and People of *Carthage* made use of no Motive to keep their *Dictators* to their Duty, but the fear of Torture and Death. Both the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* loved Liberty; but the *Carthaginians* were ready to sell it to the first Tyrant, who would purchase it; the *Romans* thought no Price could be an equivalent for it. The *Carthaginian* Republick was most formidable by Sea; the *Roman* was invincible by Land. The latter used their Cavalry to Advantage; the former armed Elephants, and artfully trained them up for Wars. Every thing was to be feared from the Bravery of the *Romans*; every thing to be suspected from the Cunning and Artifices of the *Carthaginians*. The two Nations scarce agreed in any thing, but an equal Ambition; which *Rome* was forced to discover first, upon this Occasion.

whole Country. *Sardinia* is not unlike the Mark of a Man's Foot, or the Sole of a Shoe; and to this the *Greek* Terms *Sanalotis* and *Ichnusa* allude: which are Names given this Island by many Authors, particularly by *Silius*, B. 12.

—————Terras
*Enormes cobibet nuda sub imagine plantæ,
Inde Ichnusa prius Graiis memorata Colonis.*

The ancient Geographers are divided in Opinion about the Length of *Sardinia*; but it is now agreed, that it is 17000 geometrical Paces, or about sixty Leagues long in the longest part, from South to North, that is, from *Capo Tavolaro*, to *Capo della Testa*. It is 9000 geometrical Paces, or about thirty Leagues broad, in the widest Place from East to West, that is, from *Capo Comino*, to *Capo della Caccia*. And according to the most exact Computation, it is 57000 geometrical Paces, that is, about two hundred and fifty Leagues in Circumference, at the rate of three Miles per League; so that it is very near as large as *Sicily*. There is not at most above ten or twelve Leagues Difference between them. *Herodotus*, B. 1. says, that *Sardinia* is bigger than *Sicily*. Its Fruitfulness in all sorts of Grain, made it one of the chief Places, to which the *Romans* had recourse in Times of Scarcity. *Siciliam & Sardiniam benignissimas Urbis Romanæ nutrices*, says *Valer. Max.* B. 7. c. 6. The Ancients boast much of the Excellency of its Wines and Pastures. But they all agree, that its Air was very unwholsome, especially in the Summer; and almost always speak of it, as a pestilential Place. This is the Account *Mela* gives us of it, B. 7. c. 2. *Soli, quam Cæli melioris, atque ut secunda, ita pæne pestilans*. *Cicero* gives us in one Sentence, both the Character of *Tigellius* the *Sardinian*, and the common Opinion of the Climate. *Id ego in Lucris pono, non ferre hominem pestilentiore patriâ suâ*, B. 7. Ep. 22. This Prejudice was so generally received at *Rome*, that the *Romans*, who went thither, thought they went to certain Death. And therefore this was generally the Place to which the Emperors banished Criminals, and those whom they wanted to get rid of. Among the Properties the *Naturalists* give *Sardinia*, one thing they think remarkable is, that there were never any Wolves or Serpents there, and that its

Soil never produced any venomous Herb, except a little Plant, very like *Smallage*, according to *Pausanias* in *Phocicis*, or *Balm*, according to *Isidorus*, B. 14. c. 6. The Quality of this Herb, which the Ancients call *Sardonis*, was as singular as it was pernicious. Those who accidentally had eaten of it, were seized with a mortal Disease, which produced a Contraction of the Nerves; and drew open their Mouths in such a manner, that they seemed to be Laughing. Hence the Expression *Risus Sardonicus*, to signify an ill-natured, or forced Laugh. *Pliny* and *Solinus* are of this Opinion. But others say, that the *Sardonians*, a People of *Africa*, who bordered upon the Republick of *Carthage*, gave Rise to this *Latin* Proverb. It was customary among them, say they, to cut the Throats of their Fathers and Mothers, who were seventy Years old, and sacrifice them to *Saturn*, laughing. *Solinus* mentions a Spider found in *Sardinia*, which he calls *Solifuga*, because it avoided the Sun. He says, its Bite was venomous, and often mortal. It was generally found in Silver Mines, of which there were some here, as well as Sulphur, and Allom Mines. The Inhabitants feed mostly on the Flesh of an Horn-beast, a little less than a Stag, but altogether as swift. There is great Plenty of them in the Mountains; and their Skins are applied to several Uses. The Ponds in the Island afford fine Fish; and the Sea-shore produces red Coral. *Solinus* and *Isidorus* commend the hot and mineral Waters of *Sardinia*. These were Preservatives against the Diseases produced by the ill Qualities of the Air; but the Inhabitants wanted fresh Water, for common Use: and were forced to make use of Rain-water, which they caught and kept in Pits for that Purpose. But what these two last Authors say of a certain Water here, that it had the Quality of discovering Robberies, by striking the Robbers blind, who rubbed their Eyes with it, deserves no manner of Credit. *Suidas* talks much more probably, when he commends the purple Colour that was made in *Sardinia*. This Island is divided from that of *Corfica*, only by a narrow Streight of about eight thousand geometrical Paces over; so that at a Distance, they both seem to be but one Island. This Arm of the Sea is called *Taphros* by the *Greeks*, because it is as it were a Ditch between the two Islands.

§. III. WE have already observed, that in *Pyrrhus's* time, there were three different Nations, which contended for the Government of *Sicily*; the *Syracusans*, the old Inhabitants of the Country, the *Mamertini*, originally *Italians*, and the *Carthaginians*; and these three Nations were yet at War. Each endeavoured to take Cities, sometimes by Surprise, and sometimes by Force. Whilst the City of *Rhegium* was in the Hands of the eighth *Legion*, which *Rome* had now reduced and punished, the *Mamertini* had considerably enlarged their Dominions, by the Help of their *Italian* Allies. But when these Succours failed them, *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* on one side, and the *Carthaginians* on the other, fell upon the Dominions of the *Mamertini*, seized their Towns, and scarce left them any but their Capital, which was *Messana*. Nor was this all. The Head of the *Mamertini*, named *Cios*, had lately been vanquished by *Hiero*: and being in the Battel covered with Wounds and Blood, and carried Prisoner to the Camp of the *Syracusans*; he there saw the Horse his Son had rode in the Battel. Upon this sight, *Cios* took it for granted that his dear Son was among the Dead, and resolving to live no longer, he, in a great Rage, loosened the Ligatures of his Wounds, let the Blood run, and expired. By his Death, he left the City of *Messana* without a Governor, and without Remedy; and in this Extremity, the *Mamertini* deliberated about surrendring up *Messana* to *Hiero*, with whose mild Government, and strict Honour, they were well acquainted. They said, it was better to bear the *Syracusan* Yoke, than the *Carthaginian*. They therefore prepared to surrender up their City to the Conquerors; and *Hiero* was advancing to take Possession of it, when a *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* General at that time, prevented him, by a Deceit. The cunning *African* kept some Troops concealed on the Island of ²² *Lipari*, came to meet *Hiero*, as it were to congratulate him on his Victory, and amused him, whilst he filed off his Forces towards *Messana*. Upon this, the *Mamertini* seeing their City supported with a new Reinforcement, were divided into several Opinions. Some were for accepting the Protection *Carthage* offered them; others for surrendring to the *Syracusans*; and the greatest part were for calling in the *Romans*, to the Assistance of a City, whose Inhabitants were originally *Italians*, and came from *Campania*. This Design of having recourse to *Rome*, was nothing new. The *Mamertini*, before they hazarded the last Battel with *Hiero*, had sent to desire the *Roman* Senate and People, to furnish them with a Reinforcement of Troops, to enable them to maintain their Possessions against the Invasions of their Neighbours; and the People, at the Instigation of the *Consuls*, had already consented to grant them their Request. The Senate indeed were not come to any Determination about it. These grave Magistrates had more Regard to Honour and Equity, than the People. After all, said they, the *Sicilians* are only endeavouring to recover a City, which the *Mamertini* took from them by Treachery. Does it become us to protect a Company of Villains, who, under the Pretence of an Alliance, first massacred the Inhabitants, and then seized their City, contrary to the Law of Nations? We have very justly punished the perfidious Legion, which seized *Rhegium*, by the like Violence; and shall we then countenance in some, the very same Actions, for which we have chastized others? Such were the Sentiments of the *Roman* Senate, whilst the *Mamertini* had no Enemies except the *Syracusans*. But the News which was brought to *Rome*, that the *Carthaginians* were entered into *Messana*, and offered to defend it, made the *Conscript Fathers* speak quite another Language. They perceived that *Carthage* undertook the Defence of this important City, only with a View to seize it for her self. What, said they, shall hinder the *Carthaginians* from treating the *Mamertini* with the same Perfi-

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Polybius B. 1.
and *Diod. Sic.*

Polybius B. 1.
and *Zonaras*,
B. 8. c. 8.

²² The Island of *Lipari*, formerly called *Melipotus*, is the largest of the *Æolian* Islands, of which we have spoken already. *Liparus*, who was according to some, the Predecessor, according to others, the Successor of *Æolus*, gave his Name to the Island and City of *Lipari*. It lies in the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, North of *Sicily*. The Ancients have not the same Opinion of its Soil, as *Cicero* had. He says, in his *Oration against Verres*, that it was dry and barren. *Strabo* and *Diodorus Siculus* say, it produced all the Necessaries of Life, especially Corn, and excellent Fruits: and that there were a great many *Albion* Mines here, from which the *Romans* raised a considerable Revenue, when they came to enjoy

this Island in Peace. The Soil of *Lipari* is full of Nitre, Bitumen, and Sulphur, and from hence proceed those subterraneous Fires, which sometimes burst out with great Violence, and do great Mischief in the neighbouring Places. The Springs of hot and mineral Waters, which rise in several Parts of this Island, were thought infallible Cures for several sorts of Diseases. *Aristotle*, in his *Treatise Of Prodigies*, says, that there was formerly a Sepulchre in *Lipari*, near which there was heard a humming Noise, somewhat like a confused Sound of Drums and Symbols, with loud Laughs, and clapping of Hands.

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Author of the
Lives of Il-
lustrious Men.
Zonar. B. 8.
c. 8.

dioufness, that the latter did the ancient Inhabitants? Besides, if Messana becomes Carthaginian, we shall then be very near Neighbours to this powerful Republick; and have no Barrier between us, but a Streight, which their Ships will enable them to cross, as readily as if there was a Bridge over it. This selfish Consideration, made most of the Senators forget the Regard they had hitherto shewn for rigid Probity. They came into the People's Measures, and agreed to send the Consul Appius Claudius, to attempt the Deliverance of Messana. And indeed, if the City had continued in the Power of the Carthaginians, the Mamertini could not have avoided joining with their Defenders, and assisting them first in conquering the rest of Sicily, and then in making a Descent upon Italy. Besides, there had long been a Coldness between the two Republicks. The Romans complained of the Carthaginians, for having come with a Fleet to relieve Tarentum, after the Departure of Pyrrhus. On the other hand, the Carthaginians reproached the Romans, with having received Provisions and Men from Hiero, their Enemy, during the Siege of Rhegium: So that the Minds and Affections of these Nations, were equally alienated from each other.

In the mean time, the Consul Appius Claudius continued at Rome; and sent one of his Legionary Tribunes, who was also named Claudius, to Rhegium, in his stead. He was a Man of a good Head and fearless Bravery. His first Care was to get together all the Vessels he could find, on the Coast, in order to pass over into Sicily. Nevertheless, he did not think it proper immediately to hazard the few ²³ Triremes he had, and expose them to the Insults of the Carthaginian Fleet, which infested the Streights. And therefore he set out for Messana, without any Attendants, in order to observe what passed in the City, treat with the Mamertini, and then return again with Speed, as soon as he had discovered their Dispositions. Being full of this Project, he passed through the Enemy's Fleet in a Fisher-boat, and came to Messana. He found the City possessed by the Carthaginians, who, with the Consent of some of the Inhabitants, and contrary to the Inclinations of others, set up to be the Defenders of it. Then the Tribune Claudius convened the Mamertini, in the Place, where they usually met; and the Carthaginians came to the Assembly, with the Citizens of Messana. At first Claudius laboured in vain to be heard, the Clamours of the Carthaginians drowned his Voice. But after he had paused a while, and obtained a Moment's Silence, he said; Mamertini, I come hither as a Deputy from the Romans, to offer you the Assistance you have desired. The Senate and People concur in granting it, and have nothing more in view, than to defend Messana from the Oppression with which she is threatened. We give you our Words, that we will withdraw our Forces, as soon as your

²³ The Greek and Roman Fleets consisted of two sorts of Ships. One sort almost always sailed; the other was generally rowed. The former were called Ships of Burden, *Naves Onerarie*, and were applied to the same Uses as our Transport-ships. The latter, which for their Length may be compared to our modern Gallies, supplied the Place of Men of War, and the Strength of the Sea-Armaments of the Ancients consisted in them. They received different Names, according to their Sizes and Capacity, which were both judged of by the Number of the Banks of Rowers in the Galley. Thus a Ship of War was called an *Uniremis*, *Biremis*, *Triremis*, *Quadriremis*, or *Quinqueremis*, according as it contained, one, two, three, four, or five Benches of Rowers. But generally speaking, the *Triremes* in the ancient Fleets, were more in Number than all the rest of the Ships besides. And for this Reason, the ancient Historians sometimes call all the Gallies in a Fleet *Triremes*, without determining how large they were. In this Sense, what Zonaras says of the Peace concluded between the Romans and Philip is to be understood. He observes, that one of the Conditions of the Treaty was, that the King should deliver up to the Republick, all his Elephants, and *Triremes*, except five. Among these was comprehended the chief Gallies the King had, which Zonaras tells us had sixteen Benches of Rowers. Besides, though strictly speaking, the Terms *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, *Quinqueremes*, &c. generally signified those sorts of long Boats, which

contained three, four, or five Benches of Rowers on each side, yet these Names were sometimes given to little light Barks, which were rowed only by three, four, and five Oars. Diodorus Siculus, and Polybius, call a Sloop, or Brigantine of this sort, *Σκάφον Τετρηρικόν*, or *Σκάφον Πεντηρικόν*. Plutarch, in his Life of Theseus, speaks of a *Triremis*, which could carry but five Men; and consequently could not be one of those Boats, which had three Benches of Rowers. And the same Author, in his Life of Paulus Æmilius, gives the same Name to a little Boat with three Oars. The great Difficulty is, to know in what manner the Ancients built their Gallies, and how they ranged their Benches of Rowers along the Sides of them. There are various Opinions about it: and in this Variety every one is fond of his own Hypothesis. But after all, this may be said to be one of those Points of Antiquity, which, after many Discussions, is yet a Secret; and we shall not formally treat of this Subject, on which several learned Criticks, in our Days, have exercised their Judgments, till we come to the end of the twenty eighth Book of this History. It is sufficient to observe at present, that there were three sorts of Rowers in every Galley. The *Thalamioi*, who sat on the lowest Bench; The *Zygioi*, who sat in the middle Ranks; and The *Thranitai*, who sat uppermost. [According to Sir Isaac Newton, the Corinthians began the first of any Men to build Ships with three Orders of Oars, called *Triremes*, about the Year before Christ 697. Chronol. p. 36.]

City

City and Estates are in Safety. These few Words made an Impression on their Minds; nevertheless, their Fear of the *Carthaginians*, whom they had already introduced into their City, made them give the *Tribune Claudius* such an Answer, as would have discouraged him, had he been less intrepid. *It is a great Pleasure to Messana,* replied the *Mamertini*, *to be able to spare the Romans the Trouble of assisting her. Carthage is beforehand with them, and her Protection is sufficient for us: So that you may withdraw, if you have no other Proposal to make. Every free City has a Right to call in whom she pleases to her Defence. A free City!* replied *Claudius* briskly, *Are you then in Possession of your Liberty? What do I see here, but foreign Arms? Does not Carthage make you already begin to feel the Weight of that eternal Slavery with which she threatens you? Answer me, if you dare.* Upon these Words, the *Mamertini* held their Peace for fear of the *Carthaginians*, and the *Carthaginians* were struck dumb, with the Force of Truth: and the able Roman took Advantage of this general Silence. *You Carthaginians,* said he, *are dumb, out of a Consciousness of your Injustice; and you Mamertini, as secretly consenting to what I say. If the one did not see themselves unmasked, would they be ashamed to speak? Or would the others, if they durst speak their Sentiments freely, reject my Offers? Would you dissemble, Mamertini, if your Mouths were not stopped? I make no doubt, but you would have me understand your Silence, as a Consent to my Proposal.* Upon these Words, a Murmur arose among the *Mamertini*, and the *Tribune Claudius* took it for granted, that he understood their Meaning: So that he left *Messana*, without further Delay, and returned to *Rhegium*. The Roman Senate, upon his Report, judged that the *Mamertini* were disposed to receive Succours from *Rome*, and ordered the same *Tribune* to set sail, and steer with the Roman Fleet to *Messana*. But how weak was this Fleet, in Comparison of the naval Armament the *Carthaginians* had brought into the *Streights*! How ignorant²⁴ were the Romans at that time of Sea-affairs! Nevertheless, the *Tribune Claudius* had the Boldness to weigh Anchor, and dare all Danger. The Romans were by no means an equal Match for

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²⁴ According to *Polybius* B. 1. the Romans were utter Strangers to naval Affairs, and knew nothing of the Art of building Ships, before the first *Punic* War. He says, that *Sicily* was the first Ground they landed on, out of *Italy*; and that they were then so utterly unprovided with Ships, and all things necessary for Navigation, that in order to be able to relieve the *Mamertini*, they had recourse to the Inhabitants of *Tarentum*, *Locris*, and *Naples*, for Shipping. Till at length, adds he, a *Carthaginian* Galley, which was taken by the Romans, served them for a Model, and they built by it a Fleet of an hundred *Quinqueremes*, and twenty *Triremes*: and *Polybius* confesses, that he thought the Equipment of this Fleet a kind of Prodigy, which he could not enough admire; and which alone, made him resolve to write the History of the first *Punic* War. Indeed, the Ships of the Roman Fleet, which opposed the *Carthaginians*, were not very regularly built; all the Roman Historians acknowledge it. Nay, they tell us, that in the War between the Republick and *Antiochus*, the Romans knew very little of the Art of building and working Gallies.

Nevertheless *Polybius* says too much, when he affirms, that the Romans had had no Ships at Sea, before the first *Punic* War. It is indeed no very easy Matter to reconcile him with himself, as to this Subject, when, B. 3. he speaks of the Treaties concluded between the Republicks of *Rome* and *Carthage*. In the first of these, which was concluded almost immediately after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, the Romans engaged for themselves, and their Allies, that they would not sail beyond the Cape which covered *Carthage* to the North, and was called *The Fair Promontory*; unless a Tempest, or pursuing Enemy, obliged them to pass those Bounds. There are particular Clauses in this first Treaty, relating to their Trade in *Africa*, *Sardinia*, and a part of *Sicily*, which was then subject to the *Carthaginians*. The principal Articles of the Treaty relate to the naval Forces of the two Nations.

This appears from *Polybius*'s own Interpretation of the Terms of the Treaty. He shews, that *Carthage* had no other view in denying the Roman Gallies Entrance into her Ports, but to guard against Hostilities from without, and against the Enterprises *Rome* might undertake, to the Prejudice of the *Carthaginian* State. In the second Treaty, concluded between the two Republicks, in the Year of *Rome* 405, when *Marcus Popilius*, and *Marcus Valerius* were Consuls, the Romans were permitted to bring their Ships, and to trade beyond *The Fair Promontory*, to the Coasts of *Utica*, and *Carthage*, and even to *Tyre*. On the other hand, the Romans engaged not to offer any Injury to the Countries subject to *Carthage*, where they should be obliged to put in, for fresh Water and Provisions. These Precautions, on the side of the *Carthaginians*, manifestly suppose, that the Romans had Ships for Cruising and Commerce at that time. The War which *Pyrrhus* carried on in *Italy*, laid the Foundation of a third Treaty: by which it appears, that the Romans, wholly intent on extending their Conquests in *Italy*, laid aside all care of naval Affairs. Indeed, the *Carthaginians* obliged themselves to furnish the Roman Republick with as many Ships as she should want, either for naval Expeditions, or for Voyages. And besides these Arguments, which are drawn from *Polybius* himself, against his own Assertion, the Historians tell us, that after the Consul *Manius* had ruined the Port of *Antium*, he made himself Master of the Fleet there, which consisted of twenty two Gallies: and they add, that the Conqueror carried a part of this Fleet to *Rome*, where it was laid up in the Place appointed for building Ships. It is therefore past doubt, that the Republick did not then entirely neglect Sea-Affairs.

Lastly, It is a Fact acknowledged by the Ancients, that before the Romans declared War with the *Tarentini*, they had a Fleet at Sea, of ten Ships decked and armed. And they obliged themselves

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for the *Carthaginians*, at Sea. These, besides the great Number of Ships they had, understood the Art of working them. So that *Claudius* being attacked by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* Admiral in the *Streights*, he had both the Experience of his Enemies, and the Winds and Waves to contend with. A Storm arose, which the *Carthaginians*, who were used to the Sea, knew how to turn to Advantage. But the *Romans*, affrighted to see themselves struggling with an Element they were not much used to, lost all their Courage. Some of their Ships were taken by the Enemy, others beaten in pieces by the Violence of the Waves. In short, *Claudius* was forced to return to *Rhegium*, after a considerable Loss.

§. IV. NEVERTHELESS, the *Romans* did not think this Check so fatal a Prognostick, as to be discouraged by it. They were sensible, that if their Attempt at Sea had succeeded, it must have been merely by Accident. They did not expect to learn the Art of Navigation, without paying dearly for it. But they hoped, that Constancy, and continual Exercise, would soon put them upon an equal Foot with their Enemies. The *Tribune Claudius* was very busy in refitting his Fleet, when he saw out at Sea, the Ships, which the *Carthaginian* Admiral had taken, and which he was conducting back to the *Roman* Ports. This was an artful Present, made by an Enemy, either to pique the *Roman* Republick in point of Honour, or to divert her from sending Succours to *Messana*, or at least, to lay all the Blame of a Rupture upon her. And indeed, when *Hanno's* Deputy restored the *Romans* their Ships, he reproached them with having first infringed the Treaties; and pretended, that the *Streights* had a great while belonged to *Carthage*. This therefore made *Claudius* reject the Present with the more Indignation, and carry on the Designs of the *Romans* with more Vigour. He then saw more plainly than ever, of what Importance it was to drive the *Carthaginians* from *Messana*. The Empire they already usurped over the *Streights*, seemed to threaten terrible Consequences: and he therefore resolved to leave nothing undone, that could contribute to force out of the Neighbourhood of *Rome* these proud Enemies, who covered their unjust Claims, with a Shew of peaceful Dispositions. He studied the Sea, observed the Winds and Season proper for his Departure, and at length put to Sea again. In the mean time, *Hanno's* Deputy had declared to the *Romans*, that *Carthage* would not suffer them so much as to wash their Hands in the *Streights*. However, the brave *Claudius* timed his Enterprize so well, that he passed safely with his Squadron, and arrived at the Port of *Messana*, having eluded the Vigilance of the *Carthaginians*. *Hanno*, instead of being Admiral of the Fleet, was now become the Commander of the Land Forces, which had got into *Messana*; and upon the Arrival of the *Romans*, he abandoned the City to them, and retired into the Citadel. As soon as the *Tribune Claudius* was landed, he demanded of the *Mamertini*, to assemble in Council, and call *Hanno* to it. It was not without Difficulty, that the *Carthaginian* could be drawn out of his Citadel; for he was afraid of the Ill-will of the *Messanians*. But he was more afraid of alienating them from him, by his Distrust, and therefore appeared in the Assembly. Then *Claudius*, who no longer appeared only as an Envoy, but was backed with some brave *Legionaries*, gained the Ascendant over the *Carthaginian*. They mutually reproached each other, and came at last to hard Words. Till at length the *Tribune* being provoked, ordered his Soldiers to seize *Hanno*, and kept him Prisoner. The *Mamertini* applauded the Resolution of the *Roman*; and *Claudius* made a good use of this Declaration in his Favour. He at length, by Menaces, and Persuasions, prevailed on the *Carthaginian* Commander, to surrender up the Citadel to him, and evacuate the City. A piece of Cowardice, which cost the unfortunate *Hanno* dear! The *Carthaginians* used to punish their Generals for dangerous Enterprizes, though the Success of them had been good; and therefore did not spare a Commander, who had suffered himself to be outwitted at Sea, imprisoned at Land, and deprived of a Citadel, in which he might have defended himself. He was crucified.

*Polyb. B. 1.
c. 11.*

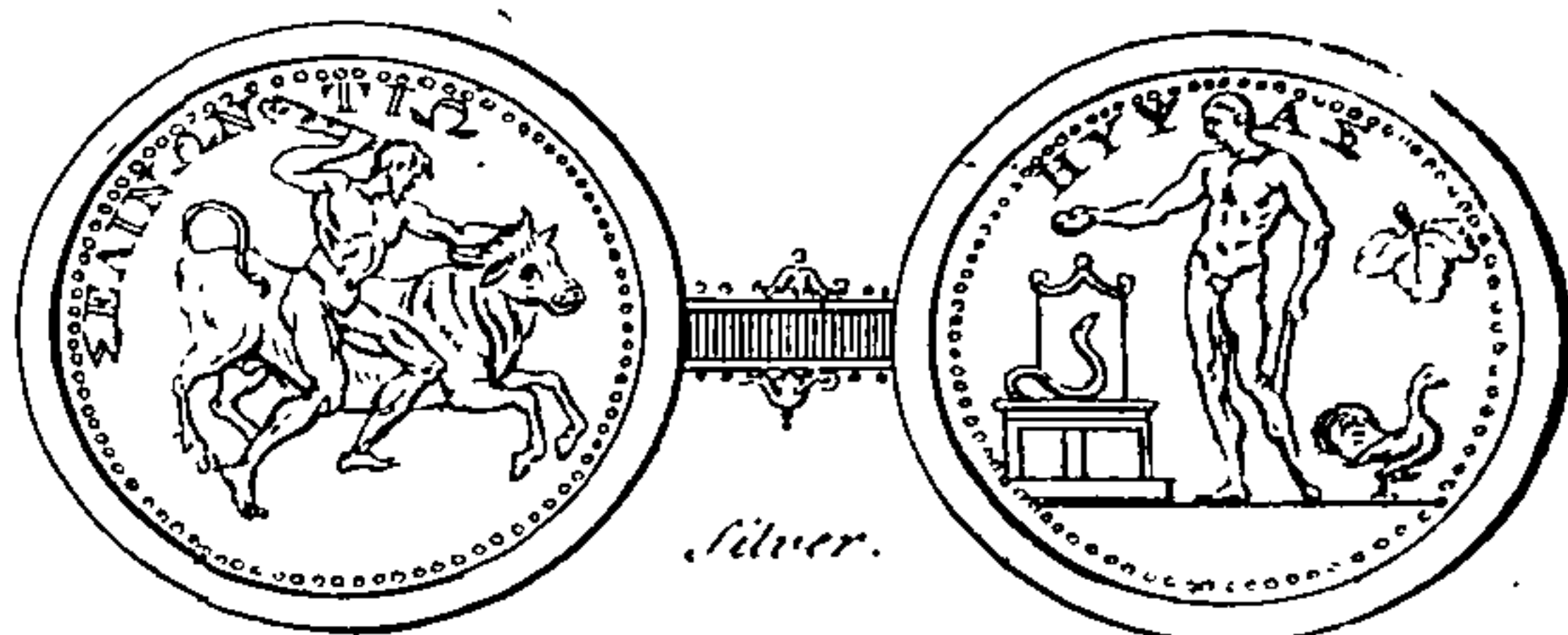
*Val. Max. B.
2. c. 7. Ext. 1*

by a Treaty concluded with the *Tarentini*, not to sail beyond *The Lacinian Promontory*, which was near *The Gulph of Tarentum*. It is likewise no less certain, that in the Year of *Rome* 442, the *Roman* People committed the Care of their Trade and Navigation, to two Magistrates called *Duumviri*, whose Office was confined to the Inspection and repairing of their Fleets. It is therefore false, that

the *Romans* did not begin to have any Ships till about the time of the first *Punic* War. But it may be said, in Justification of *Polybius*, that the *Roman* Republick being wholly intent upon reducing the neighbouring States, did not give her self the Trouble to breed up Persons in the Knowledge of naval Architecture, and Sea-affairs, till that time.

§. V. Thus,

§. V. THUS by the prudent Conduct of the *Tribune Claudius*, the *Romans* were Year of
now become the Defenders of *Messana*, which two Enemies were preparing to at- R O M E
tack. *Hiero* had looked on it as a sure Conquest, after the Victory he had gained CCCCLXXXIX.
over the *Mamertini*; but being too weak alone to lay Siege himself to a City which APP. CLAU-
was defended by two warlike Nations, he joined the *Carthaginians*. Thus two Fac- DIUS CAU-
tions in *Sicily* united together for the first time, in order to destroy a third. But DEX, M. FUL-
the latter being defended by a fourth, which appeared all on a sudden, in the Dis- VIUS FLACCUS,
pute, was the strongest, for some time; and it was at last enslaved by its Defenders. Consuls.
Carthage had been too much enraged by the *Romans*, to suffer them to continue in Polybius B. 1.
peaceable Possession of *Messana*; and therefore raised both Sea and Land Forces, C. 11.
gave the Command of them to another *Hanno*, the Son of *Hannibal*, and sent him Died. in Ec.
to *Sicily* with them. This new *Carthaginian* Fleet put in at *Lilybæum*, and there the
Land-Forces came on Shore, and marched to ²⁵ *Selinus*, where they encamped. In
the mean time their General went to *Agrigentum*, ordered it to be fortified, and upon
his return to his Camp, found *Hiero's* Envoys; who brought him Word, that the
Syracusans would join with him in besieging *Messana*, and driving out the Barbarians,
meaning the *Romans*. There the Treaty between *Syracuse* and *Carthage* was ra-
tified: but nevertheless, *Hanno* observed some Formalities, before he entered upon
Action. He sent an Herald to the *Romans*, to summons them to leave *Sicily*, and
surrender up *Messana* to him, if they would keep the ancient Treaties: and *Claudius's*
Answer was such as best suited with the Interests of *Rome*. The *Carthaginian* and
Syracusan Armies therefore joined, and came and invested *Messana*. The *Carthagi-*
mans posted themselves near *Cape Pelorus*, and lined the Coast, whilst *Hiero* with



²⁵ *Selinus* was formerly one of the most confi-
derable Cities in *Sicily*. *Ptolomy* places it between
Lilybæum, and the River *Mazara*. But herein he
differs from the Historians, who place it between
two Rivers; the *Mazara*, and the River anciently
called *Hypsa* (now the *Belici Sinister*, to distinguish
it from the *Belici Dexter*) which was the Name
the Ancients gave the River *Crinifus*. *Strabo*, B. 6.
and *Thucydides*, B. 7. say, that *Selinus* was founded
by a Colony of *Megarenses*, who came from *Me-*
gara, a City in *Achaia*, to *Hybla* in *Sicily*, where
they had settled, and had given this last City the
Name of their Metropolis. An hundred Years
after, a Swarm of the Inhabitants of the new *Me-*
gara, founded *Selinus*, under the Command of
Pamphilus. And the Greek Historian alludes to the
Origin of the *Selinuntii*, when he calls them *Seli-*
nuntii Megarenses. They had great Quarrels with
the People of *Segesta*, about their Frontiers: and
at length came to an open War with them. The
Segestani had recourse to *Hannibal*, (the Son of
Gisco) who was then at the Head of an Army of
a hundred thousand Men. The *Carthaginian* was
fond of revenging the Insults the *Selinuntii* had of-
fered his Father, when he was banished from *Car-*
thage, and had taken Refuge in *Selinus*, where hav-
ing been despised, and abandoned by the Inhabitants,
he had perished with Want. *Selinus* not being able
to hold out against so formidable an Army, was
taken and razed. Most of the *Citizens* were inhu-
manly massacred, without Regard to Sex or Age.
Some time after, *Hermocrates* the Father-in-law of
old *Dionysius*, having been expelled *Syracuse*, joined

the Remains of the *Selinuntii*, who had escaped
the Fury of the *Carthaginian*, and repaired the Ru-
ins of their City, which was yet subsisting in the
second *Punic* War. It was of Service to *Mar-*
cellus in the Siege of *Syracuse*: But in *Strabo's*
time, it was entirely deserted. *Diogenes Laertius*
says, that there was a muddy Marsh near *Selinus*,
from whose nasty and stagnating Waters such ma-
lignant Vapours were exhaled, as infected the whole
Neighbourhood; and the contagious Distemper
they produced, carried off great Numbers of the
Inhabitants every Year. *Empedocles* therefore, that
he might effectually remedy this Evil, turned the
Streams of the two Rivers *Selinus* and *Hypsa* into
the Marsh, and by that means carried off these
poisonous Waters. And the same Author adds,
that the *Citizens*, in Gratitude for so great a Be-
nefit, ordered divine Honours to be paid *Empedocles*,
and at the same time commanded Sacrifices to be
offered up to *Aesculapius*. On the reverse of a
Medal, which bears the Name of *Selinus*, we see
a Man sacrificing to this God, probably by Way
of Thanksgiving, for having put a Stop to the Con-
tagion. The Serpent on the Medal, is the Symbol
of the God of Health. The Branch of *Smallage*
alludes to the River which waters the City of *Se-*
linus. Geographers say, that great Quantities of
this Herb, called by the *Greeks* *Σάλλα*, were found
on the Banks of this River. Hence the Name of
the City and River, which is supposed to be the
present *Madiuni*. As for the City, it is supposed
to have stood in the Place, now called by the Na-
tives, *Terra delli Pulci*.

Year of his Troops blocked up the City on the Land-side, and encamped round Mount *ROME* ²⁶ *Chalcis*: So that *Messana* was surrounded on all sides, and no Provisions or Succours could be conveyed into it, either by Sea, or Land.

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APP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX, M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Consuls.
Zonar. B. 8. c. 9.

Diod. Sic. in Eclog.

HITHERTO, the *Consul Appius* had not appeared in this Dispute. All the Steps towards this new War had been taken by one of the *Tribunes* of his Army, whose Proceedings might have been disowned, if the *Carthaginians* had acted reasonably. But a monstrous Act of Cruelty, of which they were then guilty, determined *Rome* to keep no Measures with them. As soon as the *Tribune Claudius* had refused to quit *Messana*, the General *Hanno* ordered all the *Italians*, who served in his Army, to be massacred. *Carthage* was indeed a trading City, and rich enough to hire Mercenaries in foreign Nations; but she bred few Soldiers her self. The whole Strength of her Armies consisted in the Volunteers, which came into her Service from the different Nations on the Sea-coasts. They consisted of *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Greeks*. As for the *Carthaginians* themselves, they were indeed at all Expences, but did not hazard their own Lives in War: and the Murder of these unfortunate *Italians*, was a plain Indication of their Fury. *Appius* set out from *Rome* on the first News of it, and came to *Rhegium*. He first proceeded in an honourable Way, by sending Deputies to King *Hiero*, who conjured him, by his ancient Friendship to the *Romans*, not to persist in the Siege of *Messana*, which alone would create a Quarrel, the Consequences of which were not easily to be foreseen. But as worthy a Prince as *Hiero* was, he did not receive the Respect which the *Consul* paid him in an handsome manner; he broke out into Invectives against the Ingratitude of a Republick, which he had assisted in her Distress. *It is surprising*, said he, *that the Carthaginians and I should find those very Romans our Enemies, who are bound to us, by the most inviolable Treaties. But what Alliances have you entered into with the Mamertini? or what Services have they ever done you? And what are the People whom you undertake to defend? They came indeed originally from a Country bordering upon yours; but what Honour do these Traitors do it? They have surprized Messana, as one of your Legions, whom you have punished, did Rhegium. You condemned one for the very same Things, which you defend in the others. What is become of that Equity, to which you so ostentatiously pretended? But what am I saying? or why do I equal the Crimes of the Usurpers of Rhegium, to the Villanies of the Tyrants of Messana? These have very lately razed both Gela and Camarina, two Cities* ²⁷, *which I had taken under my Protection. You thought your selves obliged to take Vengeance for the Reproach a rebellious Legion brought upon*



Silver.

²⁶ There was a Chain of Mountains which reached from the Territory of *Taurominium*, or *Tauromenium*, and was called by the Ancients *Pelorias*, *Peloris*, and *Pelorus*; and as *Solinus* observes, c. 11. it was also called *Mons Neptunus*, or *Mount Neptunus*, from a famous Temple built in honour to that God, not far from it. And the same Author adds, that there was a Tower on the Top of the *Peloris*, from whence you had a view of the *Adriatic* and *Tuscan Seas*. *Mount Chalcis*, or *Mons Chalcidicus*, which the Ancients also call *Senes*, and *Eunes*, either was the same Mountain as the *Peloris*, or at least a part of it. A Colony of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*, the Capital of *Euboea*, gave it this Name, when they settled at *Messana*.

²⁷ The City of *Gela* was one of the most ancient and most considerable Cities in *Sicily*. *Thucydides* tells us, it was founded forty five Years after *Syracuse*, by one *Antiphemus*, who had made a Descent on the Island. He was followed by a Colony of two hundred of the Inhabitants of *Lyndus*, a City which belonged to the *Rhodians*: and they gave their own Name to their new Settlement; which they founded jointly with one *Entimus* of *Crete*, who was at the Head of a Body of *Cretans*, who were lately landed on the Island. These joining the *Lyndians*, built their City together, and became but one People. The City afterwards changed its Name, for that of the River *Gela*, which watered its Territory. Nevertheless it preserved the

upon you in Rhegium; and I sent you very seasonable Succours, to assist you in putting it in Execution. Could I then expect to see the Punishments, which Villains of the same kind have deserved, suspended, and prevented by those very Men, who should have assisted in exterminating them? The Events of War are indeed uncertain; but should I in this prove unsuccessful, the whole World will at least agree, that though the Ambition and Strength of the Romans prospered, yet Hiero fell in a very just, and honourable Cause.

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It can scarce be doubted, but all these were the real Sentiments of the King of Syracuse. It was well known, that his Integrity was his only Motive to take up Arms against the Mamertini. But after all, he deserved the Enmity of the Romans, by joining with the Carthaginians. He did not see through the Intentions of his new Allies. Their Design in seizing Messana, was only thereby to pave the Way, first for the Conquest of Sicily, and then for that of Italy: So that the Consul Appianus was little affected with the Report that was made him of King Hiero's Discourse. He waited to receive his Answer, in Rhegium; and as soon as he found him determined to carry on the Siege of Messana, he also resolved to sail thither in Person, but dissembled his Design. He knew there were many Strangers in Rhegium, who watched him: and lest therefore they should inform the Enemy of the Steps he took, he spread a Report, That he would not go to Sicily; and That it was not in his Power to declare War with Hiero, without fresh Orders from the Roman People. This News spread, and upon it, the Carthaginian Fleet left off watching the Streights. And indeed, after the Consul had ordered his Troops to repair to several Ports in Italy, he went on board a bad Galley, hastily and unskilfully built, and then pretended only to coast along the Shore, in order to return to Rome. But as soon as he was out of sight, he tacked about; and being favoured by a dark Night, reached the nearest Shore in the Island, and landed his Troops in Sicily, without being perceived by the Enemy, either by Sea, or Land. A bold Enterprize, at a time, when the Romans were making their first Essays in maritime Affairs! And the Romans thought it so fine an Action, that they from thence gave the Consul Claudius the Surname of Caudex, a Latin Term, which then signified a Boat ill-built, of Planks irregularly disposed, and hastily joined together. The Success of the Descent raised Caudex's Courage; and he advanced with his Legions to surprise Hiero, who blocked up Messana, on the side of Mount Chalcis. The King of Syracuse was forced to give Battel, and the Roman Cavalry were put into Disorder, upon the first Onset; but the Legions fought with so much Bravery, that it was not possible to break through them. Hiero's Troops gave Way, and the King himself being obliged to leave open a Passage for the Conquerors to go into the City, retired to his own Camp with Loss. The Consul ordered the Dead to be rifled, was delighted with gaining the first Victory the Romans ever obtained out of their Continent, and entered triumphantly into Messana. The Mamertini received him with all the Joy of Men, who now hoped to be delivered from a Siege, which began to straiten them. Nor were their Expectations vain. Hiero could not continue any longer before the Place, after his first Over-

Frontin. Stra-
tag. B. 1. c.
4.

Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 9.

Senec. de Bre-
vit. vitæ.

the Memory of its Origin, on most of the Medals struck in it, which bear the Image of *The Minotaur of Crete*. This City is thought to have stood on the South-side of Sicily, on the Coast which looks towards Africa, at the Mouth of the River Gela, where *Terra Nuova* now is. The River is now called, in the Language of the Natives, *Fiume di terra Nuova*. Others place the City near *Alitane*.

Camarina was formerly one of the most wealthy Cities in Sicily. It stood on the South Coast, between the Rivers *Camarana*, and *Frascolari*, or *Frascolani*, which the old Geographers call *Oanus*. This is the Situation given it by *Pliny*, and most Authors, except *Ptolemy*, who places it ten Miles from the Sea. Nothing now remains of this City, but some Ruins, and the Name of *Camarana*, which has been transferred to a Tower which the Natives call *Torre de Camarana*. *Thucydides*, *Martian of Heraclea*, and *Strabo*, say, that the *Syracusani* founded it; and afterwards subdued it, and razed it. But it was rebuilt by *Hypocrates* the Ty-

rant of *Gela*; and after that, underwent several Revolutions, till it was at last brought into Subjection to Rome, in the first *Punic War*. Near this City there was a Marsh, which corrupted the Air, and produced contagious Distempers, by its stinking Exhalations: So that though it was a Defence to the City, the Inhabitants dried it up, contrary to the Direction of an Oracle they had consulted. But they had scarce finished their Enterprize, before the *Syracusani* came, and without any Resistance, laid Siege to it on that side. They attacked it; took it by Assault; and utterly destroyed it. Hence the Proverb *Camarinam ne Moveas*, founded on the Answer of the Oracle, which was expressed in those Terms. The meaning of the Proverb, which we take from the *Greek Anthologium*, is, that it is foolish, to run a very great Hazard to avoid a very little Trouble. The Marsh was the same which is now called *Lago di Camarana*. The River *Hyparis*, which ran near *Camarina*, is now called *Fiume de Camarana*.

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and Sil. Italic.
B. 6.

throw. He owned, that the *Romans* attacked him, before he dreamt of Fighting; and he therefore thought himself betrayed by the *Carthaginians*. *This perfidious Nation*, said he, *have been wrought upon by the Romans*. Would a Consul have ventured to transport his Legions to our Coasts, if the Streights had been well guarded by the *Carthaginian Fleet*? There is nothing that I have not Reason to fear. Being therefore full of this false Persuasion, he gave Way to his Distrusts, decamped hastily in the Night, and returned to *Syracuse*.

§. VI. THE Consul *Appius* had now one Enemy less before *Messana*. His good Fortune made him enterprising; and the Courage of his Troops extricated him with Honour, from an Enterprize which was rashly undertaken. The *Carthaginian* General had encamped very advantageously; his Entrenchments were inaccessible. The Sea guarded them on one side, and two deep Marshes, made by the overflowing of the Sea, defended them on the other. Between the two Marshes, there was a narrow Road, which the *Carthaginians* had made utterly unpassable, by stopping it up with a Wall. From thence the Enemy, drawn up in Battalia on a steep Rock, could throw their Darts among the Assailants, as from a Citadel. And this was the Post which *Appius* would have taken from the Enemy. He refreshed his Soldiers before Day, and at Day-break appeared before the Camp, which he was coming to force. Could the *Romans* have joined the Enemy, and come to a close fight with them, their Victory had been certain; but what could they do against a greater Number, defended both by Art and Nature? The Consul was obliged to withdraw his *Legions*, and return towards *Messana*, after a pretty considerable Loss; and his Retreat was taken for a Flight. Then the *Carthaginians*, as rash in their Turn, marched out of their Entrenchments, and pursued the *Romans*, into the middle of the Plain. And there *Appius* had his Revenge. As soon as the *Legions* could engage in the open Field, they strenuously pushed their Enemies, whose Fortune changed, with the Place of Battel; and the Victory declared for the *Romans*. The Numbers of slain in *Hanno's* Army were considerable, and the Rout universal. Some of those who escaped Death, disbanded themselves, and fled to the neighbouring Cities for Refuge. The rest, who were few in Number, returned to the Camp, and neither ventured to appear in the Plain, or carry on the Siege, as long as the Consul continued in *Sicily*. And *Appius*, on the other hand, made no farther Attempts on an impregnable Rock. But he over-ran the Lands of the *Syracusans* like a Torrent, pillaged, and laid waste all Places, wherever he came, and made some Attempts on the City of *Syracuse* itself. And then *Hiero* became more tractable. The Consul indeed, in a great Emergency, made some Advances towards the King, in order to bring him to a Peace; and the good King understood his true Interest, and thought an Alliance with *Rome* would be more solid, than one with *Carthage*. Besides, several *Syracusans* sometimes talked with the *Romans*, and their Conversations turned upon the mutual Advantages they should reap, by renewing the good Understanding there formerly was between the two Nations. And it had then been done, if the King of *Syracuse* would have taken it upon him, to gain his People's Consent. However, the Consul, after he had spent a Year very gloriously, partly in Battels, and partly in Negotiations, returned to *Messana*, from thence to *Rhegium*, and from thence to *Rome*. But we cannot affirm, upon the Credit of one single Historian, and a Poet, that he received the Honours of a Triumph for his *Sicilian Expedition*. The *Triumphal Tables* say nothing of it; and it is certain, that the *Tribune Claudius* shared at least the Glory of this fine 2^d Campaign.

28 The *Fasti Capitolini* have perpetuated the Memory of the Triumph, the Republick granted *Fulvius Flaccus*, the Collegue of *Appius Claudius*, in his Consulship in the Year 489. He received this Honour on *The Calends of November*, that is, the first Day of that Month. *Zonaras* therefore is right, when he says, that *Q. Fabius Gurges* did not put an end to the Expedition of the *Romans* against the *Freedmen of Volsinii*. *Fulvius* alone had the Honour of finishing it, and reducing the Rebels. The Testimony of these ancient Authors is an unan-

swerable Proof against the Opinion of the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, who ascribes the whole Management of this Enterprize, to one *Decius Mus*. *Iustus* says, that the Triumphs of *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *L. Papirius Cursor*, were painted on the Walls of the Temple of *Vertumnus*; and that this Painting continued to his Time. He appeals to this Monument to prove, that the Robes of the triumphant Victors were only bordered with Purple, and not wrought with Gold, as was customary after this time.

§. VII. Thus the first Expedition of the *Romans* beyond Sea, was crowned with Victories: and the Work was too happily begun to be left unfinished. As soon as the two new *Consuls*, *Manius* ²⁹ *Valerius Flaccus*, and *Manius Otacilius Crassus* were chosen, the Republick ordered them to transport into *Sicily* two *Consular* Armies, consisting each of two *Legions*; that is, of eight thousand *Legionaries*, and a great Number of Auxiliaries, exclusive of the *Roman* Horse, which were but twelve hundred in each Army. But the Cavalry of the Allies was more numerous. The Way was now open into *Sicily*, and the two *Consuls* landed there, without any Opposition, on the part of the *Carthaginian* Fleet. This is one of those fortunate Enterprises of the *Romans*, which we cannot too much admire. Though little acquainted with naval Affairs, they embarked the Flower of their Youth, on borrowed Vessels, gathered together from the several Ports of *Italy*, and were not afraid to expose them to the Hazards of the Sea, where their Enemies were stronger than they. But their good Fortune carried them safe to *Sicily*, and made them victorious there. After they were landed, the two *Consuls* separated from one another; *Valerius* undertook to deliver *Messana* from the Siege, which the *Carthaginians* obstinately carried on, in the advantageous Post they possessed; and it is not to be doubted, but their Defeat signalized *Valerius's* first Expedition. Though the Historians don't affirm it, we may infer it from the Surname of *Messala*, which the *Consul* ever bore, after this time, and in which his Posterity gloried. Would this Title have been continued in his Branch of his Family, if it had not been founded in some great Action? Indeed, *Valerius* acquired the Appellation of *Messana* from the Name of the City he had defended; and afterwards, either for Softness of Sound, or by Corruption, this Name was changed into that of *Messala*: but it was not given him for having taken the City, as some Authors have imagined. The *Romans* had entered it the Year before, and now defended it. *Valerius*, by some signal Action, drove away the Enemy which besieged *Messana*, and from thence he had that glorious Name. The Deliverer of a City, was looked on as the Conqueror of it.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXC.
MANIUS VA-
LERIUS FLAC-
CUS, MANIUS
OTACILIUS
CRASSUS,
Consuls.

*Seneca de
Brev. vitæ.*

*Macrob. B. 1.
Saturn.*

*Diod. Sic. in
Excerpt*

On the other Hand, the *Consul Otacilius* spread Terror in the Heart of *Sicily*. He advanced to the Foot of Mount *Ætna* ³⁰: And all the Cities in this fine Country either surrendered to the *Romans*, or were taken by force. After the Surrender of ³¹ *Adranum*, and ³² *Centuripe*, the *Alæsani* ³³ came, and voluntarily submitted to the Conquerors. After this, the two *Consular* Armies sometimes joined to fight the united *Carthaginians* and *Syracusans*, and sometimes separated, to extend their Conquests the farther. The Enemies were vanquished wherever they came; and as

²⁹ The *Capitoline Marbles* were our Guides in rectifying the *Prænomina* of the two *Consuls* for the Year 490. They were altered in *Eutropius*, *Cassiodorus*, *Pliny*, and several *Latin* Historians. *Marianus* and *Cassiodorus* don't distinguish them by their Surnames.

³⁰ Mount *Ætna*, or Mount *Gibel* commands all that Coast, upon which the Territory of *Catana* lies. It is said to be near three Leagues high, and seventeen round. How fatal this Mountain has proved to *Sicily*, is well known. The Torrents of Fire and Ashes it vomits out, have more than once destroyed the Cities and Fields in its Neighbourhood. The Fires which are continually burning in the Bowels of it, have given the Poets occasion to feign, that its Mouths are so many Vent-holes of Hell. Here they placed the Forges of the *Cyclopes*, under the Direction of *Vulcan*, and the Prison of the Giants who rebelled against *Jupiter*: and the People soon took these Fictions for Truths, and looked on Mount *Ætna*, as the Residence of *Vulcan*, and the Seat of his Empire. Upon this Supposition they erected a Temple to him near it; which Temple *Ælian* mentions *B. 11. de Animalibus*. The Trees round it were consecrated by Religion, and a perpetual Fire was kept in it, as well as in the Temple of *Vesta*; because this Element was the Symbol of this God, by whom the Pagans often meant the Element of Fire itself.

³¹ *Adranum*, now *Aderno*, stood at the Foot of Mount *Ætna*, on a River, now called *Fiume d'Aderno*. This City was built, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, by *Dionysius the Elder*, the Tyrant of

Syracuse. It was famous for the Temple of *Adranus*, the Tutelary God of *Sicily*. The People of the Island, and Foreigners crowded thither, to make their Offerings at it. What *Ælian* says of the Mastiffs which were kept here, to the Number of a thousand, ought to be esteemed fabulous. He affirms, that these Dogs had a particular Instinct, of caressing those who came to enrich the Temple with their Presents; of conducting drunken Persons home in the Night; and of falling furiously upon Thieves, and tearing them in pieces.

³² *Centuripe*, formerly one of the richest Cities in *Sicily*, is now only a small Town, called by the Natives *Centorbe*. *Strabo* says, it stood at the Foot of Mount *Ætna*, near *Catana*, not far from the River *Simæthus*, which the *Sicilians* call *Da Jaresta*. It gloried in being the Birth-place of *Celsus* the Physician.

³³ The *Alæsani* inhabited an ancient City in *Sicily*, which the Historians call *Alæsa*. It stood, as *Fazellus* conjectures, near the Place where the City of *Caronia* now stands, on the River *Alæsus*, or *Fiume di Casonia*. *Alæsa* gave its own Name to a neighbouring Fountain, which *Solinus* says, had a very singular Quality; but it has much the Air of a Fable. He assures us, that at the Sound of a Flute, the Waters of it would bubble up, and swell, and overflow its Basin. *In Halesina regione sons alias quietus, & tranquillus, quum siletur; si insonent tibiæ, exultabundus ad cantus elevatur, & quasi miretur dulcedinem vocis, ultra margines intumescit.* Cap. xi.

Year of ROM E CCCCXC. MANIUS VALERIUS FLAC- CUS, MANIUS ORACILIUS CRASSUS, Consuls.

they took both the Cities under the Dominion of the *Syracusans*, and those subject to the *Carthaginians*, without Distinction, the *Romans* had, in a few Months time, subdued sixty seven Places : Of which Number were ³⁴ *Tauromenium*, and ³⁵ *Catana*, two Cities of Importance. As no part of the World was more fruitful than *Sicily*, so none was better peopled, or abounded more with Cities and Towns. And as the *Romans* drew great Reinforcements from these new Conquests, their Armies were exceedingly encreased. Infomuch, that they thought themselves able to undertake the Siege of *Syracuse*, the Capital of the Island, and one of the greatest Cities in the World. It was then divided, as it were, into four different Cities, each of which had its particular Limits ; and all four were included within the same Walls. The Island of *Ortygia*, which was one of them, was joined to the other three, by a Bridge over the Sea, and surrounded with the same Fortifications, as they. In order to invest this vast Place, an infinite Number of Troops were necessary ; but the *Romans* thought nothing impossible. And then the extreme Danger he was in, intimidated King *Hiero*. He had experienced the Valour of the *Romans* last Year, and had again very lately felt the Effects of it. This brought into his Mind his former Reflections. He was now more sensible than ever, that, all things considered, an Alliance with the *Romans* would be less disadvantageous to him, than one with the *Carthaginians* ; and therefore, as soon as the *Consuls* had begun to invest his Capital, he lost no time in endeavouring to save it from Ruin. He sent out Deputies from *Syracuse* to treat with the *Romans* of a Peace : and *Rome* was too much concerned in Interest to accept his Proposals, not to comply with them. To draw off the *Syracusans* from the *Carthaginians*, was to reduce the latter to their own Forces only ; and to keep up a faithful Correspondence with *Hiero*, was to secure a continual Assistance in all future Wars. Nothing had fatigued the *Roman Army* more, the last Year, than the want of Provisions, and the Difficulty of getting them : and to make *Syracuse* their Friend, was to secure a plentiful Supply of them, on all Occasions. These Considerations removed the Difficulties which might have obstructed the King's Desires ; and the *Consuls* agreed to a Treaty with him, on the following Conditions. The *Romans* promised to acknowledge *Hiero* a Friend to their Republick, to defend his Capital and his Dominions, and to protect *Acrae* ³⁶, *Leontini*, *Megara*, *Elorum*, *Netum*, and *Tauromenium* in particular, (which were the chief Cities in his Kingdom) from all Hostilities whatsoever. On the other hand, *Hiero* promised, to surrender up all the Prisoners of War he had taken from the *Romans*, without Ransom ; to pay the Republick an hundred *Talents* ³⁷ of Silver ; and to cultivate her Friendship by a faithful Observance of the Treaty. But this Convention was only drawn up, by the King and *Consuls* ; it was to be ratified at *Rome* ; where it was approved,

PUBL. B. 1.
C. 10.

³⁴ *Tauromenium*, built on the Ruins of old *Naxos*, which was destroyed by *Dionysius the Tyrant*, stood on the Declivity of Mount *Taurus* in *Sicily*. The River *Taurominius*, since called *Onabala*, and afterwards *Cantara* watered the Territory of this City, which is now called *Taormina*. Its Hills were famous for many excellent Vineyards, which produced exceeding rich Wines.

³⁵ *Catana* is commended by the old Geographers, as one of the richest and most powerful Cities in *Sicily*. According to *Thucydides*, B. 3. it was originally a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*. After continuing in great Splendor, for many Ages, it underwent the same Fate as many other Cities, situated near Mount *Ætna*. It was almost buried in its own Ruins, by the terrible Earthquakes, which laid this whole Country waste ; and nothing now remains but the Ruins of this great City. It was watered by the River *Amenes*, or *Amenanus*, according to *Strabo*, now the *Judicello*.

³⁶ *Cluver* places the City of *Acrae* in that part of *Sicily* where now stands *Sancta Maria d'Arcia*, a Village, between *Noto* and *Avula*. We have spoken of the Cities of *Megara* and *Leontini* already. The former, which was called *The Little Hybla*, before a Colony of *Megarenses* settled in it, was famous for the excellent Honey with which it sur-

nished *Italy*. *Virgil* speaks of it in his first Eclogue. There are some Remains of it yet to be seen, at the Mouth of the River *Alabus*, which the *Sicilians* now call *Lo Cataro*. It was originally called *Galeotis*.

Elorum was built by the *Syracusans* near a River of the same Name, which *Father Briet* thinks was the River the Natives now call *Abiso*. According to *Athenæus*, B. 8. the Fish in this River offered themselves to be taken of their own accord. *Ovid*, *Fasts*, B. 4. speaks of the Fields of *Elorum*, as a delicious Plain, where reigned a continual Spring. This City is supposed to have stood near the Place where *Bajacheno* now stands.

Fazellus places the City of *Netum*, called *Neezum* by *Ptolomy*, near the City, which has given its own Name to the *Val de Noto*, one of the three Cantons, into which *Sicily* is now divided.

³⁷ See what we have said of the *Talent*, Vol. 1. p. 170. Note 67. [where the Reader is desired to read 329 l. 7 s. 6 d. as the Value of the *Alexandrian Talent*, instead of 328 l. 17 s. 6 d ; and 10200 Drachmæ, the Reduction of the *Hebrew Silver Talent*, instead of 102000.] The Sum of 100 *Talents* was worth about 100000 *French Crowns*, [or 19375 l. *Sterling*, according to *Arbutnot*.] For it must be remembered, that each *Talent* was worth 60 *Minae*.

proved, first by the Senate, and then by the *Comitia*, at the Motion, or Request of Year of
Cn. Attilius Calatinus, then *A Tribune of the People*. It was at first, only a Truce *R O M E*
 for fifteen Years ; but both Parties were so well satisfied with it, and the Conditions *CCCCXC.*
 of it were so faithfully performed, that it lasted as long as *Hiero* lived. Indeed, this *MANIUS VA-*
 King had all the Inclinations and Virtues of a *Roman* ; and it may not be improper *LERIUS FLAC-*
 to give some Account in this Place, of a Prince, whose Name will be so often men- *CUS, MANIUS*
 tioned with those of the Heroes of *Rome*. *OTACILIUS*
CRASSUS,
Consuls.

§. VIII. *HIERO* was the Son of *Hierocles*, who was descended from a Tyrant of *Syracuse*, named *Gelo*. The Word Tyrant did not then convey the odious Idea, which the *Romans* have since affixed to it. It only signified a King, or Sovereign in general, whether a lawful one, or an Usurper ; whether he treated his People with Gentleness, or governed them with Severity and Rigor. But *Hiero's* Descent was not so honourable by the Mother's side. She was a Slave, and *Hierocles* was therefore ashamed to own him for his Son. He exposed him on the Borders of a Forest, where a Swarm of Bees is said to have served him instead of a Nurse. Upon the Report of this Prodigy, *Hierocles* consulted the Diviners ; and they foretold, that this Son of his, would one Day mount the Throne of his Ancestors, and restore his Family to its ancient Splendor. The Child was therefore brought up with Care, and his Improvements were answerable to his Father's Expectations. When he performed his first Exercises, an Eagle is said to have perched upon his Buckler, and an Owl upon his Lance ; the former of which was the Symbol of Valour, the latter of Wisdom : And young *Hiero* did not bely these Prognosticks. He made his first Campaigns under *Pyrrhus* : and being instructed in the Art of War by so great a Master, he gained several of those Prizes, which were bestowed on Men of distinguished Valour. And his Contenance and Moderation gained him more Honour, than his first Exploits. He seemed to have been born for Virtue ; and was governed by no Passion, but the Love of Glory ; which he often acquired, both in single Combats, and in Battels. At length *Pyrrhus* left *Sicily*, and returned to *Italy* ; and then *Syracuse*, which was without a Governor, fell into the greatest Disorders, during the Anarchy. It being therefore necessary to put a Stop to this Confusion, the Troops chose *Hiero* and *Artemidorus* to command them ; and the two Generals had nothing more at Heart, than to re-establish good Order in the Capital. With this View, they brought their Soldiers into it ; and then *Hiero* discovered a great Superiority of Genius for Government. He, by the Arts of Insinuation and Address, and without spilling of Blood, calmed the Minds of the People, reconciled the Factions, and so gained their Hearts, that they unanimously chose him *Prætor* of the City, during the *Interregnum*. This was the highest Office in the State. Two Things often raised *Polyb. B. 1. c. 16.*
 Disturbances in *Syracuse* ; the Absence of the Generals when they were in the Field ; and the ungovernable Tempers of the Mercenaries, which the Republick hired into her Service : and *Hiero* remedied both these Inconveniencies. He married the Daughter of the most considerable Citizen in *Syracuse*, and always left his Father-in-law Governor of the City, when he took the Field : And in order to get rid of the Mercenaries he made use of this Expedient. He formed them into a separate Body, and exposed them alone, in a Battel with the *Mamertini*. But his *Syracusan* Troops he brought into the City, without having exposed them to any Danger ; for he had taken care to post them so, as to have a River between them and the Enemy. When he was rid of that Company of Mutineers, he taught the *Syracusans* military Discipline ; took other Mercenaries that were more tractable into his Service, and taught them likewise the use of their Arms ; and by this means rendered the *Syracusans* invincible by any Enemy, but the *Romans*. Then *Hiero* marched against the *Mamertini*, beat them in a pitched Battel, took from them the Cities of ³⁸ *Mylæ*, *Amasela*, and

60 *Mine*, and each *Mine* an hundred *Drachma* : So that there were 6000 *Drachma* in every *Talent*. Now each *Attick Drachma* was worth 10 *Sols* ; so that the 6000 *Drachma* were worth 1000 Crowns. It is easy to reduce *Greek Money* to the *French* upon this Foot ; only making proper Allowances for the raising or Reduction of the *French Species*. This Method of reckoning by *Talents* was chiefly

used by the *Greeks* ; the *Romans* reckoned by *Asses* and *Sesterces*.

38 *Mylæ*, now *Milazzo*, was formerly a Colony of *Tyndaritani*, who settled in it. This City, which was situated in a Peninsula, in the North Point of *Sicily*, had a Port, which was a convenient Retreat for Ships. *Pliny* tells us, *B. 31. c. 4.* that there was a Fountain near *Mylæ*, which dried up in Winter,

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXC.
MANIUS VA-
LERIUS FLAC-
CUS, MANIUS
OTACILIUS
CRASSUS,
Consuls.

Polybius in
Excerptis,
apud Valegium.

Diodorus in
Excerpt.

Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 9.

and *Alæsa*, and received the Homage of the Inhabitants of ³⁹ *Abacænum*, and *Tyndaris*, who submitted to him. And so many Victories, and so much Wisdom, procured *Hiero*, the Title and Regalia of a King; but added nothing to his Authority. He was absolute in *Syracuse*, when he was only *Prætor*. A little time after this, he again worsted the *Mamertini*, and was ready to have made himself Master of *Messana*, if he had not been disappointed, through the Fraud of the *Carthaginians*. Nay, he always would have continued a Conqueror, if the *Romans* had not opposed his Victories: and they being now become his Friends, he made it his whole Business to study the Happiness of his People, by cultivating the Friendship of these new Allies. *Syracuse* never enjoyed more Tranquillity, than when *Hiero* was her King, and *Rome* her Protectress. It was this wise Prince's Maxim, That the King, who would sit happily and peaceably upon the Throne, must make his Subjects afraid to lose him. And indeed, no People ever more sincerely prayed for the long Life of any Monarch, than the *Syracusans* did, for his; and Heaven granted them their Desires. This good King was not taken from them, till the ninetieth Year of his Age. His long Life was both the Reward and Proof of his Sobriety and Continence. When he entered into his Treaty with the *Romans*, he was but forty Years old; and he spent the rest of his Life in a peaceable Possession of his Throne, and in a sincere Friendship with the *Romans*, to the last.

§. IX. AFTER the Treaty was made between the *Romans* and *Hiero*, the only Enemies the former had in *Sicily*, were the *Carthaginians*. But they resolved to make War, with the utmost Fury upon a People, whose Ambition, they said, led them first to *Sicily*, in order to pass from thence into *Africa*: and their Terror was much increased, by the unexpected return of *Hannibal*. This General of the *Carthaginian* Fleet had advanced as far as *Xiphonia* ⁴⁰, in hopes of succouring *Syracuse* by Sea, in case the *Romans* besieged it. But the Truce *Hiero* made with the *Consuls*, broke the Admiral's Measures; and he therefore left the Way open to the *Romans*, and returned to *Carthage*. The *Consuls* took Advantage of this happy Opportunity, and assisted with Succours by the *Syracusans*, spread themselves all over the Countries subject to the *Carthaginians*, in *Sicily*. They indeed made fruitless Attempts upon the Cities of *Adranum* and *Macella* ⁴¹, the Garrisons of which continued faithful to the *Carthaginians*. But all the Places, on the western Coast of *Sicily*, where the Passage of *Æneas*, the first Founder of *Rome*, was still remembered, came over to their old Allies. The *Romans*, said these People, *are our Brothers, since they were originally Trojans, as well as we*: and upon this account, the Inhabitants of *Segesta* ⁴² massacred the *African* Garrison they had

ter, and produced great Plenty of Water in the hottest part of Summer: and *Fazellus* says, he observed the same thing. We shall not say any thing here of the City of *Amasela*; this City, and its ancient Situation, are absolutely unknown. As for the City of *Alæsa*, we have given some Account of it before, in speaking of the *Alæsani*.

³⁹ The City called in *Latin* *Abacænum*, stood in the North part of *Sicily*, as well as *Tyndaris*. *Cluver* imagines we yet find some Traces of the former, near the little City of *Tripio*; but nothing remains of the latter, more than the Name, which is preserved in the Place now called *Santa Maria di Tyndaro*. It was thought to have been originally a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*, who gave it the Name of *Tyndarus* the Father of *Leda*. *Cicero* commends it in his *Oration against Verres*. *Mercury* had a Temple in this City, and a Statue, which was thought by Judges to be a Master-piece of Art. We shall have Occasion to speak of it elsewhere. *Pliny* says, B. 2. c. 92. that a great part of *Tyndaris* had been swallowed up by the Sea. There is to this Day, a sort of Promontory near it, which *Zonaras* says, had formerly the same Name as the City.

⁴⁰ The City of *Xiphonia* was most probably the same City that modern Geographers call *Augusta*. The Peninsula in which the City stood, and the western Coast, made a very convenient Port for Ships. *Strabo* mentions the Promontory of *Xiphonin*, B. 6. This Cape, the Head of which is di-

vided into three Branches, extends itself a great way into the Sea; and is now called *La Cruce*. The Territory of this City was watered by the River *Myla*, which some say was the same which is now called *San Marcellino*. But others will have it to be *Fiume di Santo Giuliano*, which the *Sicilians* call *Fiume Yabeda* at its Mouth. *Fazellus* is of the former Opinion; *Aretius* and *Leander*, of the latter; but neither of them gives any Reasons for his Conjecture.

⁴¹ By the Account *Polybius* gives us, B. 1. of the March of the Troops to lay Siege to *Macella*, it is plain that this City stood between *Palermo* and *Segesta*, a little to the South. The *Saracens*, who since conquered it, changed its Name, and called it *Colta Busamar*.

⁴² The ancient City of *Segesta*, which the Greek Authors call *Egesta*, and sometimes *Acesta*, stood a little Way from *Lilybæum*, beyond *Drepanum*, and *Eryx*. The *Romans*, says *Festus*, changed the Name of *Egesta* into that of *Segesta*, by adding the Letter S to it; which Change was wholly founded in Superstition. The Word *Egesta* is the same, all but one Letter, as *Egestas*, which signifies in *Latin* Poverty and Want: and those Names, which signified any thing that was calamitous, or bad, alarmed the superstitious *Romans*. They thought them Omens of the Dangers that threatened the Man who pronounced them. At least they were enough to retard the Execution of any Enterprize. After such

had received into their City, and went over to the *Romans*. Those of *Aliena* 43 did Year of the same; but the Inhabitants of *Hilara* 44, *Tyrta*, and *Ascela*, sustained Sieges; *ROME* and being forced at last to surrender, were treated with Rigour. The *Tyndaritani* CCCCXC. also were ready to surrender to the *Romans*; but the *Carthaginians* prevented it, and carried away their principal Citizens to *Lilybæum*, for Hostages. During these Wars, the *Consul Otacilius* treated some of his Soldiers with a Severity, which kept up Discipline in his Army. They had been taken, in a Rencounter with a Party of *Carthaginians*, and had passed under the Yoke; and then being sent back by the Enemy, they returned to their own Camp. But the General would not suffer them to enter it. He obliged them to encamp without the Entrenchments, exposed to the Mercy of the Enemy; which, he said, was to teach them not to be any longer afraid of the Arms of Foreigners, which they had dreaded too much. The Campaign being now ended, and the *Consuls* obliged to return to *Rome*; they carried back most of their Troops with them, in order to put them in Winter Quarters, on the Coasts of *Italy*. *Valerius* and *Otacilius* returned to the City; where the Senate and People did Justice to Merit. They decreed *Valerius* a Triumph, which he enjoyed on The sixteenth of the Calends of April. His Surname of *Messala*, and this Mark of Distinction which he alone received, at his return, plainly shew how much he had signalized himself above his Collegue, both in the Defence of *Messana*, and the Wars with *Hiero*, and the *Carthaginians*. *Tab. Triumph.*

In the mean time, the Plague which had been in *Rome* for the two last Years, still continued to make Ravages there; and Recourse was therefore had to the usual Remedy. The Republick nominated *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, Dictator, who chose *2. Marcius Philippus* for his General of Horse; and their only Business was to drive a Nail in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, either in Regard to the old Superstition; or perhaps, there might be a sort of Magic in this old Ceremony. As for *Valerius*, who triumphed, he brought two Things from the Country, where he had made War, which were entirely new to the *Romans*. He brought from *Catana*, a horizontal Sun-dial, which he fixed on a Pedestal, near The Tribune of Harangues. But as it had been made for the 45 Latitude of *Catana*, it did not go right at *Rome*. The other Curiosity, was a Picture of the Battel in which he had vanquished *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*, before *Messana*. This Picture he placed on one side of the old Palace of King *Hostilius*, where the Senate usually assembled. *Pliny L. 7. c. ult.*

§. X. *MESSALA* *Idem L. 35. c. 4.*

such a Name had been mentioned, the Gods were consulted, and some happy Signal was expected to correct or prevent the ill Consequences of it. Upon these odd Prejudices, the *Romans*, after mature Deliberation, changed the Name of the City which was at first called *Maleventum*, into that of *Beneventum*; and so likewise of *Egesta*. *Præposita est ei [SEGESTA] littera, ne obscuro nomine appellaretur, ut factum est Malevento, quod Beneventum dictum est.* Tradition said, That *Aeneas* built *Segesta*, when he was thrown on the Coasts of *Sicily*, by a Tempest; That *Egestus*, or *Acestes*, as *Virgil* calls him, a Trojan, was left in Possession of this City, when the Founder sailed on to *Italy*; and That from him it had the Name of *Egesta*, which it retained, till it became subject to the *Romans*. Others say, *Egestus* himself was the Founder of it, and that it was built before *Aeneas* came into *Sicily*. Some think it was built by another Trojan, named *Elymus*, and that the People of this District were from him called *Elymi*. Their Territory was watered by the *Scamander*, and the *Simois*; two Names given these Rivers by the *Trojans*, in Memory of those in their old Country. The former is now The *St. Bartholomew*; the latter is a Rivulet, that has no Name. *Segesta* was formerly one of the most considerable Cities in *Sicily*. *Agathocles* subdued it by force, according to *Diodorus B. 20.* and utterly destroyed all the Inhabitants. And he changed its former Name into that of *Dicapolis*, which it did not retain long. *Cicero* says, it had been ruined by the *Carthaginians* before the Reign of *Agathocles*; and if then *Diodorus's* Account be true, it must have been rebuilt. The Situation *Strabo* gives it, makes us believe it stood near the Place, where the Town of *Barbara* now stands, at a little Distance from *Castel a Mare*.

43 *Aliena* is no longer in being; nor can we discover any Footsteps of its ancient Situation.

44 The three Cities of *Hilara*, *Tyrta*, and *Ascela*, are unknown. Or rather their Names have been altered and disfigured by the Copyists. But be that as it will, the Cities here spoken of plainly appear to have been situated in the most western Parts of *Sicily*.

45 The Latitude, or Elevation of the Pole, at *Catana*, is, according to the most exact Observations, thirty seven Degrees, thirty six Minutes, and fifty two Seconds. That of *Rome* is said by modern Astronomers to be forty one Degrees, fifty four Minutes. If therefore this horizontal Dial was made according to the Rules of the Art of Dialling, the Style, or *Gnomon*, ought not to have been so placed for *Catana*, as for *Rome*. The first and most essential Rule in that Art, is to place the *Gnomon* of an horizontal Dial in such a manner, as to make with the Plane, an Angle equal to the Elevation of the Pole. So that this Angle must be greater, or less, according as the Latitudes of Places differ. Without this Precaution, the Axis of the Plane, would not be the same with, or parallel to, the Axis of the World. Which being supposed, it will follow, that this horizontal Dial, which was made at *Catana*, for the Latitude of thirty seven Degrees, thirty six Minutes,

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MIUS MEGEL-
LUS, Q. MA-
MILIUS VI-
TULUS, Con-
suls.
Polybius B. 1.
c. 17.

§. X. *MESSALA* had now nothing more to do in his Office, but to preside at the new Election of *Consuls*, in the *Campus Martius*. *L. Posthumius* ⁴⁶ *Megellus*, and *Q. Mamilius Vitulus*, were the Persons elected; and they were both ordered to go, and carry on the War in *Sicily* together. *Rome* had now no Enemies any where else. Nevertheless, the Number of the Troops, which were to be transported cross The *Streights*, was diminished. Each *Consul* had hitherto conducted a complete *Consular* Army; so that both commanded four *Legions*, which made in all 16000 Foot, and about 3000 Horse. But now, they were diminished one half, and each *Consul* carried into *Sicily* only one *Legion*, of four thousand six hundred Men. So that their whole Army consisted of no more than eight thousand *Legionaries*, both Horse and Foot included. This indeed seemed to be a small Force for so great an Enterprize; but the Republick depended on the Succours, which would be sent by *Hiero*, the *Mamertini*, and the other Nations in the Island, which had lately entered into Alliances with the *Roman* People. It is indeed very surprizing, that the *Carthaginian* Fleet did not oppose the Passage of these Troops. The *Consuls* landed at *Messana*, without any Opposition; and as soon as they came on Shore, assembled the Reinforcements they were to receive in the Country, and formed a Design, which seemed to be beyond their Strength. *Agrigentum* was a great City, on the South Coast of *Sicily*, naturally strong by its Situation, and capable of receiving any Reinforcements or Ammunition by Water, its Port lying on the *African* Sea. The *Agrigentini*, who had long adhered to the *Carthaginians*, had put them in Possession of their Walls, and Port; and the *Africans* had made *Agrigentum* their Place of Safety, their *Asylum*, in case of any Misfortune, or Defect, and their Magazine of Arms, and Provisions. And they had put so strong a Garrison into it, that that alone might pass for a very great Army. If we may give Credit to one Historian, *Hannibal* was there at the Head of fifty thousand *Carthaginians*, exclusive of the Inhabitants of the City, in which there were above twenty five thousand Men, fit to bear Arms.

IN order to put a Stop to the good Fortune of the *Romans*, the *Carthaginians* seemed to have assembled together, all the Nations, on the Sea-Coasts, from *Carthage* to the *Alpes*, to oppose these terrible Enemies. The *African* Republick had hired Troops of the *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and *Ligures* or *Ligurians*. One of her Fleets, on which some of these Troops, which were picked up in several Places, were embarked, was then dispersed in the Ports of *Sardinia*, and threatened the southern Parts of *Italy*; whilst *Hanno* was preparing to sail from *Carthage*, upon the first Orders, with an Army of fifty thousand Foot, six thousand Horse, and sixty Elephants. But all these great Preparations for War did not terrify the *Romans*. They came and encamped a Mile from *Agrigentum*, after they had dispersed the Troops which opposed their March. They could not expect to reduce so important a Place soon; but Constancy was the proper Character of the *Romans*. They sat down before *Agrigentum*, just at the time of Harvest. The fruitful Fields of *Sicily* were then covered with Corn, and some of the Besiegers were tempted to gather it in themselves, in order to provide against the Wants, which usually attend long Campaigns. These Reapers therefore divided themselves into small Parties, and dispersed themselves about the Plain, with the Consent of the *Consuls*, who were too easy in relaxing military Discipline. This was an Act of Imprudence, which nothing but Valour could repair. *Hannibal*,

Minutes, and fifty two seconds, could not but go wrong at *Rome*, in the Latitude of forty one Degrees, fifty four Minutes. For want of observing this Difference in the Degrees of the Elevation of the Pole, and the Bigness of the Angles, the *Romans*, when a little better instructed, afterwards perceived, that the Shade did not shew the Hours on the horary Lines, agreeably to the Sun's Motion. Besides, it is probable, the *Romans* did not know how to set up an horizontal Sun-dial; that is, how to place the Meridian of the Plane, parallel to the Meridian of *Rome*. Doubtless, the Method now made use of, to find the Meridian of a Place, by one or two Points of Shade, was unknown to them. They probably only took care to place the Dial so, as that the *Gnomon* should cast a Shade upon the Plane, whenever the Sun shined on the Place between The Tribune of Harangues, and the

House appointed for the Reception of Ambassadors. We have already observed, that this was the only Way the *Romans* anciently had of distinguishing the Hours of the Day; when the Sun shined there, an Herald proclaimed that it was Noon. We are not therefore to wonder, that they should a few Years after discover, that their Sun-dial had been irregular.

⁴⁶ The *Greek Tables* only give *Lucius Posthumius* the Name of *Albinus*, and not that of *Megellus*. But both might equally belong to him. We have already seen several *Posthumii* bear the Surname of *Albinus*. It appears from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that *Marianus* mistakes the Name of the second *Consul*. He calls him *Manlius*, and not *Mamilius*. In the Text of *Polybius*, and *Zonaras*, it is *Æmilius*; but this is a Mistake of the Copyists.

who

who commanded in the Town, made two Sallies at the same time, one upon the Reapers, whose Greediness of Prey, had carried them too far; and the other upon the *Roman* Camp, which was now deprived of one part of those who were to defend it. In the Plain, a great Number of *Romans*, who could not rally soon enough, were overpowered by the Numbers of their Enemies; but in the Camp, the *Romans* performed wonderful Feats of Valour. The *Carthaginians* had there divided themselves into two Bodies; one attacked the advance-Guards; the other marched up to the Rampart, and endeavoured to make a Breach in it: But they were received in both Places, with more Vigour than they expected. It was a Law in the *Roman* Army, that if any Soldier, who was posted without the Camp, to guard the Avenues to it, quitted his Post, he should be put to death. The advanced-Guards therefore knowing they should be executed, if they retired, sustained the Attack of the Enemy, without stirring: and though few in Number, made a much greater Slaughter of the Enemy, than was made of them.

THIS first Battel gave the *Consuls* time to look about them. They drew up their Troops in Battalia with all Speed, and ordered them to march out of the Camp, to the Relief of those brave Men, whose Resistance was such, as to stop a whole Army. And when Numbers were equal, the *Carthaginians* could no longer stand before the *Romans*. The latter made them give Way, repulsed them with Loss, and forced them to retreat into their City, after they had left a great Number of Dead on the Plain. As for the Body, which endeavoured to make a Breach in the Ramparts of the Camp, the *Romans* being Masters of the Ground, surrounded it, and revenged on the *Carthaginians* the Slaughter of the Reapers. And this taught both the Besiegers, and the Besieged, more Wisdom. The *Consuls* took care, how they suffered their Troops to go out to forage in the Country, in Bands; and *Hannibal* ventured no more to make Sallies, and insult the *Roman* Camp.

§. XI. YET still the Siege was carried on, though but slowly. No more Battels were fought; but to prevent Convoys of Provisions from entering the Place. Nevertheless, the *Roman* Army continually received new Reinforcements. The *Sicilians* had such an Abhorrence of the *Carthaginians*, that above a hundred thousand of them followed the *Roman* Standards; and this additional Multitude obliged the *Consuls* to divide their Army, and form two Camps. One was near a Temple of *Æsculapius* at some Distance from *Agrigentum*; the other on the Road to ⁴⁷ *Heraclea*. A large Ditch was thrown up round the besieged City, which guarded the two Camps against the Sallies of the Besieged: and a second Line beyond the *Roman* Camps, both preserved them from any Attacks from without, and was a Barrier, to hinder the Conveyance of any Provisions into the City. All the Space between the

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gold.

⁴⁷ This City was successively called *Macara*, and *Heraclea*. The ancient Geographers call it *Heraclea Minoa*, because it was thought to have been built by *Minos*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 16. though he had before said, B. 4. that a Colony of *Cretans* had founded it, after the Death of the King of *Crete*. Others pretend that it was already in being, and called *Macara*, when the *Cretans* settled there. Afterwards, a Company of *Lacedæmonians*, under the Command of one of the *Heracidae*, drove out the ancient Inhabitants of this City, and took Possession of it themselves. It was then possessed by the *Selinuntii*, who had long

before sent a Colony thither. After this Revolution, it bore the Name of *Heraclea*, and still retains it on its Medals, which bear the Figure of an *Hercules*, to perpetuate the Memory of its last Founder, who pretended to be descended from this *Grecian* Hero. This City is now utterly destroyed. *Fazellus* supposes it stood on the Banks of a River in *Sicily*, called by the Ancients *Halycus*, and by the Moderns *Platani*; and that it was near the Place now called *Castel Bianco*. Which Situation agrees well enough with that which *Ptolomy* and *Mela* give it.

Year of two Camps, and in the middle of the two Lines, were filled Day and Night, with Roman Troops, who guarded the Lines, and watched all the Avenues to *Agrigentum*. For the Subsistence of the two Camps, the *Consuls* brought their Provisions by *Erbeffa* ⁴⁸, a City well affected to them, and not far from *Agrigentum*. There they placed their Magazine of Provisions, which they brought thither from all Parts of *Sicily*: and they hoped to force the *Agrigentini* to surrender, by Famine. Thus the *Romans* continued before the Place five Months, keeping exact Discipline. But they made no Attempts to scale the Walls, provided no Machines to batter them, raised no Galleries to annoy the Besieged. And this Inaction of the Besiegers daily weakened the Besieged. So numerous a Garrison was prejudicial to the Place, and Provisions began to fail. This made the Inhabitants despair of being able to preserve the Town, and give themselves up for lost. However, *Hannibal* kept up their Courage with Promises, and sent Couriers to *Carthage* from time to time, to sollicite Succours. The great Army *Hanno* kept ready for any Expedition, was not yet debarked; he was pressed to set sail; and the General came at length, and landed at the Port of *Lilybæum*, on the Point of Land, which was nearest *Carthage* of any in *Sicily*.

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AGRIGENTUM was in great Danger; and *Hanno* making what haste he could thither, came and encamped near *Heraclea*, about twenty Miles from it; and there received a Deputation, which gave him Hopes that the Siege would be raised. Some *Erbeffani*, who were secret Enemies to the *Romans*, came and offered *Hanno* to surrender up *Erbeffa* to him, and thereby extirpate the *Romans* out of *Sicily*. An Offer, which was accepted with the greatest Joy. To take *Erbeffa* from the *Romans*, was not only to deprive them of their Provisions, and to intercept all Convoys in their Way to their Camp; but the two *Roman* Camps would, by that Means, be as much besieged in the Plain, and as much pressed with Famine, as the *Agrigentini* within their Walls. And indeed, as soon as the *Carthaginians* were put into Possession of *Erbeffa*, the *Consuls* deliberated, whether they should not raise the Siege. But the faithful *Hiero* knew the Wants of his Allies, and was not dilatory in supplying them. He sent a great Number of Convoys to their Army, some of which always arrived safe. And this was enough to support them for a time; but not enough for their convenient Subsistence between two Armies, shut up in two Cities. Distempers, the usual Consequences of Famine, spread in the *Roman* Army; which nevertheless continued the Works before *Agrigentum*. And *Hanno's* Precipitation was of more Service in delivering the *Romans* from their Danger, than even *Hiero's* Succours. The rash *Carthaginian* came within reach of the Entrenchments of the Besiegers, and gave them Hopes that he would soon offer them Battel.

HANNO took it for granted, that Sickness and Distemper, which weakened the Bodies of the *Romans*, must likewise have sunk their Courage. Whereas, the *Consuls* gave him a fine Instance of those prudent Delays, which sometimes destroy an Enemy's Army, more effectually than Swords and Darts. But the *Carthaginian* was hasty and bold. He made his Horse advance within sight of the Enemy, and hover round their Camps. On the other hand, the *Consuls*, who desired a general Action, more than *Hanno* did, marched out their Squadrons likewise. Indeed, in this first Skirmish, the *Roman* Cavalry were worsted. Their Ardour carried them too far, and they were not aware of the Ambuscade which was laid for them. They fell in with *Hanno's* Infantry, who followed the *Numidian* Horse, which were used to these sort of feigned Flights; and so great a Slaughter was made of them, that few came back to the Camp.

It is often dangerous for Generals, who are inclined to be rash, to gain any Superiority over the Enemy, in the beginning of an Engagement. It increases their Confidence, and Temerity. *Hanno*, full of Hopes of coming instantly to a general Action, posted himself upon a Hill, named *Taurus*, about a Mile and half from the *Romans*. But the *Consuls* did not comply with his Desires, as readily as he wished. They thought it better to endure the Inconveniences of their Camp, for some time longer, than to stand the Shock of the first Ardour of these fiery *Africans*. But as soon as their Fire should be in the least abated, they thought it would be better to

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 10.

⁴⁸ The ancient Geographers mention two Cities in *Sicily*, which both had the Name of *Erbeffa*. The first stood above *Agrigentum*, and is that here spoken of; which is now called *Le Grotte*, or

Grutti. The second City of this Name was a little Way from *Syracuse*, near the Place where *Palazzo* now stands.

face the Enemy, than struggle with a Scarcity of Provisions. And then they found that the *Carthaginian* had upon Reflection altered his Mind; they did not find him any more impatient for a Battel. Two Months expired, before *Hanno* would venture at any other Engagements, but slight Skirmishes.

In the mean time the City of *Agrigentum*, which was carefully invested by the *Romans*, was reduced to the utmost Extremity by Famine. *Hannibal* often gave *Hanno* Notice of the deplorable Condition of the Place; and he as often returned him Answer by Signals, that he had nothing to do, but to surrender. Besides, it was well known in the *Carthaginian* Army, that the Soldiers in the besieged City, deserted by Companies, and chose rather to suffer Want with the *Romans*, than perish with Hunger. So that, all things considered, the *Carthaginian* saw, that it was necessary to come to a decisive Action. He gave *Hannibal* Notice of the Day of Battel, and ordered him to make a Sally, the Moment the *Romans* appeared in the Plain. And then the *Consuls* in their Turn pretended to decline a Battel. The *Carthaginian* Army being drawn up in Battalia, it covered all the Ground from Mount *Taurus*, to the Entrenchments of the *Romans*. But these did not stir out of their Posts, heard the Insults of the *Carthaginians*, and laughed at their Bravadoes. They only repulsed the Enemy with their Darts, as oft as they came too near to their Camps: and this Management lasted some Days. At the time appointed, *Hanno* drew out all his Troops in sight of the *Romans*, and ordered them to move round their Ramparts; but all in vain. The *Consuls* would not accept the Challenge; they only sent out some light-armed Troops to annoy the Enemy in their Retreat. But the more obstinate the *Romans* were, in keeping themselves under cover, the more did *Hanno* persist in parading with his Troops: And his Enemies often laid Baits for him, by suffering him to gain slight Advantages; till at length the Day came on, which the *Consuls* resolved to put their Design in Execution. *Hanno* appeared on the Plain, and made a Shew with his Army as usual. The *Romans* opposed him with some few Troops, and the *Carthaginian Cohorts* spent their first Fire upon them. The rest of *Hanno's* Army continued exposed to the Sun, during the Heat of the Day; whilst the *Romans* were under Shelter, and the *Consuls* gave their Soldiers a plentiful Refreshment, drew them up within the Camp, and ordered them to march out of it, when *Hanno* least expected it. The first Onset of the *Romans* was upon the Mercenaries the *Carthaginians* kept in their Service, which were placed in the Advance-guard; and these, who were little concerned for the Glory of those they defended, and fatigued with the Delays of the Battel, immediately gave Way, and fled. In their Rout, they fell upon the Elephants, which they put into Disorder; and these flying, entirely broke the last Line of their Battalions. All was in Confusion in the *Carthaginian* Army, and in the Rout much Blood was spilt.

On the other hand, the *Consuls* had posted some Troops in the Avenues of the City, to prevent *Hannibal's* making any Sallies. So that this General in vain endeavoured to bring all the Soldiers he had left, which were in a Condition to fight, to *Hanno's* Assistance. They were so vigorously repulsed at all the Gates, that he was forced to return into the City, after he had lost a great Number of *Carthaginians*. In short, the *Romans* gained a complete Victory. They took eleven Elephants from the Enemy, wounded three, and left thirty dead upon the Plain: and they killed as many Men in Proportion; but we don't exactly know their Number. However, this at least is certain, that the Vanquished had a great deal of Difficulty to recover *Heraclea*, after their Defeat.

NEVERTHELESS, *Hannibal* did not lose all Hopes. He imagined, that the *Romans* would be less upon their Guard than usual, in the two Camps, after the Fatigues of so glorious a Day; and he flattered himself, that he should find the Centinels and the Watch off their Duty. Upon this Presumption therefore, he prepared Fascines, and Bridges of Boats, marched away with the greatest part of his Troops in the middle of the Night, found indeed the outward Entrenchments but negligently guarded, and penetrated at last to the Foot of the Ramparts. But it unfortunately happened, that by that time he was in a Condition to act, the Day began to appear: and as soon as the Enemy was perceived, they were put to flight, and their Rear-guard, but coarsely handled, in their Retreat. *Hannibal* did not return with the rest of his Men, into a City, which he could not defend: but retired to a Place of Safety. A memorable Instance of *Carthaginian* Treachery. This General, whom the *Agri-*

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Polybius B. 1. c. 19.

Zonar. B. 8. c. 10.

Frontin. B. 2. c. 1.

Zonar. B. 8. c. 10.

Diod. Sic. in Excerpt.

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Eutropius

gentini had entrusted with their Lives and Estates, left these unhappy People to their hard Fate. It was enough for an ungrateful Man, who had no Honour, to save himself, and his Troops. The *Agrigentini* therefore revenged themselves on the rest of the *Carthaginians*, whom *Hannibal* had left in the Place; and massacred them all, without Mercy. They hoped likewise by this Means to make their court to the *Consuls*, and obtain more favourable Terms for it. But such Cruelties were not agreeable to the *Romans*. The City surrendered at Discretion; the *Consuls* gave it up to be plundered; and above twenty five thousand Persons, of free Condition, were made Slaves. Such was the Success of a Siege, which lasted at least seven Months. *Rome* had never yet undertaken one more difficult, or more remarkable for the Variety of its Events: and it must be owned, that it cost the Besiegers dear. The *Consuls* lost before it in Battels, and by Want, about thirty thousand Men, *Romans*, and Allies: but the Conquest was indeed both an important and a glorious one. It for ever gained the *Roman* Republick a kind of Superiority by Land, which always kept her above the *Carthaginian*. The Campaign ended with the taking of *Agrigentum*; after which, the *Consuls* returned to *Messana*, and from thence to *Rome*. It is natural enough to wish to see them triumph, after so glorious an Expedition; and one single Historian tells us, they did so; but the Silence of all other Authors, and especially of *The Triumphal Tables*, in which we don't find their Names, makes us believe, that the Senate and People did not grant them those Honours. And if I might be permitted to guess at the Cause of it, I should suppose, That they might intend by this Refusal, to punish the Relaxation of Discipline in the Army; and That *Rome* would not pardon their suffering the Troops to ramble a great Way from the Camp, in order to go a reaping in the Country.

§. XII. THE Reduction of *Agrigentum* gave the *Romans* Hopes of conquering all *Sicily*. The Way being now open, they resolved to pursue it, and not to leave the Pursuit, till they had taken from the *Carthaginians*, all the Cities they had invaded. The *Romans* at first pretended only to drive these *Africans* from their own Coasts, to which they were come too near. But the first Advantages they gained over the *Carthaginians* before *Messana*, raised their Ambition, and animated them to carry on the Enterprize as far as possible. As soon then as L. Valerius Flaccus, and T. Otacilius 49, the Brother of M. Otacilius, who had been *Consul* two Years before, were chosen *Consuls*, they were ordered to carry on the War in *Sicily*. The Senate plainly foresaw, That by Land, and in the middle of the Island, the *Roman* Arms would always prevail over the *Carthaginian*; but That *Rome* could never make her self Mistress of the maritime Cities, without the Assistance of a Fleet, equal at least, to that of *Carthage*. And to build one, was a difficult Undertaking. The *Romans* had hitherto passed *The Streights*, only on Merchant Ships, borrowed of the Inhabitants on the Coast of *Italy*; and they had neither Seamen, nor Marines, nor Ship-Carpenters, who knew how to build Gallies. But what cannot Valour and Constancy do when actuated by great Ambition! The *Roman* Republick took it into her Head, to be as formidable by Sea, as she was by Land: and ordered a hundred and twenty Boats 50 to be built at the publick Expence, after the Model of a *Triremis*, which was lately split on the Coasts of *Italy*. The *Romans* immediately set about this laborious Work; and they cut down Forests, and removed the Trees to the Sea-Shores, with an Expedition peculiar to themselves. And whilst these Gallies were upon the Stocks, the two *Consuls* set out for *Sicily*. But how dangerous and how difficult was the Enterprize they went upon! They were obliged to support the Glory, and Exploits of their Predecessors; and indeed, they may be said, in some Measure, to have surpassed them. All the Cities, which were at any Distance from the Sea-shore, submitted to the *Romans*. The Punishment of the *Agrigentini* affrighted them; and they had now nothing to fear from the *Carthaginians*. As for *Hanno*, after he had failed in his Attempt to deliver *Agrigentum*, his Mercenaries gave him some Trouble. The *Gauls* especially, seemed more dissatisfied, and untractable than the rest. The *Carthaginians*

49 *Marianus* and *Cassiodorus* gave *Otacilius* the Praenomen of *Lucius*, contrary to the *Fasti Capitolini*. *Zonaras* omits both these Magistrates.

50 This Fleet was equipped in two Months time, according to *Polybius*, reckoning from the

Day the Trees began to be cut in the Forest. In this Fleet there were a hundred Ships, which had five Benches of Rowers, and twenty which had three. Some Authors say it consisted of a hundred and sixty Sail.

owed them several Months Pay; and the Method the General took to get rid of them, was this. He promised those Rebels, who were resolved to desert, and go over to the *Consuls*, that he would soon give them the Plunder of *Entella* ⁵¹; a City then subject to the *Romans*. The Hopes therefore of so rich a Booty appeased the Mutiny, by exciting the Avarice of these *Gauls*, who were about four thousand in Number.

In the mean time, the cunning *Carthaginian* sent away his Steward to the *Roman* Camp, under the Pretence of being a Malecontent, and a Defserter: and he, like an artful Cheat, made the *Consul Otacilius* believe, that he was accused of Male-administration in his Office, and was therefore forced to have recourse to *Hanno's* Enemies. And as a Proof of his Zeal for the new Cause he now espoused, he undertook to discover all his Master's Secrets. The *Inhabitants* of *Entella*, said he, have agreed to deliver up their City to *Hanno*, at a certain time; which time he named. Four thousand *Gauls* will then be detached from the *Carthaginian* Army, to go and take Possession of the Place, which the Traytors are to surrender to them; and nothing will be more easy, than to lay an Ambuscade for this Detachment, and not only disappoint them of their Hopes, but also cut them in pieces. *Otacilius* therefore, who did not see through the Informer's Design, believed him upon his Word; and laid some *Romans* in Ambush, in the Road, where the *Gauls* were to pass. On the Day fixed, the *Gauls* marched with Expedition, by *Hanno's* Orders, to go and pay themselves, the Arrears which had been promised them; and were surprized to find themselves delivered up to a Body of *Romans*, who appeared all on a sudden, and invested them. However, they were not People, who would suffer themselves to be massacred, without making any Resistance, and they sold their Lives very dear: but not one of them escaped. *Hanno's* Domestick, who returned back from the *Roman* Camp, carried his Master the welcome News of this Defeat, which gave the *Carthaginian* General double Pleasure; as he was thereby delivered from a Company of Mutineers, and had also caused a good deal of *Roman* Blood to be spilt by the *Gauls*. All the rest of the Campaign, the *Carthaginians* opposed the Conquests of *Valerius*, and *Otacilius* but faintly. They made themselves Masters of all the flat Country, and returned to *Rome*. But they were not honoured with a Triumph. The Advantages of the Campaign had been too equally divided between them and their Enemies.

INDEED, whilst the *Romans* were subduing the inland Country, the *Carthaginians*, either kept steady in their Interest, or subdued all the Cities on the Coasts. So that both Parties were equally successful. Nor was it possible to incline the Balance wholly to the *Romans*, as long as their Republick wanted Sea-forces: and this Glory was reserved for the succeeding *Consuls*.

§. XIII. THE Centuries chose *Cn. Cornelius*, surnamed *Asina Scipio*, and *C. Duilius* ⁵², in the *Campus Martius*: and before they left *Rome*, it was adorned with Fountains. We have already observed, that when *Curius Dentatus* was *Censor*, he had formed a Design of bringing ⁵³ the Water of the *Anio* to *Rome*; and this Project had met with numberless Obstructions. But at length, *Cn. Minucius*, who was *Prætor*, had brought the Senate to consent, to undertake this fine Work. The care of it was committed to two able Men; one of which was the same *Curius* who was the Projector of it, and the other was *M. Fulvius*, a Man of Consequence in the Republick, who had been honoured with a *Consulship*, and a Triumph. But *Curius* died five Days after he was chosen, to conduct this Work; so that *Fulvius* had all the Honour of finishing these Fountains, which were both an Ornament to the City, and very commodious for the *Inhabitants*.

⁵¹ The ancient City of *Entella* boasted of being founded by *Entellus*, one of *Aeneas's* Companions. It underwent the same Fate from *Dionysius the Tyrant*, as the Cities of *Rhegium* and *Messana*, several Years after suffered, from the *Campani*. See *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 14. on that Subject. There are yet some Remains of *Entella* left, in *The Valley of Mazara*, on the River *Belice Dextro*. *Strabo* says, its Territory was planted with Vineyards, which produced excellent Wines. It now produces scarce any thing but Corn. The Ruins of *Entella*, which was destroyed by the Emperor *Frederick the Second*, and the neighbouring Mountain, still pre-

serve the old Name of *Entella*, though the City is no longer in being.

⁵² Most ancient Authors differ, both as to the *Prænomens*, and Name, of *Caius Duilius*. Some call him *Cneius Duilius*, others *Marcus Duellius*, and some *Bellius*. Thus, as *Cicero* observes, the old Word *Duellum*, which signified *War*, was changed into that of *Bellum*. We adhere to the ancient Monuments which give this *Consul* the Name of *Caius Duilius*.

⁵³ We have already spoken of this Canal, which the Ancients call *Anio Vetus*, B. 22. §. 15. pag. 495. of this Volume, Note 61.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCII.
L. VALERIUS
FLACCUS, T.
OTACILIUS,
Consuls.
Frontin. Strateg. B. 16.

Diod. in Ed.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCIII.
Cn. CORNELIUS
ASINA
SCIPIO, C.
DUILIUS,
Consuls.
Frontinus de Aquæductibus.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXIII.
CN. CORNE-
LIUS ASINA
SCIPIO, C.
DUILIUS,
Consuls.

AT the same time, a much greater Work was also finished in the Ports of *Italy*, which was the Building of fixscore Gallies, most of which were *Quinquereines*. With what Expedition and Constancy did the *Romans* perfect this uncommon Work! In sixty Days after the Timber necessary for it was brought to the Ports, this large Fleet was ready to sail. These Vessels were not indeed made, with all the Regularity and Art 54, with which the *Carthaginians* had long built their Ships. These first

54 In order to give the Reader some Idea of the naval Affairs of the Ancients, it may not be improper to make the following Observations.

1. The Art of Navigation was, to all Nations, in the first Ages, one of those Mysteries, which are only discovered by Degrees, and not brought to any Perfection, but by long Experience. The most ancient Ships, were nothing better than mere Rafts. A Parcel of Beams, covered with Boards, like those which are now used, for the Conveyance of Merchandise in Rivers, which will not carry Boats. The *Greeks* call them *Schedia*; and some Authors ascribe the Invention of them to the *Lydians*. *Schedia*, says *Festus*, *genus navigii inconditi, trabibus tantum inter se connexis facti, quo Mercimonia circumferunt.* *Xenophon*, B. 6 and *Poliennus* B. 5. speak of another sort of Boat, which was very anciently in use; and which they call *Monoxilon*, or *Alveus*. It was made of the Trunk of a Tree, hollowed like a Trough, or Gondola: and Historians say, they were of different Sizes. *Pliny*, B. 16. c. 4. says, that the *Germans* committed their Piracies in this sort of Gondola's, the largest of which would hold thirty Men. *Strabo*, B. 16. speaks of some Barks, covered with pitched Skins, which the *Sabeans* used. The same Geographer also says, that the *Egyptians* had Boats made of dried Earth; which *Juvenal* confirms, when he says of the *Agathyrses*, a People of *Egypt*,

*imbelle & inutile vulgus,
Parvula scilicet solitum dare vela phaselis,
Et brevibus picta remis incumbere testæ.*

2. Such were the first Essays of Men towards learning the Art of Navigation, till, instructed by the Experience of former Ages. and grown more industrious, they extended their Commerce and Dominion beyond the Seas. Then Ships of Burden were built, for transporting of Merchandizes; and Ships of War, or Gallies, to guard against Pirates: and Sails and Oars were made use of to move these unweildy Hulks. The first sort of Ships were made, almost in a circular Form. The Gallies which were longer than those, were of two sorts. Some were armed for Sea-fights; and others, which were called *Actuariae Naves*, were pretty much like our Gallies. *Cicero*, in a Letter to *Atticus*, 16, 3. calls certain light Barks, with more or fewer Oars, according to their Sizes, *Actuariolæ Naves*: and *Latin* Authors call these Sloops, *Cymbæ*, *Acatia*, *Celocia*, *Lembi*, and *Scaphæ*. These little Skiffs were generally fastened to the Poops of the Gallies. *Appian* tells us, B. 5. that the Ancients also made use of the Barks, which the *Latins* call *Phaselis*. They were built, partly like Ships of Burden, and partly like long Boats. The *Myoparones*, and *Hemiola*, so often mentioned by the Historians, were much the same kind of Boats as our Frigates.

3. Some of the Ships, both of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, had neither Decks, nor Beaks in their Prows. Such were those, which the *Latins* called *Cymbæ*, *Lintres*, *Scaphæ*, and the other Boats, they sent out to make Discoveries. The rest which *Polybius* calls *κατάφρακτα πλοῖα*, had Decks. As for those Vessels which took their Name from the *Liburni*, a People of *Illyricum*, and which the *Romans* used, we shall have Occasion to describe them more particularly, in the Sequel of this History.

4. The Ships of the Ancients, as well as those of the Moderns, had their *Sterns*, *Prows*, and *Keels*. The latter was as it were the Foundation or Ground-work of the whole Ship, and consisted of one large Beam, or several joined together endways, which reached the whole length of the Ship, from the Prow to the Stern. But the Word *Carina* often signifies all that part of the Ship that is under Water. The upper part of the Ship above the *Carina*, was divided into three Stages. The lowest, which was kept for the *Thalamioi*, was called *θάλαμος*; the middle *ζούρα*, which was for the *Zugioi*; and the uppermost *εφεδρος*, in which were lodged the *Thranatai*, who both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, always kept the uppermost Stage. In the sides of the Galley, were as many Holes as the carried Oars. The Prow was the forepart of the Vessel; at the Bottom of which, even with the Water, was a Beam, armed with a Spike of Iron, or Copper, which the *Latins* called *Rostrum*, because the Point of it was like the Beak of a Bird. The great Ships had each no less than three Beaks, which when driven with Violence against the Enemy's Ships, made Holes in them under the Water, which flowed into them very fast, and sunk them. Besides the Beak, these Ships had likewise what the *Greeks* call *Epotides*; which, from the Account given us of them by *Suidas* and *Thucydides*, B. 7. we suppose were Beams, or great pieces of Wood, which stuck out at the two sides of the Prow, to break the violent Stroaks of the Beaks. In this manner, says *Thucydides* in the same Place, the *Syracusani*, when at War with the *Athenians*, added *Epotides* to the Prows of their Ships. They were fastened within and without the Ship, with Girders; and they jetted out about six Cubits beyond the Ship. The Ancients had not yet observed, that the Weight and Length of the Beaks considerably retarded the run of the Ship. They are now made lighter and shorter to remedy this Inconvenience. That part of the Ship, which is opposite to the Prow, was called the hindpart of the Ship, or *Puppis*, which was adorned all round with Balconies, Galleries, Pilasters, and several sorts of Painting. The Custom of painting the Figures of the Gods, Tritons, Sea-horses, &c. on Ships, was at least as old as *Homer*, and *Herodotus*, who expressly mention it.

5. The Ships of the Ancients had their Oars, Sails, and Cables. The Oars were fastened to a great wooden Pin, called by the *Latins* *Scalmus*. Each Ship had only one Sail at first; but afterwards more; as we are told by *Pliny* in the Preface to his 19th Book. The largest Sail, says he, is not of itself sufficient for one of these Ships; tho' a whole Tree be scarce enough to make a Yard to it. There are other Sails added in the Prow and Stern, besides those on the Main-mast. So many ways do Men take to destroy one another! His Words are these. *Jam vero nec vela satis esse majora navigiis; sed quamvis amplitudini antennarum singule arbores sufficient, super eas tamen addi velorum alia vela, præterque alia in proris, & alia in puppibus pandi, ac tot modis provocari mortem.* The Sail at the Top of the Mast, was called by the *Latins*, *Supparum*. These Sails, as well as the Cables, were sometimes made of Flax, sometimes of Hemp, and sometimes of Bulrushes. In different Nations, some Cords were used, which

first Gallies of the *Romans*, were but heavy Sailors; and the Valour of those who manned them, was to supply the want of Skill in the Builders. In order to instruct the Crews of Slaves, and teach the Rowers to obey the Word of Command, the General appointed a sort of marine Exercise on Shore, which at first seemed somewhat ridiculous. They were ranged on the Land in the same Order, in which they were to sit at their Oars. An Officer gave the Word, and the same Signals which were to direct them when at Sea; and they moved their Oars in the Air in the same manner, and with the same Exactness in point of time, as if they had been in the Water. In short, they were taught when to ply hard to their Oars, and when to stop all on a sudden, upon different Signals; and this new School was no useless Diversion for the *Romans*; it paved the Way for their obtaining great Victories.

WHEN all things were ready for the Departure of the *Consuls*, they chose their different Commands by Lot. That of the Fleet fell to *Cornelius*, that of the Land Forces to *Duilius*. It is probable, that *Duilius* set out first with two *Roman Legions*, and passed *The Streights*, to keep the Cities, already conquered, steady, and to add new Conquests to them. His Collegue should have waited till the new Fleet was entirely fitted out; but his haste in putting to Sea, drew him into the Snare, *Hannibal* laid for him. He hired Men to come and inform him, that the Island and City of *Lipara*

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DUILIUS,
Consuls.

which were made of Barks of Trees, others of Palm-Leaves, and others of the Fibres of the Plant called *Papyrus*. The People who dwelt on the Banks of the *Nile*, made their Sails of Bulrushes, and Reeds, like our Mats. The Rudder was formerly nothing but a longer and larger Oar than ordinary. Some Ships had several of them, fastened to Bars of Irons, at the hindpart of the Ship. The Ancients knew the use of Anchors, to which they fastened their Cables to moor the Ship; but in the earliest times, these Anchors had only one sharp and crooked Claw. Some say *Eupalamus*, others *Anacharsis*, first made them with double Hooks, as they are at present.

Besides the Statues, *Bas-reliefs*, and Paintings, with which the Ships of the Ancients were adorned; every Ship had also her *Parasemon*, which was a particular Sign, that distinguished her from all others, and probably gave every Ship her Name. This Mark of Distinction was placed in the *Prow*, so as to be easily seen of those, who were to go on board the Ship. It was generally the Figure of some Animal, carved, or painted; and sometimes, the Figure of an, Helmet, Buckler, Centaur, &c. or the Image of some God, especially *Portumnus*, who was by the Pagans thought to favour Mariners. The ancient Monuments furnish us with Proofs of this Custom. In them we find the Names of some *Liburnian* Gallies, one of which was called *Diana*, another *Neptune*, a third *Mars*, a fourth *Glypens*, that is, *The Buckler*, and so on. And the same thing is confirmed by *Lucian*, in his Dialogue entituled *Navigium*. At the *Prow*, says he, was the Image of *Isis*, from which the Ship took her Name. *Strabo* says, the Fishermen of *Cadis* gave their Barks Names, from the Figures of Horses on their *Prows*. In this Sense, *Virgil*, B. 6. calls the Ship which carried *Auletes*, *Immanis Triton*. *Hunc vehit immanis Triton*. The chief Care of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was to put their Ships under the Protection of some God: to whom they assigned a Place of Distinction in the *Poop*, which then became as it were the Sanctuary of the Vessel. *Seneca*, Ep. 77. calls this Place *Tutela*, as *Monsieur Fabretti* conjectures; but I rather think he meant the tutelary God of the Ship, by the Word *Tutela*. On the Stern of some *Triremes*, there was what was called the *Cheniscus*. It was the Figure of the Head and Neck of a Goose, which the *Greeks* call *χην*; and from thence came the Name of *Cheniscus*. *Lucian* speaks of this Figure, which he places upon the Stern. *Apuleius*, speaking of the Ship *Isis*, says, that the Stern was

covered with Leaves of Gold, and terminated in a *Cheniscus*. The Ancients probably thought this Figure, an happy Prefage of avoiding the Dangers at Sea; because Geese swim in it securely.

7. The Gallies, armed for cruising, were surrounded with a kind of Ramparts and Parapets, to guard the Soldiers and Rowers, as much as possible, from the Darts, Bills, Harping-irons, and other offensive Weapons of the Enemy; and in some of them a kind of Towers with Battlements were erected at certain Distances. From them, the *Ballista*, and *Catapulta* threw Fire-pots, and burning Arrows, dipped in Pitch, Rosin, Oil, and Sulphur, and wrapped round with Tow, which immediately took Fire, and set the Body of the Ship on Fire. *Pliny*, B. 31. c. 1. mentions these Towers, which the *Romans* raised at certain Distances, where they were ready to give Battel. *Armatae classes imponant sibi turrium propugnacula, ut in mari quoque pugnetur, velut e muris*. *Pollux* and *Appian* say, they were placed at the *Prow* and *Stern*. And sometimes they were built at the Sides, and in the Center of the Ship. *Thucydides* tells us, B. 7. that the *Athenians*, had a Ship at the Siege of *Syracuse*, which was fortified with Towers and Ramparts. We shall hereafter see the same Custom confirmed by *Livy*, B. 24.

8. The Mariners had offensive and defensive Weapons, like the Land-Forces. Besides, Bucklers, Helmets, Bows and Arrows, Swords, Slings, &c. they made use of long Pikes, in the Heat of an Action, in order to reach the Enemy's Ships at a Distance. Some held in their Hands long Poles, armed with Scythes, with which they cut the Rigging of the Ships, which advanced to give the Attack. And then they made use of a sort of Ram, which *Vegetius* describes. This Machine, which he calls *Affer*, was a long Beam, pointed with Iron at both Ends. It was hung to the Mast, and being pushed with Violence to the right and left, against those who came to board the Ship in which it was, killed all the Assailants in its Way, and broke the sides of their Ships. Grappling-irons also, and *Crows*, which are now used to catch Vessels, and hold them fast, were not unknown to the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

55 *Asconius Pedianus* tells us, that Musick was sometimes used to regulate the Movement of the Oars, and animate the Rowers. This Exercise is like that which *Plutarch* mentions in his *Life of Alcibiades*. He says, a Comedian called *Callipides*, dressed in all the Finery of an Actor, directed the Rowers how to work, by singing.

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CCCCXCIII.
C. N. CORNE-
LIUS ASINA
SCIPIO, C.
DUILIUS,
Consuls.
Polyb. B. 1.
c. 21.

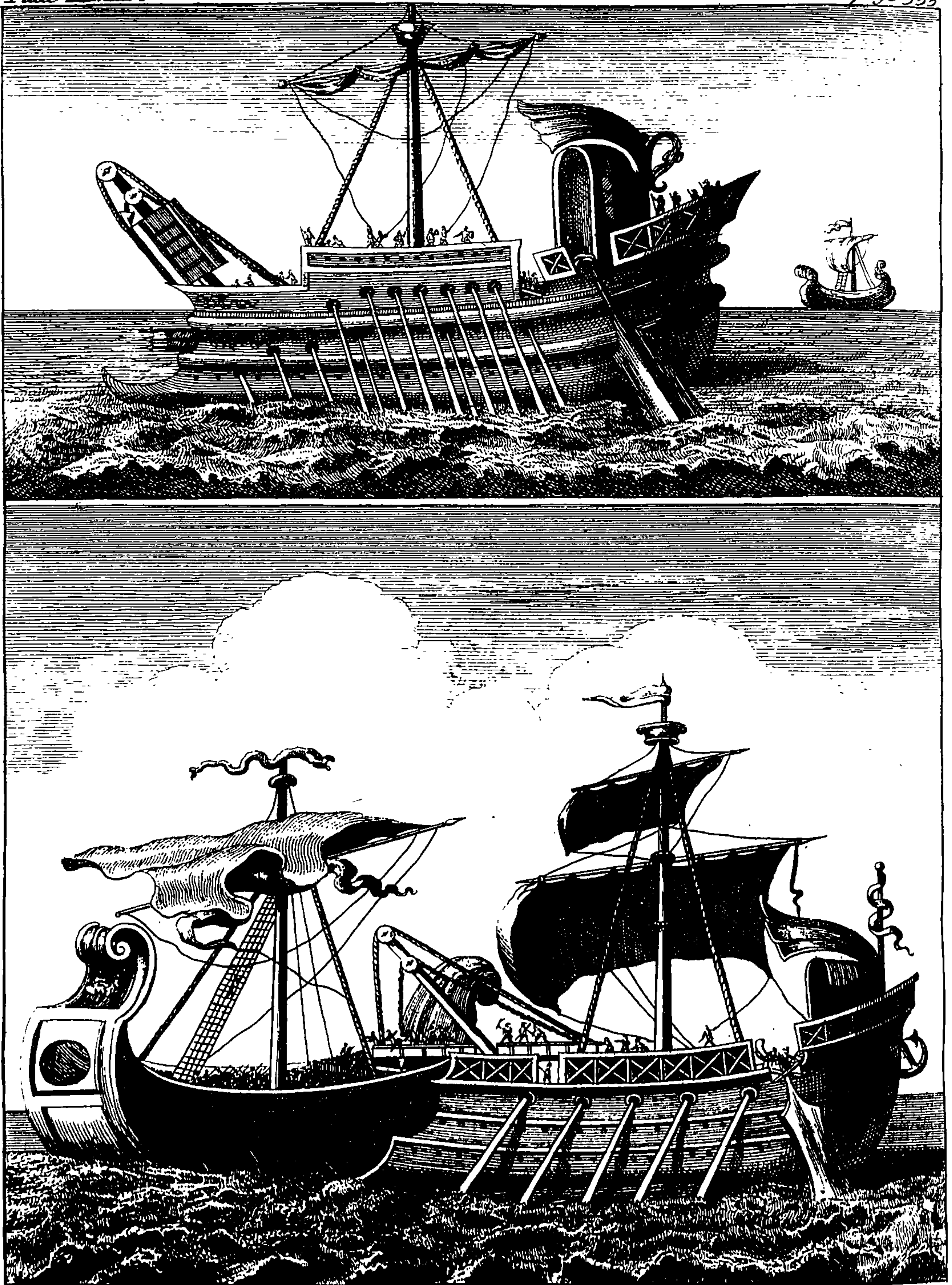
Zenaras and
Livy in Epi-
tome.

Polyb. B. 1.
ibid.

would surrender to the *Romans* upon the first Summons: and in the mean time, *Hannibal* ordered *Boodes*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, to put to Sea, and cruise round *Lipara*, in order to surprise and invest the *Consul*, as soon as he should appear in that Road. *Cornelius* was credulous enough to be in haste to go and take Possession of an Island, which he thought would forward the Conquest of *Sicily*; and he set out with Expedition, with the few Gallies he found ready. Only seventeen of the new Boats followed him, the rest of his Fleet was ordered to coast along *Italy*, and repair to *Messana*. The *Consul* went before, and appeared off *Lipara*, where *Boodes* waited for him, with a greater Number of Ships than his: and the *Consul's* Squadron was soon surrounded. But after all, as the *Romans* had a great Reputation for Bravery, the *Carthaginian*, who was afraid of fighting, notwithstanding his Advantage, durst not trust to his first Stratagem, without adding a second to it. He invited *Cornelius* and his *Tribunes*, that is, the Commanders of his Gallies, on board his Ship, to confer about the Differences between *Rome* and *Carthage*, in an amicable manner; and the *Consul* was weak enough to trust to the Honour of the *Carthaginian*. But as soon as *Cornelius* and his Officers were on board the Enemy's Ship, they were laid in Irons. And then the Squadron being deprived of its Commanders, surrendered without fighting, and the *Consul* was sent to *Carthage*. Some Historians say, these Barbarians assassinated the *Consul*: but they only kept him in Captivity, from whence we shall, in a little time, see him return, with Glory. Thus this first Attempt of the new Fleet proved unsuccessful to the *Romans*; but we shall soon see this slight Disadvantage help to increase the Joy of gaining a glorious Victory.

THE hundred and thirteen Gallies, which remained in the *Roman* Ports, set sail according to orders, and coasting along *Italy*, made the best of their Way towards the Mouth of *The Streights*, not knowing what had happened to *Cornelius* their Admiral. On the other hand, *Hannibal*,⁵⁶ who commanded the *Carthaginian* Fleet, knew the Road the *Roman* Fleet would take, and came with a Detachment of fifty Ships, to reconnoitre the Enemy, before he gave them Battel. He was curious to see the Workmanship of these new-fashioned Boats, the Order in which they proceeded, and the Skill of the Crews; and he paid dear for his Curiosity. As he lay in a Nook, under Shelter of Land, and in a shallow Road, which made an Elbow in this Place, the *Roman* Fleet came upon him all on a sudden, and advanced in good Order. *Hannibal* did not then expect to fight, and therefore had not provided for it; but his Ships were dispersed about, and not drawn up in a Line. The *Romans* therefore took Advantage of his Negligence, and immediately attacking the disordered Squadron with great Vigour, the Victory was not long disputed with them. They conquered upon the first Onset; *Hannibal* himself did not escape without Difficulty; and the greatest part of his Ships were either taken, or sunk. So that the *Carthaginian* Admiral, upon the first Trial he made in Person of the Power of the *Romans* at Sea, was forced to quit the Action with Shame, and retire, after he had been in great Danger himself. But after all, the *Romans* themselves plainly saw, even in the Battel, wherein they had all the Advantage, that their Gallies wanted the Lightness of those of *Carthage*. Then their Captives informing them of the ill Fate of *Consul Cornelius*, who was to have commanded them; and it being to be presumed, that *Hannibal* would soon return with his whole Fleet, to revenge himself upon them, they sent an Account of their Difficulties and Fears to the *Consul Duilius*, who upon his Colleague's Captivity, was left sole Commander, both at Sea and Land. Upon this, that Great Man went immediately on board the Fleet, without Hesitation: But the Reflections he made on the Heaviness of his Gallies, a little abated his Confidence. He knew the Valour of the *Romans*; but how could they conquer as long as they could only be upon the defensive, and were not able to make an Attack? The Arts of Fighting at Sea, then wholly consisted in knowing how to get the Wind; in driving upon the Enemy with Sails and Oars; in endeavouring to break the Enemy's Ships, especially in the side, by striking them violently with the Iron fixed in the Prows of their own Vessels; and lastly, in hovering round the Enemy, near enough to reach them with Darts. From all which it is very evident, what vast Advantage light Ships had over heavy ones. If indeed, said *Duilius*, the *Romans* could bring their unwieldly

⁵⁶ The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, that the *Carthaginian* Fleet was commanded by says, on the Credit of some incorrect Memoirs, *Himilco*, and not by *Hannibal*.



The Corvus made use of by Duilius to grapple with the Carthaginian Ships and board them.

Gallies to grapple with those of the Enemy, I should not doubt, but when they came to a close Engagement, and to fight Man to Man, as on Shore, my Soldiers would beat the Carthaginians. And whilst he was ruminating on these things, an Engineer in his Fleet, gave him Hopes of making Amends for the Heaviness of his Ships, and rendering the Lightness of the Carthaginian Vessels fatal to them. He invented a Machine which was afterwards called the *Corvus*; and all Historians agree, that the Use of it, was to stop the Enemy's Ships, as soon as the Romans came up with them, and thereby give them an Opportunity to board them. It is indeed exceeding difficult to find out, how these Machines were built; but we will nevertheless endeavour to give the Reader an Idea of them, as they are described by a celebrated Historian. A sort of Mast, says he, of about four Cubits high, was erected in the Prow of the Ship, and had a Pulley at the Top of it. The Use of this Pulley was, by the help of a Cable, to raise, or sink, at Pleasure, a kind of Draw-bridge, which had pieces of Wood nailed cross it, like the Rungs of a Ladder, to prevent sliding; and it was guarded, on both sides, with a kind of Parapet-wall, Knee high. This Draw-bridge went round the Mast, when it was drawn up; and when it was let down, it reached about four Cubits beyond the Prow of the Ship. The other two Cubits of the Bridge covered a part of the Prow of the Ship inwards, and came round this false Mast. There was an oblong opening between the two sides of the Bridge, and through that an heavy Bar of Iron ⁵⁷, made like a Pestle, but exceeding sharp at the Point, fell upon the Enemy's Ship, as soon as the Pulley let it down. There was an Iron Ring to this Pestle, and a Chain fastened to that Ring. At the same time that the Pestle stuck into the Timber of the Enemy's Ship, the Draw-Bridge fell upon her, which made it easy for the Assailants to board her. This was the Use of the *Corvus*, and Bridges, in boarding Ships at the Bow. But it sometimes happening that the Roman Galley came upon the Broadside of a Carthaginian one, the Pestle was then fixed into the side of her. The two Gallies then lay side by side, and the Soldiers leaped out of one Ship into the other, by the side on which they grappled her. But when Ships were attacked by the Bow, the Draw-bridge was let down. It was like the Drags to our Ferry-boats, which are made with an easy Descent towards the Shore, for the better Passage of Carriages. Two Men walked a Breast on the Bridge, and covering themselves with their Bucklers, entered the Enemy's Ship, Sword in Hand ⁵⁸.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCHII.

CN. CORNELIUS
ASINA
SCIPIO, C.
DUILIUS,
Consuls.

Polybius B. 1.
c. 21.

THE

⁵⁷ This thick piece of Iron, was probably not very unlike those Hooks which are now thrown over the Shrowds, and Bolt-sprit, of an Enemy's Ship, which the Sailors would grapple with. For this Reason, it is called by the Seamen, a grappling Iron. When once this is fastened into the sides of a Ship, the Seamen pull the Cable to which it is tied, and then the Ships being brought near together, the Crews come to a close Fight. *Frontinus* and *Florus* call these Machines, which were first invented by *Duilius*, *Manus Ferreae*. The adjoining Plate will shew, how the Roman General put his Project in Execution.

⁵⁸ [These are the Words of the Jesuits, which differ considerably from *Kenet's* Description of the *Corvus*, *Antiquities*, p. 240, 241. which is this. They erected, says he, on the Brow of their Vessels a round piece of Timber, of about a Foot and an half diameter, and about twelve Foot long; on the Top whereof, they had a Block or Pulley. Round this piece of Timber they laid a Stage, or Platform of Boards, four Foot broad, and about eighteen Foot long, which was well framed, and fastened with Iron. The Entrance was Longways, and it moved about the afore-said upright piece of Timber, as on a Spindle, and could be hoisted up within six Foot of the Top: About this a sort of a Parapet, Knee high, which was defended with upright Bars of Iron, sharpened at the Ends; toward the Top whereof there was a Ring; through this Ring, fastening a Rope, by the help of the Pulley, they hoisted, or lowered, the Engine, at Pleasure: and so with it attacked the Enc-

my's Vessels, sometimes on their Bow, and sometimes on their Broadside, as Occasion best served. When they had grappled the Enemy with those Iron Spikes, if they happened to swing Broadside to Broadside, then they entered from all Parts; but in case they attacked them on the Bow, they entered two and two, by the help of this Machine, the foremost defending the Forepart, and those that followed the Flanks, keeping the Bos of their Bucklers level with the Top of the Parapet. How far either of these Descriptions is agreeable to that of *Polybius*, whose Authority is referred to for both, is left to the learned Reader to judge, from that Historian's own Words, which are as follow.

"Ονταν δὲ τῶν πλείων φαύλων ταῖς κατασκευαῖς καὶ δυσκινήτων ὑποπίπτει τις αὐτοῖς βοήθημα πρὸς τὴν μάχην, τὰς ἐπικληθέντας μὲν ταῦτα κόρακας. αὐτὸν συνίσταται τὴν κατασκευὴν εἶναι τοιαύτην. εὐλόγῃ ἐν πρῶταις τρογγύλῃσι ἰσχυρῇ, μὴκῃ μὲν ὀργυῶν τεττάρων, κατὰ δὲ τὸ πλάτος τριῶν παλαιῶν, ἔχων τὴν ἀξίμειτρον οὕτως. αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τροχιλίαν εἶχε. περὶ τὴν δὲ αὐτῇ κλίμαξ ἐπικαρσίαις σάνισι καθηλωμένη. πλάτος μὲν ποδῶν τεττάρων, τὸ δὲ μὴκῃ δὲ ὀργυῶν. τὸ δὲ τμήμα τοῦ σανιδώματος ἦν παράμηναις, καὶ περὶ τὴν εὐλόν, μὲν τὰς πρώτας ὑδρίας τὴν κλίμακα δὲ δύο ὀργυῖαις. εἶχε δὲ καὶ δρύφακτον αὐτῇ παρ' ἑκατέρῃ τῇ ἐπιμήκῃ πλευρᾷ, εἰς γόνυ τὸ βάθος. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πρῶτου αὐτοῦ, προσήρμοσι σιδηροῦν οἷον ὑπεραν ἀπαλυσμένον, ἔχον δακτύλιον ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ. ὡς δὲ οἱ φάινεσθαι παραπλήσιον ταῖς σιτοποιίαις μηχανήσασιν. εἰς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν δακτύλιον ἐνιδίδετο ὁ κάλας, ὃ κατὰ τὰς ἐμβολὰς τῶν πλείων ἐξείροντες τοὺς κόρακας διὰ τὴν εὐλὴν τροχιλίαν, ἀφίσταν ἐπὶ τὸ καπίεραμα τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν νῆα, ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ πρῶταν, ποτὲ δὲ ἀντιπαραγόντες κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῶν πλεονίων προσκίπτουσας ἐμβολὰς. ὅτε δὲ ταῖς σάνισι τῶν κατασκευῶν ἐμπαγόντες οἱ κόρακες ὁμοῦ συνδύσαντες τὰς νῆας, εἰ μὲν πλείονες

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CN. CORNE-
LIUS ASINA
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DULIUS,
Consuls.

THE Invention of this Machine, of which a Trial was made, gave the *Consul* more Confidence; and he left the Command of the Land-Forces to his Subalterns, and embarked. The *Carthaginian* Fleet had made a Descent near *Myle*, in order to lay its Territory waste; and as this City was near *Messana*, and belonged to the *Mamertini*, the *Romans* were obliged to revenge the Cause of their Allies. The *Consul's* Fleet therefore sailed that Way, and advanced in good Order. The Enemy, who despised the *Romans*, as Novices in Sea-affairs, did not so much as give themselves the Trouble to draw up their Ships in Line of Battel. Each *Carthaginian* Galley, chose a *Roman* Galley, to insult her, and harrafs her with Darts. They advanced swiftly up to the unweildy *Triremes* of the Enemy; but were surprized at first to see something fixed at the Prows of all the *Roman* Gallies, which they had never seen before. When these Draw-bridges of their *Corvi* were drawn up, and fastened to the little Masts, which supported them, they looked very like Mill-Hoppers. However, the boldest of the *Carthaginians* laughed at these Bugbears, the Use of which they did not understand; and advanced with Confidence quite up to the Enemy's Gallies. Then the *Romans* endeavoured to tack about, and take the Enemy's Vessels in flank; but if they could not do that, they brought their Prows to those of the Enemy's *Triremes*, and all on a sudden, let down their Bridges. The Pestle fell with great Quickness and Force, stuck into the Timber of the Enemy's Ship, and held it fast; and the *Roman* Soldiers immediately seized the Bridge, passed over it into the *Carthaginian* *Triremis*, and there fought, as if they had been a-shore. The *Romans*, who were more expert, more brave, and better armed, than their Adversaries, spared neither Soldiers, nor Seamen; threw the Wounded as well as the Dead over-board; and then seized the Ship. The Admiral's own Galley did not escape these *Corvi* 59. It was a *Septiremis*, which the *Carthaginians* had taken from King *Pyrrhus*. *Hannibal* himself, who commanded the Fleet, was on board; but the cowardly General was guilty of the same base Conduct now, as formerly at *Agri- gentum*, where he commanded. As soon as he saw the *Romans* enter his Galley, he left his Crew and Soldiers to the Mercy of the Enemy, leaped into a Skiff, and escaped. In this first Battel the *Romans* took thirty Ships from *Hannibal*. The rest of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which consisted of an hundred and thirty Gallies, had not yet engaged. They therefore came and fell upon the *Roman* Fleet, to the Windward; and in order to avoid these *Corvi* in the Prows, they endeavoured to take the *Roman* Vessels in flank. But their Commanders, had then learnt the Art of working their Ships, so as still to present the Prows to the Enemy. By this means, they caught hold of many of the *Carthaginian* Ships, and took no less than fifty more of them. Some of the Crews made Resistance, others voluntarily surrendered to the *Romans*. The latter had Quarter given them; the former were all put to the Sword. In the two Battels, the *Romans* took about seven thousand Prisoners; killed seven thousand Men; and sunk thirteen of the *Carthaginian* Ships.

Orfius B. 4.

§. XIV. THIS glorious Victory at Sea, gained by Men unexperienced in naval Affairs, gave the *Romans* great Joy; and not content with having been victorious, they improved their Victory to the uttermost. The *Consul* *Dulius* went a-shore; put himself at the Head of his Land-Forces: and the first use he made of them, was to relieve *Segesta*. This City was besieged, and vigorously pressed by an Army commanded by *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian*. This General's Name has made some Historians take him for *Hamilcar*, the Father of the Great *Hannibal*, who was the Hero of the second *Carthaginian* War. But we know from others, that *Hannibal's* Father 60 was then very young, and had no Command, though he was at that time in the Service of the Republick in *Sicily*. The *Segestani* had shewn so sincere an Attachment to the *Romans*, as to deserve not to be deserted by them in their present

πλαγίαι παραβάλοιιν ἀλλήλαις, πανταχόθεν ἐπιπύδων. ἡ δὲ κατὰ πρῶτον δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κόρακος ἐπὶ δύο συνηχίς ἰποιοῦντο τὴν ἴφο- δον. ὡς οἱ μὲν ἡγούμενοι τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐπιφανείαν ἐσκεπάζον ταῖς τῶν θυρίων προβολαῖς· οἱ δὲ ἰπομῖνοι, τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἡσφαλίζοντο πλευράς, ὑπὲρ τὸν δευφάκτον ὑπερτιθέμενοι τὰς ἴτους τῶν ὀπλων, οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη κεχρημένοι παρασκευὴ καὶρὸν ἐπι- τέραν πρὸς ναυμαχίαν. Polyb. B. 1. c. 21.]

59 What our Mariners call *A Crow* is nothing else but a crooked Iron, used to draw Ships together, in order to board them. Nevertheless, the Ancients seem to

distinguish this *Crow*, from two other sorts of Hooks; one of which they called *Manus Ferrea*, as we have observed in the preceding Note; and another which they called *Harpago*. But they have taken so little care to shew us the Difference between them, that we may well take one for the other.

60 *Cornelius Nepos* tells us, that *Himilcar*, the Father of *Hannibal*, had not the Command of the *Carthaginian* Armies in *Sicily*, till towards the end of the first *Punic* War.

Extremities

Extremities. Considering themselves as originally *Trojans*, they had surrendered to a Year of
 Republick of *Trojan* Extraction: and the *Consul* was too grateful, to suffer those *R O M E*
 Citizens to perish, who called themselves his Brothers. He appeared before the *CCCCXCIII.*
 Place, and the Siege was raised. From thence he went to retake *Macella*, another *CN. CORNE-*
 City, which had submitted to the *Romans*, and had been taken by the *Carthaginians*. *LIUS ASINA*
 The *African* Garrison in it sustained a Siege, but the *Roman* Valour prevailed. *SCIPIO, C.*
DUILIUS,
Consul.

ALL these Victories and Conquests, which *Duilius's* Collegue had no Share in, were the Fruits of one single Campaign; which being ended, the Conqueror thought of nothing more, but of confirming the *Sicilians* of his Party, in their Fidelity, and returning to *Rome*. At his Departure, he left his *Legions* in the Country where they had made War, and did not transport them into *Italy*, to put them into Winter-Quarters there, as his Predecessors had done.

WHILST the *Romans* were preparing to give *Duilius* a magnificent Reception at *Rome*, *Hamilcar* made it his Business, to take all the Advantage he could of his Absence. As brave and enterprising as this *Carthaginian* General was, he had been awed by the Conqueror's Presence, and had not dared either to continue the Siege of *Segesta*, or attempt to raise that of *Macella*. But as soon as the *Consul* was sailed for *Italy*, *Hamilcar* gained an Ascendant over the *Romans*. *Duilius's* Lieutenant Generals began the Siege of *Mutistrata*⁶¹, a City subject to the *Carthaginians*; and *Hamilcar* let them languish a long time before the Place: but at last he appeared, and forced them to raise the Siege. There was then no considerable Commander at the Head of the *Roman Legions*; nor any, who had Authority enough to keep the *Sicilian* Allies under Discipline; and this was sufficient to create Disorders in the Army. The Troops quarrelled about a Point of Honour. The *Sicilians* complained that the *Romans* were placed in the most dangerous Posts, which were then thought the most honourable; and the Dispute was carried on to a Separation. The *Sicilian* Troops left the *Romans* in their Posts, and went and encamped by themselves. The *Carthaginian* General was too vigilant, not to draw Advantages from this Division. He came and attacked the *Sicilians* in their Entrenchments; killed four thousand of them; and the *Romans* had like to have been involved in the same Misfortunes. These Troubles brought many other Losses upon the *Romans*. *Hamilcar* drove them from their Posts, and took some Cities from them by Force, others by Stratagem. In short, the Republick found by Experience, what Misfortunes may be brought on an Army, by a Great General's leaving it to the Conduct of mere Subalterns, when they are to cope with an experienced Commander.

BUT after all, the Disadvantages of the *Romans* in *Sicily*, turned to *Duilius's* Honour at *Rome*, as the Successes of *Hamilcar* did, to the Disgrace of *Hannibal* at *Carthage*, who had been overcome at Sea. This imprudent Admiral sailed back with his shattered Fleet to the Ports of *Africa*. He foresaw the Storm that threatened him; and according to the usual way of proceeding at *Carthage*, Crucifixion was what he was to expect. But *Hannibal*, who was more cunning than brave, found means to avoid the Punishment which was designed for him. Before he arrived at *Carthage*, he sent one of his Friends thither with Directions, what to say to the Senate. The Defeat of the *Carthaginian* Fleet was not yet known in *Africa*, and *Hannibal's* Friend was introduced into the Assembly, where he made this Speech. The Admiral of your Fleet deposes me to you, to know, whether he shall fight the *Romans*. These proud Enemies have ventured to appear in our Seas, with a pretty good Number of Triremes clumsily built, and so heavy, that they look like Transports. This is the first Attempt of this kind, made by a Nation, which is not used to Sea-fights, and which seems to brave us. They have indeed some Machines fixed on the Prows of their Ships, which we are not acquainted with, nor do we know the use of them. Do you judge it Rashness, notwithstanding this Scare-crow, to preserve our Empire over the Seas, which they seem to dispute with us, or do you not? Shall we attack the Enemy, or let them infest our Coasts? The Answer was unanimous; Fight the *Romans*, and punish them for their Rashness; and then *Hannibal's* Friend told them the News of his Defeat. What you, my Lords, now command, *Hannibal* has ventured to do. Fortune indeed did not favour him in his

Val. Max. B.
7. c. 3. Ext. 7.
Zonaras, and
Author of the
Lives of Il-
lustrious Men.

⁶¹ The ancient City of *Mutistrata*, stood near the River *Alafus*, towards the West of *Sicily*. It is the same City that *Polybius* calls *Mystrate*. *Cicero* calls it *Amestrate* in his Oration against *Verres*; and it now bears the Name of *Mystratta*. The Greek Historian says, that this City was so advantageously situated, as to be able to sustain a long Siege.

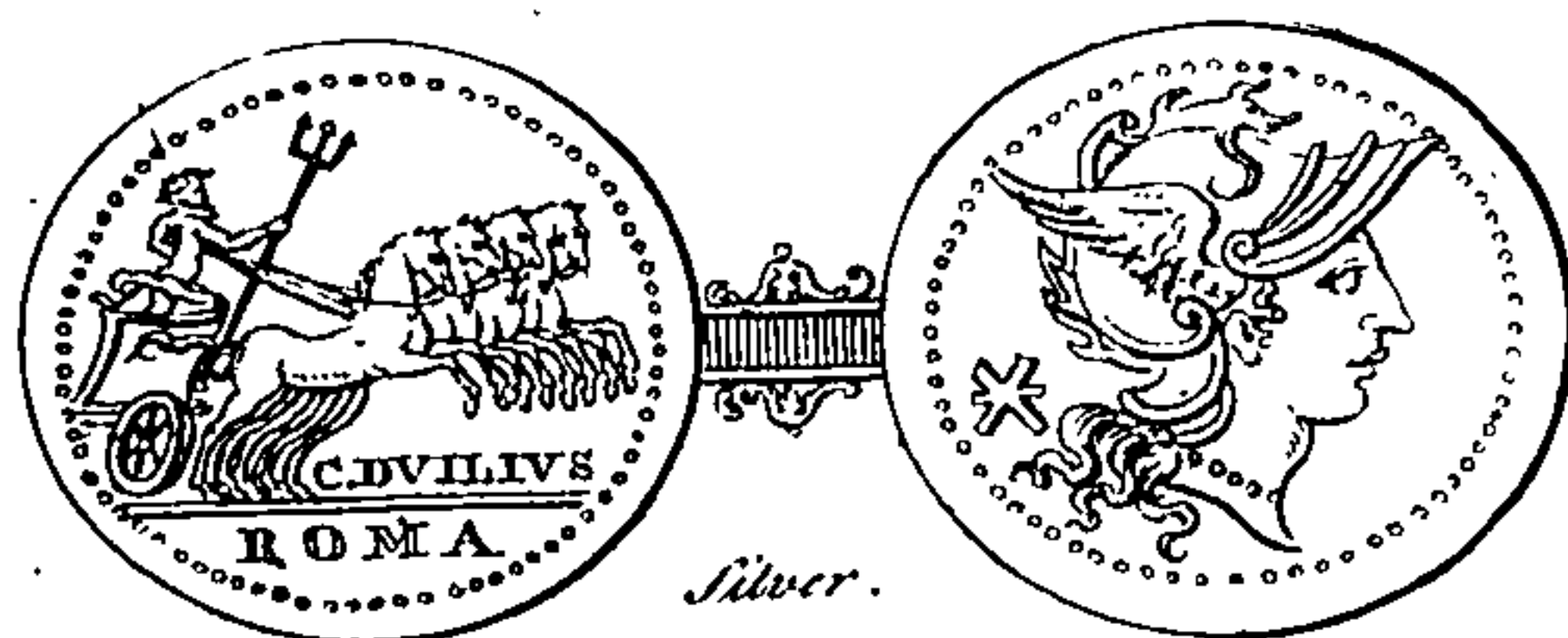
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Enterprise; but who can be answerable for the Event of Things? Hannibal thought as you do. And shall the Capriciousness of Fortune be charged upon him as a Crime? The Carthaginians indeed did not usually punish any Enterprises, but what were imprudently undertaken; and as the Senators would have condemned themselves, if they had condemned Hannibal; they therefore gave him his Life, but deprived him of the Command of the Fleet.

WHILST the Carthaginians were punishing an unfortunate General at Carthage, the Romans were heaping Honours on the brave Duilius at Rome. All the former Victories of Consuls, and Dictators seemed to be in a manner forgotten. A Victory gained at Sea, was more highly valued by the Republick, at this Juncture, than all the Conquests made by Land at different times. So that it would not bear a Question, whether Duilius should be honoured with a Triumph; it was universally agreed, that he had deserved it. And the Senate and People endeavoured to shew their Gratitude to him, by all possible means that they could invent. He entered the City in a Chariot, attended with the Acclamations of all Rome; and a Mark of Distinction was granted him, which was never heard of before, and was continued to him as long as he lived. When ever he returned home ⁶², in the Evening, after he had supped in the City, he was attended with Musick and Flambeaux. This was in some Measure to perpetuate the Memory of the Triumph, with which he had been honoured: and Medals were also struck for the same Purpose. The Face of them ⁶³ was *A Rome* wearing an Helmet; and the reverse, a *Neptune* armed with his Trident, and riding in a triumphal Chariot. Add to this, that the Conqueror was also permitted to build a Temple ⁶⁴ to *Janus*, who presided over *Ways out*, and *Ways in*. And indeed, Duilius's Victory was, as it were, the *Entrance* to, or beginning of, all the Victories the Romans afterwards gained at Sea. But what most distinguished the illustrious Consul, was a Pillar of white ⁶⁵ Marble, which was erected to his Honour. The Ancients speak of it; *Pliny* tells us, that it was standing in the *Forum Romanum*, in his time; and

*Cicero in Cat.
Majore.*

*Tacit. Annal.
B. 3.*



Silver.

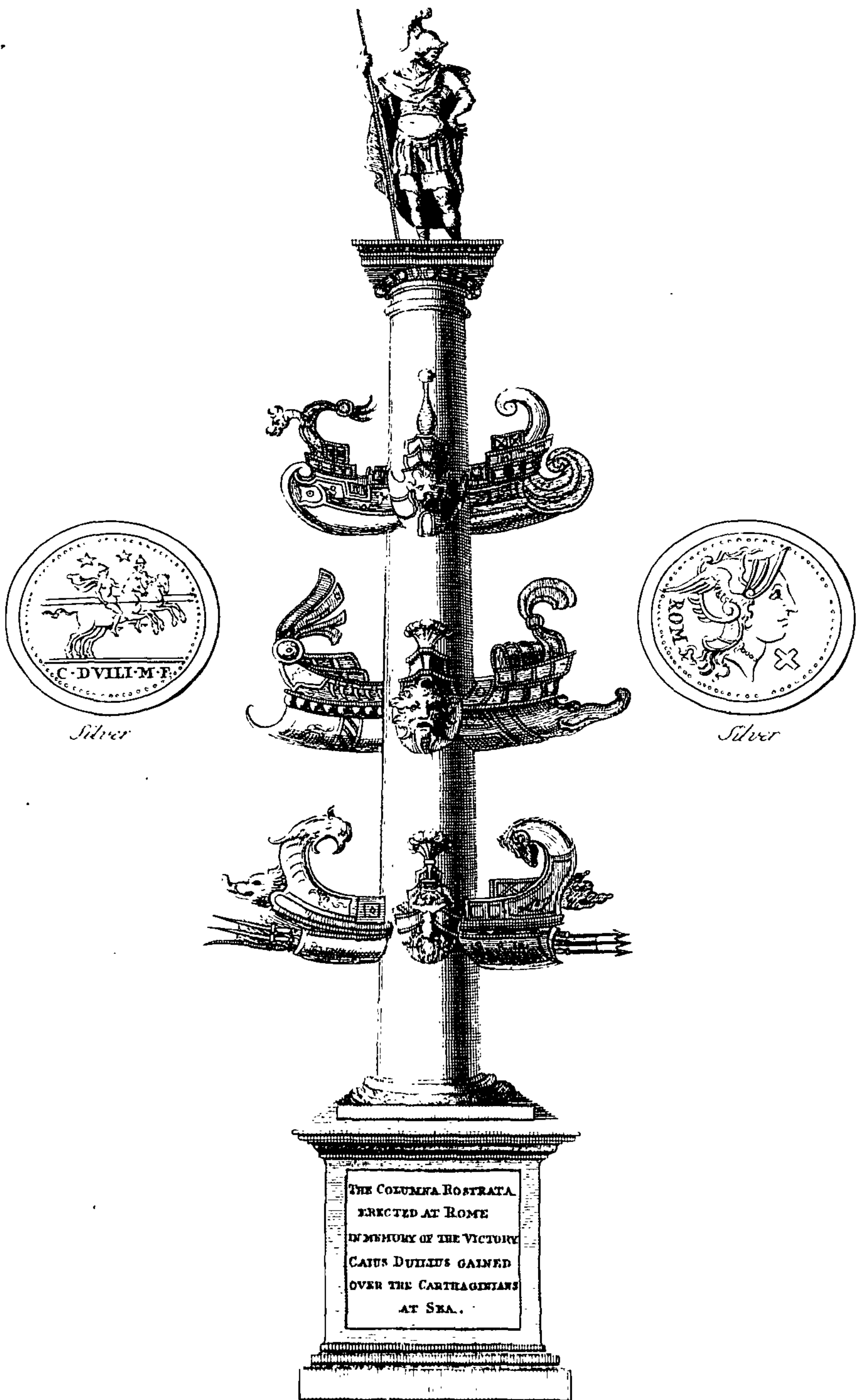
⁶² *Cicero*, in his Book *Of Old Age*, makes *Cato the Elder* speak thus. *In my Youth, I often saw Caius Duilius, returning from a Supper he had been at, in the City: and he had the Pleasure of being lighted Home with several Flambeaux, and attended by a Company of Musicians, who played to him all the Way. He assumed this singular Privilege in an unparalleled manner, when he was but a private Person. So true is it, that Duilius took Advantage of the Glory he had acquired to raise himself above the Laws. And Florus likewise seems to say, that this General gave himself this uncommon Mark of Distinction in Rome. Duilius Imperator non contentus unius diei triumpho, per vitam omnem, ubi a cona rediret, praelucere funalia, praecinere sibi tibias iussit, quasi quotidie triumpharet.* But it is not probable, that Duilius should venture to assume so much Honour to himself, without the Consent of the Senate and People. And if we suppose he did, would the Patricians and Plebeians, who called every the least Step towards an Independency, a State-crime, have suffered him to go on, in this open Insult on publick Authority? It is more probable, that Duilius demanded this Privilege, as a Reward due to his Services. We have already observed, that it was granted but for once only, to those who triumphed; which was when they returned home in the Evening, from the solemn Feast, which was

prepared at the Expence of the Publick, for the close of their Triumphs.

⁶³ We don't pretend to warrant the authentickness of this Medal, which we have taken from *Goltzius's Fasti Consulares*. The Misfortune is, that the Author's Exactness, or Fidelity is suspected, as to this Matter.

⁶⁴ This Temple of *Janus*, was built near the Herb-Market, according to *Tacitus, Annals* 11, 49, 3.

⁶⁵ *Sextus Rufus*, who drew a Plan, and Description of *Old Rome*, about the last Age of the Roman Empire, says, *The Columna Rostrata*, was in being in his time. In his Text indeed, we read the Words *D. JULII*, as if this Pillar had been erected in Memory of some considerable Advantage gained over the Carthaginians at Sea, by *Julius Caesar*. But who does not know, that the Romans had then no Quarrel with a People, which had been long brought into Subjection to the Roman Republick? The same Error is also crept into the 13th Book, *Of Quintilian's Institutes*, where he mentions *The Columna Rostrata*; which doubtless, ought to be imputed to the Negligence, or Ignorance, of the Copyists. According to *Silius Italicus's* Account, *B. 6. Caius Duilius* had consecrated this Trophy to *Mars*. This Author speaks more like an Historian, than a Poet, in this Place; and we ought



and it was accidentally recovered, in the last Century. It was dug up in the Place which Year of
was formerly the *Forum Romanum*. There are yet six *Prows* of *Roman Gallies* stick- R O M E
ing to it; three on one side, and three on the other. But what most concerns Hi- CCCCXIII.
storians is the Inscription ⁶⁶, which is yet remaining on the Pedestal of the Column. CN. CORNE-
Though it is defective in some Places, there is enough of it left, to shew us distinctly, LIUS ASINA-
SCIPIO C

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SCIPIO, C.
DUILIUS,
Consuls.

ought not to omit the following Lines; because they confirm the Truth of our History.

*Aequoreum juxta decus, Et navale Trophaeum,
Rostra gerens, nivea surgebat mole Columna.
Exuvias Marti, donumque Duilius alto
Ante omnes, mersa Pænorum classe, dicabat;
Cui nocturnus honos, funalia clara, sacerque
Post epulas, Tibicen adest, castosque Penates
Insignis, Læti repetebat murmure Cantus.*

66 The Pedestal of this Pillar, was carried to the Capitol, by the Care of *Cardinal Alexander Farnese*, in the Year of our Lord 1560. The broken Remains we have of the Inscription, are in old *Latin*. *Justus Lipsius* has endeavoured to restore part of it; *Ciaconius* has, by conjecture, filled up all the Chasms of it: and has finely explained the Sense he has given it, and the Words of the Inscription, in a learned Commentary upon it. But we cannot pretend to warrant the Genuineness of his Text, which he himself could not ascertain. The adjoining Plate shews, *The Columna Rostrata* entire; and in order to render what remains of the Inscription the more intelligible, we shall here give it the Reader with *Ciaconius's* Supplement, and *Latin* Interpretation, which is in Substance, as follows. *Caius Duilius*, Consul, *the Son of Marcus*, General of the Roman Army in Sicily, against the

Carthaginians, forced Hamilcar to raise the Siege of Segesta, a City in Friendship and Alliance with the Roman People; and forced him to return on board his Fleet, after he had left his Camp, and nine Elephants, to the Mercy of the Enemy. Then he took Macella, one of the strongest Places in Sicily. He fitted out a Fleet in the Space of sixty Days; defeated the Carthaginians, commanded by Hannibal, at Sea; took from them thirty Ships, with all their Rigging, and the Septiremis, which carried the Admiral himself; sunk thirty; and took several Prisoners of Distinction, who walked before his Chariot, and added to the Glory of his Triumph. In Memory of which Exploits, the Roman Senate and People erected this Pillar. Those who are curious to read and understand the Words of the Inscription, must observe, that the Old Romans always added a D to the end of a Word which ended with a Vowel; used C, instead of G; an O for an U; and an E for an I. Thus they wrote, and spoke, MACESTRATOS CONSOL CEPET, instead of *Magistratus, Consul, Cepit*. The old Words, NAVEBOS, CLASSES, NUMEI, TRIRESMOS, POPLO, EXFOCIUNT, are equivalent to *Navibus, Classis, Nummi, Triremes, Populo, Effugiunt*. These Remarks will give a Key to the other Terms of the Inscription, which, with *Ciaconius's* Supplement and Explanation, is as follows.

THE INSCRIPTION
OF THE COLUMNA ROSTRATA;
WITH CIACONIUS'S SUPPLEMENT.

C. Bilios. M. F. Cos. advorsom. Cartacinienseis. en. Siceliad. rem. cerens. ecest. Anos. cocnatos. popli.
Romani. artifumad obsedeoned. EXEMET. LECION. eis. Cartacinienseis. omneis MAXIMOSQUE. MACIS-
TRATOS. LUCÆS bovebos relisteis NOVEM. CASTREIS EXFOCIONE, MACELAM. mœnitam. urbem. PUG-
NANDOD. CEPET. ENQUE. EODEM. MACEstratod. prospere REM. NAVEBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. ce-
fet. resmecosque CLASESQUE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. PARAVetque. diebos. lx. CUMQUE EIS. NA-
VEBUS. CLASEIS POENICAS. OMNIS. paratasque. SUMAS. COPIAS. CARTACINIENSIS. PRÆSENTED. maxu-
mod DICTATORED. olorom. IN. ALTOD. MARID. puchandod. vicet xxx QUE NAVEIS, cepet. CUM.
SOCIEIS. SEMTEMresmommue. ducis quinresmosque. TRIRESMOSQUE. NAVEIS. xx. deprefet. aurom. CAP-
TOM NUMEI ΦΦΦ DCC
arcntom. CAPTOM. PRÆDA. NUMEI cccclxxx c
grave. CAPTOM. AES. cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx
cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx cccclxxx
cccclxxx pondod triompoque. NAVALED. PRÆDAD. POPLOM. Romanom. donavet captivos. CARTACINI-
enseis. incenvos. DUXET ante. curum primosque consol. de SICELEIS. claseque. CARTACINIENSEOM triom-
pavet. earum. rerom. erco. S.P.Q.R. ei. hance. columnam. p.

The Words of the Inscription itself are distinguished from the Supplement, by being put in Capitals.

THE EXPLANATION

Of the Words of the Inscription.

Cajus Duilius Marci filius Consul adversus Carthaginienses in Sicilia rem gerens, Egestanos socios atque cognatos populi Romani arctissima obsidione exemit. Legiones enim omnes Carthaginiensium qui Egestam obsidebant, & Amilcar maximus eorum Magistratus festinandi studio elephantis relictis novem, castris effugerunt. Macellam deinde munitam validamque urbem

pugnando

Year of what Booty ⁶⁷ the Romans took in the Carthaginian Ships; how much Silver, and
 R O M E how much Gold in Money; and how much Brasses uncoined. The Reader will not
 CCCCXCIII. think it strange, that so many Monuments of Honour were decreed *Duilius*: if he
 considers, that it may be truly said of him, That by this first Victory at Sea, he
 opened the Romans the Way, for their Conquest of the whole World.

CN. CORNE-
LIUS ASINA
SCIPIO, C.
DUILIUS,
Consuls.

Year of brated Historian ⁶⁸ has not vouchsafed even to mention their *Consulate*; but other
 R O M E Writers have done them Justice. The *Centuries* chose *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and
 CCCCXCIV. *C. Aquilius Florus*, in the *Campus Martius*: and the Command of the Fleet fell by
 Lot to *Cornelius*, that of the Land-Forces to *Aquilius*. They were both ordered for
 L. CORNELI-
US SCIPIO, C.
AQUILIUS
FLORUS, Con-
suls.

WHILST *Cornelius* was getting every thing ready on the Coasts for his Passage, his
 Polyb. B. I. c.
24. Colleague was detained at Rome by the Discovery of a Conspiracy. The Republick
 had brought to Rome a good Number of Men, from all the Provinces subject to her,
 to serve as Rowers in the Gallies. Their Crews did not then consist of Galley-Slaves,
 but were Men of free Condition, who were obliged to serve on Ship-board, and who
 were complaisantly called, ⁶⁹ *The Allies chosen for the Fleet*. These consisted of Men
 of all the conquered Nations; and among the rest some *Samnites*, who were an un-
 tractable and factious People, came to Rome to be enlisted into the Sea-service. These,
 upon their Arrival, found a Plot against the State, already formed among the Slaves,
 whose Design was to plunder and burn the City: and the Conspirators being yet no
 more than three thousand in Number, they had a mind to join some of those *Samnites*
 with them, who were ordered to the Gallies. These complained of their hard Fate;
 having been never used to the Sea, they thought it an ungovernable Element; and
 the Malecontents readily joined the Traitors: So that four thousand *Samnites* entered

pugnando cepit. Atque in eodem magistratu prospere rem navibus mari Consul primus gessit: re-
 miges

classisque navales primus ornavit atque paravit diebus sexaginta, & cum his navibus, classes Punicas
 omnes, paratas, ornatasque summas copias Carthaginiensium, præsentem Annibalem maximo dictatore
 illorum, in alto mari pugnando superavit;

trigintaque naves cum sociis, hoc est cum ipsis hominibus, cepit, & septiremem prætoriam,
 quinqueremes præterea ac triremes naves xx. depreffit.

Aurum captum in præda nummi III. M. DCC.

Argentum captum in præda nummi C. M.

Æs grave captum vicies semel centena millia pondo atque in triumpho navali prædam omnem
 in ærarium Popul. Rom. intulit. Captivos etiam Carthaginienses ingenuos, hoc est, nobiles aliquot
 ante currum duxit:

primusque Consul, de Siculis, & Classe Carthaginiensium triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo

S. P. Q. R. ei hanc columnam posuit.

Earum rerum ergo Marti donum dedit atque dicavit.

⁶⁷ The Value of the Booty *Duilius's* Victories brought into the publick Treasury, is set down in Numerals. It is computed at 3700 Pieces of Gold, 100000 Pieces of Silver, and 2100000 Pounds weight of Copper. All that remains therefore is to know the Value of these pieces of Gold and Silver: which it is not possible to determine with Certainty. It is evident these pieces of Gold must have been *Sicilian* or *Carthaginian* Money, because the Romans had not yet coined any Gold. And it is as difficult to compute the Value of the pieces of Silver, which are called in *Latin*, NUMMI, or Nummi; unless we could ascertain the Value of the Nummus mentioned on the Inscription. We know ancient Authors give us different Accounts of the Worth of the Nummus argenteus. According to *Varro* it was the fourth part of a Silver Denarius; *Terence* in his *Heautontimorumenos*, makes it worth one Drachma. *Plautus*, in *Truculento*, makes it worth two Attick Drachmae. So that Nummus was a general Term, which was applied to different Species, whether the Metal was Gold, Silver, or Brasses. The 2100000 Pounds weight of Brasses, is signified by the Repetition of these Numerals cccldccc one and twenty times; because, as *Pliny* observes, the

Romans reckoned no Number beyond an hundred thousand. And for this Reason they repeated the same Sum, as many times as there were hundred thousands in the Sum they would express. Non erat antiquis numerus ultra centum millia. Itaque & hodie multiplicantur hæc, ut decies centena millia, aut sapius, dicantur.

⁶⁸ *Polybius* says nothing of these Consuls; and only tells us, that the Roman Legions in Sicily, did nothing memorable in this Year. But the express Testimony of *Florus*, *Zonaras*, *Orosius*, and especially the *Fasti Capitolini*, are of much greater weight than his Silence.

⁶⁹ The Rowers were enlisted in the Service of the Republick, and took the military Oath, in the same manner as the Legionaries did. Sometimes some Roman Citizens, who from a State of Slavery, became Freedmen, were among these Rowers; and sometimes Slaves, according to the present State and Exigency of Affairs. *Cicero* tells us, in his fifth Oration against *Verres*, that the Cities in Alliance with Rome, and the tributary Provinces, were each obliged to furnish a certain Quota of Rowers.

into

into their Conspiracy. Yet still there was an Head wanting for this Confederacy; and the Traitors pitched upon one *Errius Potitius*, who commanded the Auxiliaries. He was a Man of a good Head, and of Resolution; and he seemed to hearken to the Proposals of the Conspirators, in order to learn their Secrets, and discover them to the Senate. He informed himself of all the Names, and Habitations of the Conspirators; and discovered enough to enable him to give the *Consuls* and *Conscript Fathers*, a full and faithful Account of the whole Affair. But he was continually beset by a Company of these Wretches, who always kept him in their sight. In order therefore to get rid of them, he invented this Stratagem. He told the Conspirators, that in order to succeed in their Design, it was necessary that they should pretend some Grievance, complain of it to the Senate when assembled, and thereby sound the Inclinations of the Senators; and in case they refused to hear them, then break out into open Clamours, and take that Opportunity of arming. This Advice was the more readily agreed to, because *Potitius* offered to appear at the Head of the Malecontents. When therefore they heard that the Senate was sitting, the *Samnite* Conspirators came into the *Forum* from all Parts, and loudly complained, that the Corn allowed them for their Subsistence, was not full Measure. This was not true; but the Conspirators intended nothing by it, more than to make a Noise and Clamour. The Senate was alarmed at it; and in order to appease the Tumult, the chief of the Mutineers was called into the Assembly. This *Potitius* expected; and when he came there, instead of explaining the Reasons of their Complaints, he declared the whole Scheme of the Conspirators. The *Conscript Fathers* commended the Fidelity of *Potitius*; appeased the guilty *Samnites* with good Words, and dispersed them; and they all returned home very well satisfied, with having, as they imagined, appeared formidable to the Senate. But the following Night undeceived them. All the Slaves in the Conspiracy, whose Names were known, were put in Irons by their Masters, and all the *Samnites*, which were left in *Rome*, were imprisoned.

§. XVII. DURING these Distractions at *Rome*, *Cornelius* had weighed Anchor, and his Fleet was at Sea. Men are generally very fond of undertaking things which have never been attempted before. And thus the *Consul* cast his Eyes upon the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and thought them worthy of a Campaign. But indeed, no Conquest, next to that of *Sicily*, could so well answer the end, the Republic then had in view, of gaining the Empire of the Seas. The two Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica* are so near one another, that they seem at a Distance to be but one. *Sardinia* is the largest; and there were then a good Number of Cities in this Island, which is reckoned to be five hundred and seventy Miles in Circumference. That of *Corfica* is smaller, was less peopled, and less fruitful; and was reckoned to be three hundred thousand geometrical Paces in Circumference. *Sardinia* abounded with Corn and Cattle. *Corfica* produced scarce any thing but Honey, which, contrary to its usual Taste, was bitier, though very wholesome. All the Naturalists of Antiquity say, that *Sardinia*, the Soil of which is more moist than that of *Corfica*, produced a poisonous Herb, which was mortal, and so contracted the Muscles of the Faces of those it killed, that they looked as if they were laughing: but it is a Fable. *Corfica*, which has a drier Soil, and is more mountainous, produced Yews and Box-trees in great Quantities; and hence came the Bitterness of its Honey, which the Bees gathered from these Trees. Though the Air of both these Islands was extremely unwholesome, yet the *Carthaginians* had possessed themselves of them, and had fortified some Cities there, in order to draw nearer to *Italy*, and make themselves Masters of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. And for the same Reasons, the *Romans* proposed to drive the *Carthaginians* out of them. The Silver Mines, which were then found in *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, were not so strong a Motive to them to attempt the Conquest of them, as their excellent Ports. These would serve to protect their Fleets, and for Magazines, in case of any Enterprizes upon the Coasts of *Africa*. All these Motives together, made the *Consul Cornelius* very desirous of subduing them. The first he attacked was *Corfica*, which was nearest *Italy*; and he needed only to conquer one City, in order to make himself Master of the whole Island. Having therefore taken ⁷⁰ *Aleria* by Assault, and placed a strong Garrison in it, he passed on to *Sardinia*. In his Way he saw a *Carthaginian* Fleet, but they crowded all they

⁷⁰ The ancient City of *Aleria* is now no longer in being. Some Authors call it *Alabia*, and *Alaria*. It afterwards became a *Roman Colony*.

Year of Sail they could, and got out of sight, before he could come up with them. He
 R O M E therefore continued his Course, and appeared with his Fleet off ⁷¹ *Olbia*, then a large
 CCCCXCIV. City, on the East-side of *Sardinia*. A great Number of *Carthaginian* Vessels were in
 the Port, and the *African* Garrison, which was in the City, was considerable. Whereas,
 L. CORNELI- *Cornelius* wanted Land-Forces. He therefore returned to *Italy*; embarked as many
 US SCIPIO, C. new Soldiers in his Fleet as he could, and came and made a Descent in *Sardinia*, re-
 AQUILIUS solving not to spare *Olbia*.
 FLORUS, Con- suls.

At *Carthage*, upon *Hannibal's* being deposed from being Admiral, that *Hanno* had
 been put in his room, whom we have already mentioned in the *Sicilian* Wars; and
 Orosius B. 4. this General's Fleet was now in the Port of *Olbia*, whilst he himself commanded in
 c. 7. the City. But the brave *Cornelius* was not terrified by the great Appearance of the
Carthaginian Forces, which seemed sufficient to secure the City from all possible Dan-
 ger. He laid Siege to it; and was forced to fight the *Carthaginians* under *Hanno's*
 Command, who signalized his Courage in the Battel. But the *Romans* were invin-
 cible by Land: *Hanno*, with all his Bravery, could not make Amends for the Weak-
 ness of his Troops. He died Sword in Hand; and his *Carthaginians* being van-
 quished, were forced to surrender up the Place they defended, to the Conqueror.

THEN *Cornelius* gave the *Africans* an Instance of that Humanity, to which they
 were utter Strangers. He honoured the Corps of their General, with magnificent
 Obsequies. He attended his Body to the Place of Burial himself, and shewed these
 Iul. Max. Barbarians, that the Hatred between brave Men ends with the Battel. By these
 B. 5. c. 1. § 2. moral Virtues the *Romans* thought to make both Gods and Men less sensible of the
 Horror of the terrible Slaughters they made of Mankind, in so many Battels. As
 Frontin. B. 3. for the Consul, he did not suffer the Ardour of his Troops to cool; but besieged, and
 c. 9. took, many maritime Cities in *Sardinia*, by repeating the same Stratagem. As he
 was Master of the Seas, he embarked some Troops on his Ships, ordered them to
 land at some Distance from the Place he intended to surprise, and laid them in Am-
 bush behind the Rocks, out of the Enemy's sight. At the same time, he himself
 appeared before the City, with a small part of his Army, as it were to begin an at-
 tack upon it. This immediately led the Garrison to make a Sally upon him; and
 then the General by a feigned Flight, led the Enemy to the Place of the Ambus-
 cade. And after the Garrisons were defeated, the Cities had nothing to do, but to
 surrender to the Conqueror. By these Exploits, *Cornelius* at length forced the *Car-*
thaginians to quit the Islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; and almost entirely subdued
 them.

§. XVIII. IN the mean time *Aquilius*, who arrived a little too late in *Sicily*, reco-
 vered the Affairs of the *Romans* there, notwithstanding the Enterprizes of *Hamilcar*.
 This brave *Carthaginian*, had taken great Advantage of the too long Absence of the
Roman Generals; and had they tarried any longer, the whole Island of *Sicily*, would
 have been, by Degrees, brought under the Power of the *Africans* again. But now,
Aquilius repaired the Losses the Republick had sustained, since *Duilius's* Departure.
 When the Consul landed, he found the Conquests of his Predecessors much lessened.
Enna ⁷², a City famous for the Rape of *Proserpine*, and *Camarina*, had been taken
 from

⁷¹ Nothing now remains of *Olbia*, but its Ru-
 ins; which still retain its ancient Name, in that of
Olbia Rovinata. The Description *Ptolomy* gives us
 of the Port of *Olbia*, inclines us to believe it was
 made by the two Promontories, that are now called
Capo Comino, and *Capo Cavallo*.

⁷² According to *Strabo*, the City of *Enna* stood
 on an Eminence in the middle of *Sicily*. It was
 thought one of the strongest Places in the Island;
 and most remarkable for its most beautiful Plains,
 fruitful Soil, and the great Number of Lakes and
 Springs, which watered its Territory. And lastly,
 the Purity of its Water, which the Historians and
 Geographers so highly commend, has led Mr.
Bochart to conjecture, that the Name of *Enna*
 was taken from the Word ENNAAM, or *Ennam*,
 which in the *Phœnician* Language signifies, a Foun-
 tain of Pleasure. The Inhabitants had a fabulous
 Tradition among them, which they credited, that
Ceres was born in this District. They boasted of

having learnt Agriculture from her; and it was an
 Opinion generally received, that *Proserpine* had been
 ran away with by *Pluto*, near the City of *Enna*, as
 she was gathering Flowers in a Meadow. The
Ennians, who believed this Fable, shewed a large
 Gulph, which, they said, opened of itself, to make
 the God a Way to Hell. Hence the Worship the
Sicilians paid these two Divinities; the magnificent
 Temple, which *Gelo* erected to *Ceres* in this City;
 and the solemn Festivals, which the *Syracusans* an-
 nually celebrated near the Fountain *Cyane*, which
 burst out all at once, when the Earth opened under
Pluto's Feet. The Persuasion People entertained
 that *Ceres* had fixed her Abode in this Temple,
 made it respected even by Nations that were En-
 mies; and no Gold, or precious Stones were spared
 in adorning this stately Edifice. At the Entrance
 into it, were three Statues of the Goddess, one of
 Marble, another of Brass, and a third, which held
 in its right Hand an Imago of Victory. *Triptole-*
mus's

from the Romans. The Carthaginians had fortified 73 *Drepanum*, which had an excellent Port: and for fear the *Ericini* should submit to the Romans, the Carthaginians removed them to *Drepanum*; after having destroyed all their City, except the famous Temple of *Venus Ericina*, which *Aeneas* built there, as he passed into *Italy*. But from the time that *Aquilius* appeared at the Head of the Armies, *Hamilcar* could make no farther Progress. The Campaign was now just at an end, and *Aquilius* therefore ought regularly to have returned to *Rome*, to assist at the Election of his Successors: but he continued in the Field, all the Winter. Only *Cornelius* returned to *Rome*, where he received the Honours of a Triumph, for having subdued the Islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*.

As soon as the Consular Year was expired, the Centuries chose new Consuls, and continued *Aquilius* in the Command of the Army in *Sicily*, with the Title of *Proconsul*. The Generals Rome chose for the ensuing Year were, *A. Attilius* 74 *Calatinus*, and *C. Sulpicius Paternulus*. The Command of the Fleet fell to *Sulpicius*, and that of the Land-Forces to *Calatinus*. And before the Consuls were ready to repair to their respective Commands, the *Proconsul* made his Country ample Amends, for the time he had been forced to lose at *Rome*. He performed such Exploits, during the little remains of his Consulsbip, and in his *Proconsulate*, which did not last long, as to deserve the Honours of a Triumph. In short, he drove *Hamilcar* out of the Field, and laid Siege to *Myfistratum*. This was a City of Importance, which the Romans had several times endeavoured to reduce. The *Proconsul* seems to have carried on the Siege of it, with Vigour; and though it did not surrender till after the Arrival of the Consul *Attilius*, who continued the Siege; yet it is probable, that *Aquilius* 75 had all the Honour of its Reduction. Without this, the Senate would scarce have granted a Triumph to the *Proconsul Aquilius*, at the same time, that they did not grant one to *Calatinus*, to whom the City surrendered; and though the Historians don't declare as much, yet it is but just to look on the triumphing Victor, as the chief Author of this fine Conquest. *Attilius* indeed continued the Siege, which the *Proconsul* had far advanced; and the Besieged made their utmost Efforts against this new Commander: but they were at last forced to submit. The Cries of the Women and Children affected the *Sicilian* Inhabitants of *Myfistratum* so much, that they forced the *Carthaginian* Garrison to go out at one Gate of the City, whilst they let in the Roman Soldiers at another, before they had made any Capitulation. And then great Baseness and Barbarity ensued. These unhappy People were treated with the utmost Rigour. In the first Sallies of their Fury, the Soldiers put all to the Sword, Men, Women, and Children. The Consul was filled with Horror at this Sight, and thinking that the only Way to put a Stop to the Cruelty of his Soldiers, was to indulge their Avarice: he suffered them to make the Inhabitants of *Myfistratum* Slaves, and sell them for their own Advantage; which put a Stop to this terrible Butchery. Clemency and Humanity, the so much boasted Virtues of the Romans of that time, were not common among the meaner sort of them. It was only the Governors, and Candidates for Offices, who made a Shew of these Virtues, and made them subservient to their ambitious Views. After the Conqueror had subdued the City, he razed it, and we find it no more mentioned in Story.

§. XIX. FROM *Myfistratum*, *Attilius* led his Army towards *Camarina*. *Hamilcar* waited to intercept him in his Passage, and shewed him, that there were *Caudian Forks* in *Sicily*, as well as *Italy*. The Roman Army descended into a deep Valley, and all on a sudden was surrounded by *Carthaginians*, posted upon the Hills all round it. There was no advancing, or retiring; all Avenues were stopped up. But it was in these Extremities, that the Roman Virtue shone out with the greatest Lustre.

mus's Statue was also there, and vied with that of *Ceres*. These four Monuments, which were of exquisite Workmanship, raised the Admiration of all Spectators. *Enna* is supposed to have stood, where *Castro Janni* now stands.

73 The Name of *Drepanum*, taken from the Greek Word *Δρέπανος*, was given this City; because its Shore made a sort of Elbow, or bending, which was like a Scythe. It is now called *Trapani*. The Carthaginians fortified it, and made it one of their Magazines for Arms. It stood a Mile from Mount *Eryx*, formerly so famous for the Temple dedicated

to *Venus Erycina*. Near *Drepanum* was the little Island of *Columbaria*, which the Inhabitants now call *La Columbara*.

74 Zonaras has maimed the Surname of *Calatinus*, whom he calls *Latinus*. The *Fasti Capitolini* vary as to the *Prænomen* of *Sulpicius*. They here give him that of *Quintus*; and in the Account of the Triumphs, he is called *Caius*: which Variation may perhaps be owing to the Engraver. But be that as it will, it's certain, that all Authors agree in giving *Sulpicius* the *Prænomen* of *Caius*.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCIV.

L. CORNELIUS
US SCIPIO, C.
AQUILIUS
FLORUS, Con-
suls.

Dion. Sic. in
Eclogis. and
Tab. Triumph.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCV.

A. ATTILIUS
CALATINUS,
C. SULPICIUS
PATERCULUS,
Consuls.

Tab. Triumph.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 11.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCV.

A. ATTILIUS
CALATINUS,
C. SULPICIUS
PATERCULUS,
Consuls.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 12; Oro-
sius; Florus;
Author of the
Lives of Il-
lust. Men; and
Livy Epit. B.
17.

Pliny B. 22.
c. 6,

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 24.
and Diod. in
Eclog.

Florus B. 2.

New *Decii* now appeared in the *Roman Army*, who themselves to certain Death, to save their Country. They gloried in so doing, and from the bare Hopes that their Names would survive them, they valued their Lives as nothing. Such was the Courage of an Officer in this *Consular Army*; and it is surprising that the Historians should differ so much, about his Name. Some call him *Cæditius*, others *Laberius*, but the greatest Number, *M. Calpurnius Flamma*. A remarkable Proof of the Vanity of those Men, who hazard every thing, only for an immortal Fame! Their very Names often die with them. *Calpurnius* was a *Legionary Tribune*, whose Resolution can never be too much commended. He desired the *Consul* to give him three hundred chosen determined Men; promised to find the Enemy so much Employment with this small Company, as should oblige them to leave a Passage open for the *Roman Army*: and performed his Promise. He led his little Body of Men up to an Eminence, which he seized, and on which he entrenched himself. The *Carthaginians* being therefore jealous of his Designs, attacked him with Vigour, and he more vigorously defended himself. So that the *Carthaginian* Battalions came together from all Quarters to drive away these audacious *Romans*, who had seized so dangerous a Post: And even those who guarded the Passes into the Valley, were willing to have their Share in the Victory. Then the *Consul* took Advantage of the Diversion, and drew his Army out of that bad Situation, into which he had imprudently brought it. Indeed, the three hundred *Romans* were all overpowered and killed by the Numbers of the Enemy. When the *Legions* were out of Danger, they were too late to relieve them; they only came soon enough to save the Bodies of these brave Men, from the Insults of the *Carthaginian* Soldiers. They found them all in an Heap, in the Place, on which they had posted themselves; and which is very surprising, *Calpurnius* alone was found under an Heap of dead Bodies, still breathing, but covered with Wounds; and it fortunately happened, that none of them proved mortal. They were dressed, cured, and the brave Officer, after this, did his Country very important Services. In any other State, but the Republick of *Rome*, great Riches and Honours would have been bestowed, on the Author of so glorious an Action; but there a Crown of *Gramen* was thought a sufficient Honour for *Calpurnius*, and he was satisfied with it. These Marks of Honour were greater Encouragements to the *Romans* to serve their Country, than the Hopes of more substantial Rewards: and indeed, as long as they acted upon no Motives but those of Glory, and a Love of Duty, they deserved to conquer the World.

ATTILIUS being thus rescued from such imminent Danger, continued his March towards *Camarina*. This City was surrounded with strong Walls, and had a numerous Garrison: so that it was necessary to besiege it in form. The *Consul* therefore, who expected to have taken it immediately, was much embarrassed. He had neither Rams, nor Galleries, nor wooden Towers, to make his Approaches. But the good King *Hiero*, who lived in Peace at *Syracuse*, under the Protection of the *Romans*, supplied the Wants of his Allies. He sent them by Sea, all sorts of Machines, that were necessary for battering the Place: and it was at length carried, and the *Carthaginians* being made Prisoners of War, were sold to the best Bidder. But the Inhabitants of *Enna* escaped the hard Fate of those of *Camarina*. They betrayed the Garrison, which defended the Town, and opened their Gates to the *Romans*, who put all the *Carthaginians* they found there to the Sword. *Sittana* 76 was taken by Assault, and the Army, which came to its Relief, put to flight. So that all the Cities in the Country were full of the Terror of the *Roman Arms*, and strove who should first submit to the *Consul*. From thence the Conqueror marched into the Country of the *Agrigentini*, got Possession of *Camicus* 77, by the Treachery of the Citizens, and then came to attack *Erbeffus*. This City, which was formerly unfaithful, was deserted by those, whom it had preferred to the *Romans*; and the *Consul* making him-

75 The *Aquilian* Family, from which the *Proconsul Aquilius* descended, was partly *Plebeian*, and partly *Patrician*. The latter Branch was eminent in the Republick from her earliest Infancy. Among the Ancestors of it were the *Aquilii*, who conspired with the *Vnelli* to bring back *Tarquin the Proud*, in the Consulship of *Brutus* and *Collatinus*.

76 It is plain from *Polybius*, that the City of

Hyppane, or *Sittane*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was situated between *Panormus* and *Myssistratum*; but it is not possible, to determine exactly where it stood.

77 The little City of *Camicus*, stood near a River of the same Name, now called *Cannaro*, in the Territory, in which *Siculiano* now stands.

self Master of it, drove the Enemy out of all the fruitful Territory of *Agri-*
gentum.

§. XX. *HAMILCAR* was not unactive all this while. He had surprized *Attilius* in a narrow Pass, in the Road to *Camarina*, where the unparalleled Valour of the Tribune *Calpurnius* alone, had saved the Roman Army. But the Carthaginian General was more successful in the Cheat he put upon the Consul before *Lipara*. He had by some Address or other discovered *Attilius's* Design of besieging that important City; and he knew the Rashness of the Consul, who was puffed up with his Success. *Attilius* expected to meet with no more Resistance any where: but *Hamilcar* conveyed himself privately into *Lipara*, with his Troops; and at the same time placed only some Citizens on the Ramparts, who were little able to defend the Place. The inconsiderate Consul therefore ordered his Soldiers to march up to the Walls, and scale them; upon which *Hamilcar* instantly made a general Sally, at the Head of his Men. This the Romans did not expect; and being shamefully repulsed, found by Experience, that the Carthaginians were not utterly destitute of Commanders, who were able to dispute a Victory with them. The Besiegers had a considerable Number of Men killed, and wounded. So that *Attilius's* Campaign in general, being a Mixture of good and bad Success, it did not bring him much Honour. There was indeed room enough to reward his Courage, if his Imprudence had not deserved Punishment. But Rome did not then grant him a Triumph, as she had readily done the Proconsul his Predecessor.

As for *Sulpicius*, he commanded the Fleet like an able Admiral. Besides that, he shared with his Colleague the Conquests of the maritime Cities, which he invested by Sea, whilst *Attilius* besieged them by Land; he harrassed the Carthaginians which were left in the Islands of *Corfica*, and *Sardinia*. *Sulpicius* may be said to have put the last Hand to this fine Conquest. Nor was this enough to satisfy the brave Consul. He was very ambitious of signalizing his Campaign, by a naval Victory; but the Carthaginian Fleet did not appear at Sea. He therefore pretended that he would go even to *Africa* in quest of it, and spread a Report, that he would burn it in the Ports. This News alarmed the People at *Carthage* so much, that they pursued rash Measures. *Hannibal*, who had been deprived of his Admiralship by the Senate, then lived privately in the City; and the State had recourse to him, to make Head against the Consul, and suppress his Insolence. *Carthage* thought she might once more entrust him with the Command of her Fleet; and prepared a considerable Armament. All the good Sea-officers, and skilful Rowers, which were to be found, were picked out to serve under *Hannibal*; and his Orders were not to go far from the Coasts of *Africa*, but to hinder the Romans from landing, and making a Descent there. And indeed, the Consul's Fleet drew near the Coast, and seemed to threaten it. *Hannibal* had not far to go, in search of the Enemy, and prepared to fight them; and the two Fleets were in sight of one another, when a great Storm arose, and separated them. Both were forced to give Way to the Tempest, and flying to different Ports for Shelter, *Sardinia* served for a Refuge for them both. *Hannibal* was riding at Anchor there, when News was brought him, that *Sulpicius* was under Sail, going on some Expedition on the Coasts of *Africa*, by Deserters hired by the Consul, who was very impatient to come to a Battel. Upon their Report therefore *Hannibal* left the Asylum, where he was in Safety; and was scarce out of Port, when the Roman Fleet, already drawn up in Line of Battel, came full sail, and as fast as their Oars could drive them, and fell upon him. The Carthaginian had not time to draw up his Fleet, and then a Battel ensued, in which the Romans had all the Advantage. There was then so thick a Fog, that several of the Carthaginian Ships were sunk, before *Hannibal* perceived that he was attacked; and the Terror this unexpected Shock spread among the Carthaginians, made them get to land as fast as they could, and desert their Gallies. So that being left to the Mercy of the Waves, and destitute of Soldiers and Rowers, they were taken by the Romans, who did the Enemy a great deal of Mischief, without shedding much Blood. As for *Hannibal*, who either could not, or durst not return to the Port, from whence he came, he fled to a little City ⁷ in *Sardinia* for

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCV.

A. ATTILIUS
CALATINUS,
C. SULPICIUS
PATERCULUS,
Consuls.
Zonar. B. 8.
c. 12.

Polybius B. 1.
c. 24.

Zonar. B. 8.
c. 12.

Polybius B. 1.
c. 24.

Zonar. B. 8.
c. 12.

⁷⁸ This City, to which *Hannibal* fled for Refuge, is called *Sulci* by the Historians, and old Geographers. Hence the Name of *Promontorium Sulcense*, which was given to the most southern Point of the Island of *Sardinia*. It is at present *La Punta dell'*

ulga. The Natives to this Day, shew the Place where the City formerly stood, near *Palma di Sole*, over against the little Island of *Enosis*, vulgarly called, *L'Isola di Sant' Antiocho*.

Year of R O M E CCCCXCV. *A. ATTILIUS CALATINUS, C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS, Consuls. Orosius B. 4. c. 8.* Refuge: and there he underwent the same Punishment which would have been inflicted on him, if he had returned to *Carthage*. The Seamen of his Fleet mutinied against their Commander, and in their Despair, seditiously pronounced Sentence against him, and crucified him. This was the end of *Old Hannibal*, as he is called by the Historians, to distinguish him from the second *Hannibal*, who was so fatal to the *Romans*. *Sulpicius*, after his Victory, made a Descent on the Island of *Sardinia*, and gave his Soldiers Leave to live upon free Quarter there. Upon which, one *Hanno*, who seems to have been a Land-officer, put himself at the Head of a Body of *Carthaginians*, and surprized the *Romans*, as they were busy in plundering. So that the Conquerors met with a slight Check; but that did not prevent their General's having the Honours of a Triumph conferred upon him ⁷⁹.

Year of R O M E CCCCXCVI. *C. ATTILIUS, CN. CORNELIUS, Consuls.* §. XXI. The *Attilian* Family was then in great Credit at *Rome*; and the Descendants of it, very deserving of the highest Honours. One *A. Attilius* had been *Consul* the last Year; and another *Attilius*, whose *Prænomen* was *Caius*, was now chosen *Consul*, with *Cn. Cornelius Blasio*: and the next Year, we shall see a third *Attilius* in this high Station. This Succession of *Consuls* of the same Name ⁸¹, has indeed, made a Confusion among the Historians; but we shall endeavour to give each the Share of Glory he deserved: and in order thereto, will distinguish them both by their *Prænomina*, and Surnames. The first *Consul* was called *Aulus Attilius Calatinus*, the second *Caius Attilius Regulus*, and the third *Marcus Attilius Regulus*. By the Agreement between their Surnames, the two last appear to have been of the same Branch of the *Attilian* Family; and the Historians tell us, that they were Brothers Children. And whatever that Branch of the Family was, from which the first *Attilius* descended, which seems to have been *Patrician*; it is certain, that of the *Reguli* was *Plebeian*. It was a common thing in *Rome*, for one Branch of the same Family to be noble, and the rest not.

Plin. B. 8. and Virg. B. 6. BUT to return to *Caius Attilius*, who was chosen *Consul* for the present Year; his Merit alone raised him to the *Consulship*, and no Intrigues were used to forward it. He retired into the Country, and cultivated his little Patrimony, and was actually sowing his Land, when the Insignia of the *Consulship* ⁸² were brought him. From thence he had the Surname of *Serranus*, which was either assumed by him, or given him, and transmitted to his Posterity; and this brave Citizen had already been *Consul* once before, as well as his Colleague, who was a *Patrician*. They drew Lots for their Commands; and that of the Land-Forces in *Sicily* fell to *Cornelius*, that of the Fleet to *Serranus* ⁸³. And at the same time that they were elected, the *Centuries* continued *A. Attilius*, with the Title of *Proconsul*, in the Command of the Army in *Sicily*, of which, as *Consul*, he had been General the last Year. This was now become

⁷⁹ This 495th Year of *Rome*, ended with the 36th *Lustrum*, since *Servius Tullius's* time. *Caius Duilius* performed the Ceremony of it. He was then *Censor*, according to the *Fasti Capitolini*; in which we don't find his Colleague's Name any more mentioned. Time has effaced it. Nevertheless, the Annalist *Pighius* joins him with *Appius Claudex*, the Brother of *Appius Cæcus*, in order to make up the Number of the Seven *Censors*, which *Suetonius*, in his *Life of Tiberius*, says, were of the *Claudian* Family.

⁸⁰ *Zonaras* has omitted the two *Consuls* for this Year 496; and *Polybius* mentions only *C. Attilius*. Nor is his Colleague's Name to be found in *The Capitoline Marbles*. But we have inserted it in the *Fasti Consulares*, upon the Authority of *Cassiodorus*, who makes *Cneius Cornelius*, and *C. Attilius Serranus*, *Consuls*, for this Year. The former has the Surname of *Blasio* in the *Greek Tables*. This is the same Man, who had been promoted to the *Consulship*, in the Year of *Rome* 483. *Marianus* is mistaken in calling him *Blasus*, instead of *Blasio*. The former Surname, which we don't find used in the *Cornelian* Family, belonged to a Branch of the *Sempronii*. And the Annalist mistakes likewise, in thinking this the first *Consulship* of *Cneius Cornelius*, and the second of *Caius Attilius*. We

ought to say on the contrary, that the former was now *Consul*, the second time; and that the latter had never exercised that Office before.

⁸¹ The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, deceived by the Similitude of Names, robs *Caius Attilius* of the Honour of the Victory, he gained over *Hamilcar* at Sea; and ascribes it to *Aulus Attilius*, who is said, by the most venerable Historians, *Zonaras*, and *Polybius*, to have commanded the Land-Forces this Year.

⁸² *Cicero* makes use of *Attilius Serranus's* Example, to ridicule *Erutius's* Accusation of *Roscius*. The Accuser had reproached the latter, with having left *Rome*, to apply himself wholly to a Country Life. Indeed, says the *Roman Orator*, you would have been thought mad, if you had made the same Reflection, in those happy Days, when Men were raised from the Plough, to the Helm of Government. What would you have thought of the famous *Attilius*, who was howing his Field, when News was brought him, that he was chosen *Consul*? Without doubt, you, who make it a Crime in *Roscius*, to prefer the Pleasure of taking care to cultivate a Man's own Estate, to the Hurry and Noise of the City, would have thought him a mean and contemptible Man.

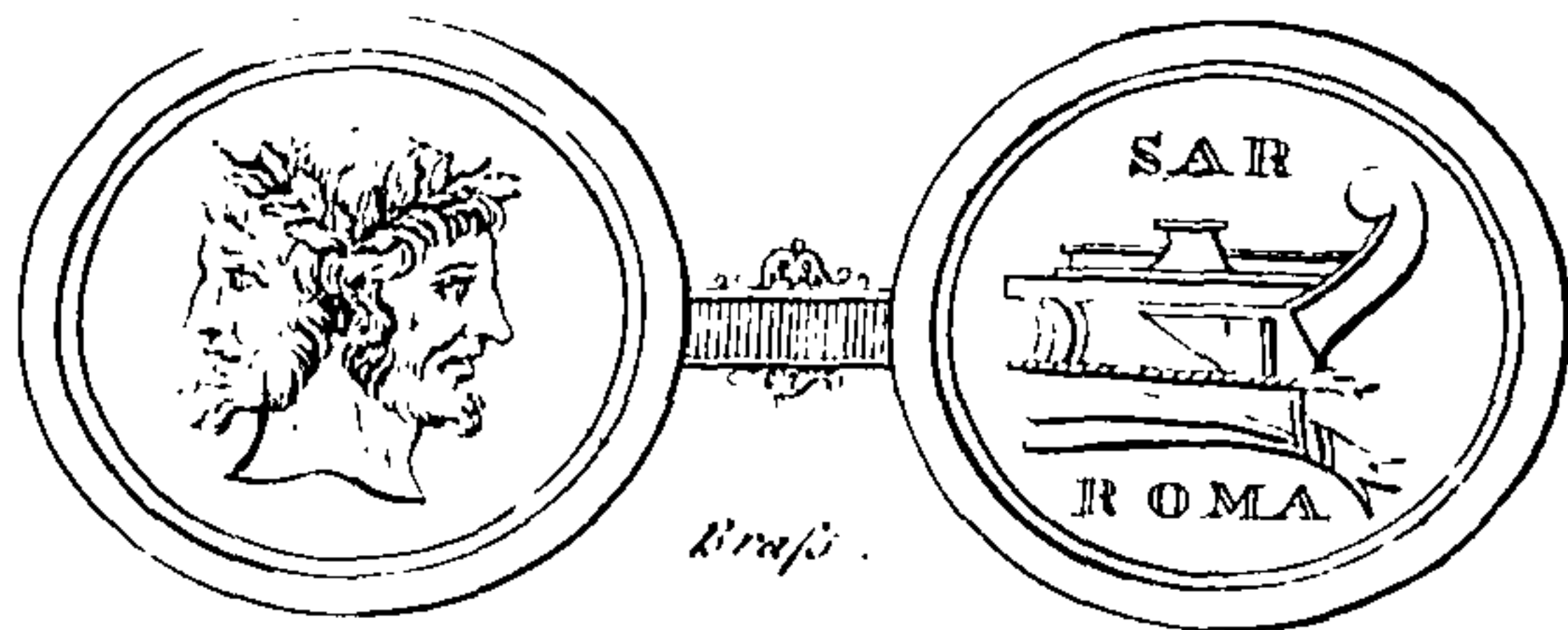
⁸³ The Medals have *Sarranus*, instead of *Serranus*.

come customary in the Republick. As she now no longer made War in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, it was not proper to recall those Generals from their Employments precisely at the end of their Years, who engaged in Expeditions out of *Italy*, which required time to complete them. The *Consulships* indeed were not prolonged; but the same Generals were continued in the Command of the Armies, with the Title of *Proconsuls*. In this quality, *A. Attilius* pursued the Reduction of *Sicily*; which he finished with such Rapidity, that he scarce left the *Consul Cornelius* any thing to do there.

As for *C. Attilius*, who was Admiral of the *Roman Fleet*, he found ample Matter of Glory at Sea. *Tyndaris* was a maritime City in *Sicily*, on the North-side of the Island. The *Carthaginian Fleet* arrived off it, and did not keep themselves in order of Battel, which was a common Fault with the *Carthaginians*. They knew how to build Ships, and discipline Rowers; and yet were very negligent in drawing up their Fleets in Line of Battel. But this was not the Case with the *Romans*. Ever since their first Expedition at Sea, they laid down for themselves certain Rules, for placing their Gallies in order; and they always appeared regularly drawn up, whether they were only pursuing their Voyage, or ready to give Battel. *Attilius*⁸⁴ perceived that the *Carthaginian Fleet* lay in Disorder over against *Tyndaris*, and resolved to attack it. At the Head of a Squadron of only ten of his Gallies, he made the best of his Way to come up with the Enemy, and his Attack was a kind of prelude to the Battel. But the Number of the Attacked, was too much superior to that of the Assailants. The *Roman Squadron* was instantly furrounded, and the Enemy struck the *Roman Ships* so violently with their *Prores*, that in a few Hours, they sunk some of them. The *Consul* himself owed his Safety to the Strength of his Ship, and the Labours of his Crew. These, by mere Strength of Arm, brought her back to the main Body of the Fleet, which was following the unfortunate Squadron, as expeditiously as possible, without breaking the Line, and sailing in Disorder. And as soon as it was within reach of the *Carthaginian Fleet*, the Success of the *Consul* was quite different. The formidable *Hamilcar* commanded the Enemy's Gallies; eight of which were sunk, upon the first Onset; and soon after ten more were taken, with all their Crews. So that the *Consul* had his Revenge; and this Battel was deemed so complete⁸⁵ a Victory, that upon his return, he received the Honours of a Triumph. Two *Attilii* then entered *Rome* triumphantly, the *Proconsul*, and the Admiral. The former⁸⁶ for his Exploits at Land, during his *Consulship*, and *Proconsulship*; the latter⁸⁷, for the Advantage he had gained over *Hamilcar* at Sea. *Cornelius Blasio* was forgotten. The *Proconsul Attilius* prevented his having any Opportunity to signalize himself. But nevertheless, it is said, that he plundered some open Villages, and went

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCVI.
C. ATTILIUS,
CN. CORNELIUS,
Consuls.

Zonar. B. 8. c. 12. and Polyb. c. 25.



canus, as that above has. On one side is *Janus's* double Head. The *Prow* of the Ship on the other, makes it probable, that it was struck in Memory of the Victory this *Consul* gained over the *Carthaginians* at Sea.

⁸⁴ According to some Authors, the two *Consuls* were then busy in carrying on the Siege of *Lipari*.

⁸⁵ *Zonaras* adds one Circumstance, of which *Polybius* was ignorant. He says, that after gaining the Battel, the *Romans*, flushed with their Success, ventured to cruise round the Coasts of *Lybia*, and appear in sight of *Carthage*. But he does not say the Conquerors undertook any Expedition in *Africa*.

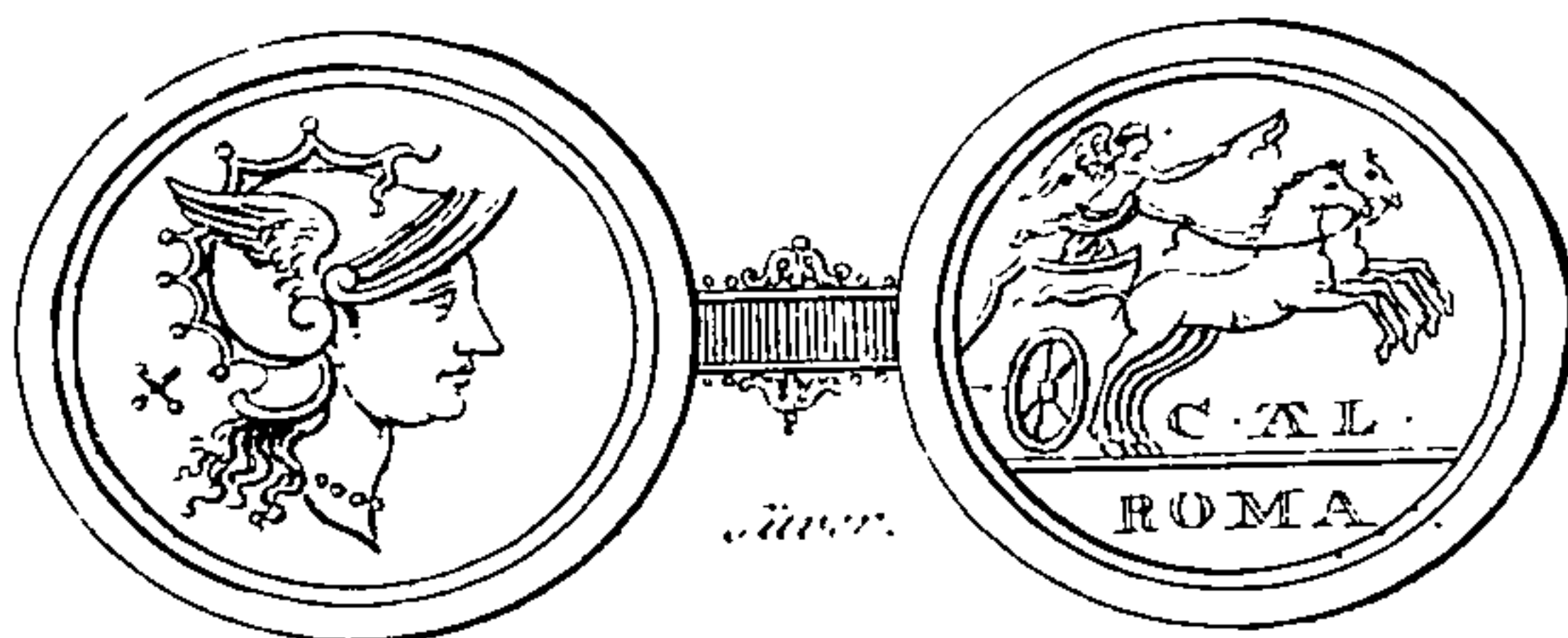
They had probably no Design but to alarm and terrify the Enemy, in their own Country.

⁸⁶ *Pighius* tells us, he had an old silver Medal, which proved the Triumph of *Aulus Attilius Calatinus*. The Face was the Head of *A Rome*, wearing an Helmet; and the reverse a Chariot drawn by four Elephants, symbolically representing the low Condition of *Carthage*. This Chariot was driven by a Victory, with a Crown in her Hand; and the Inscription of the Medal, was this. A. ATIL. A. F. C. N. CALATINUS.

⁸⁷ *Valer. Max. B. 4. c. 4. Pliny B. 8. c. 5.* and the *Fasti Capitolini*, all contradict the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, as to the Triumph granted

Year of and pillaged the Island of *Malta* ⁸⁸. But these were too inconsiderable Exploits to
ROME deserve a Triumph.

CCCCXCVI. *ROME* was terrified with several Prodigies, during this Campaign. It was
 C. ATTILIUS, said, that it rained Stones mixed with Hail; which was enough for the Senate
 CN. CORNELIUS, to order Expiations: and the *Romans* thought themselves obliged to renew the *Feriae*
Latinae ⁸⁹, which had been for some time neglected. Q. Ogulnius was chosen *Dictator*
 to preside at them, and he made M. Lætorius his General of Horse. The *Romans*
 had now enjoyed such continual Peace at Home, and Success Abroad for a long time
 together, that they had no Occasion to nominate *Dictators*, for any but pacifick
 Offices.



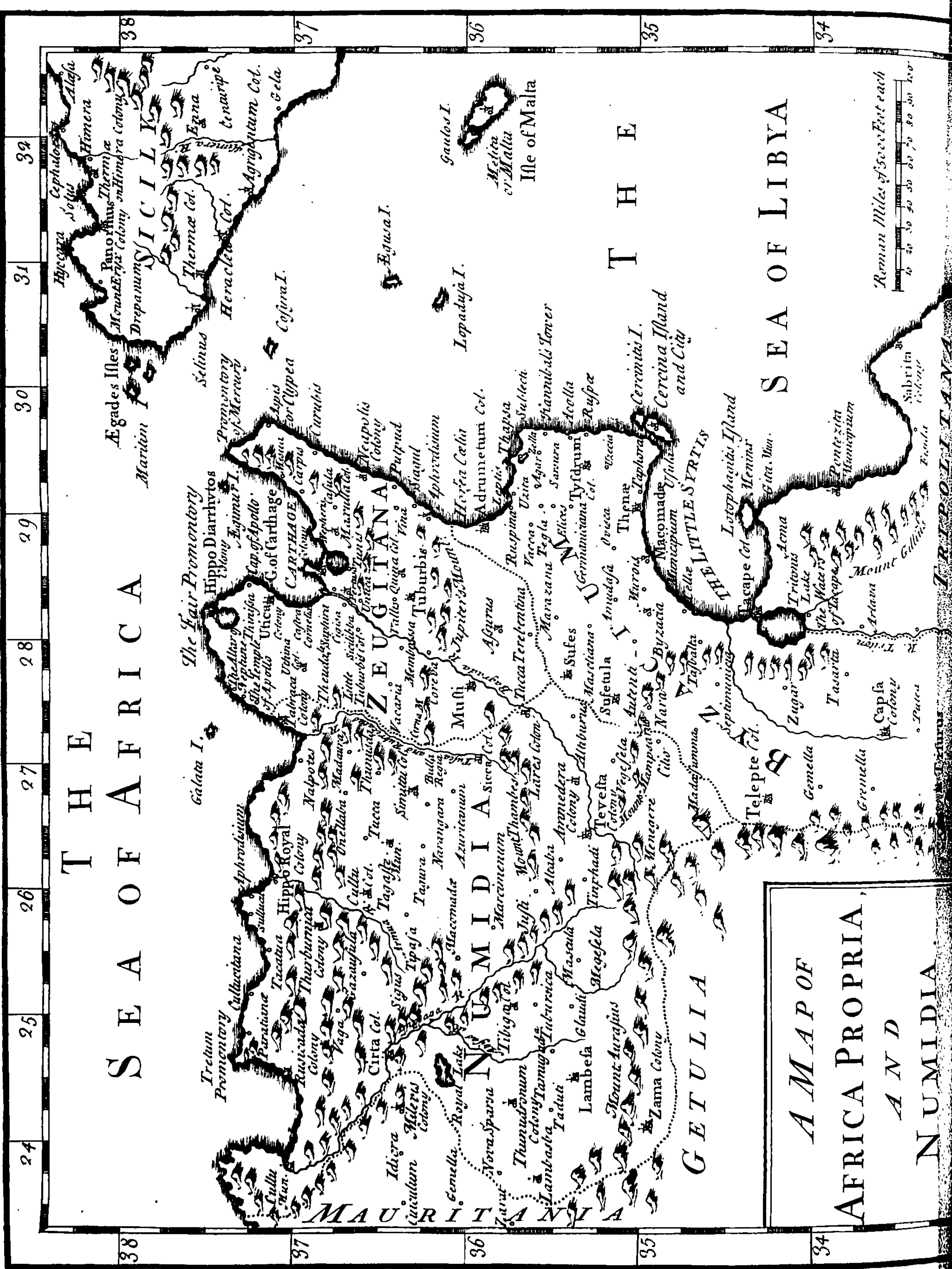
granted to this *Consul*. The first says, that it was a fine sight to see *Caius Attilius* guide a triumphal Chariot, with the same Hand which had guided Oxen at Plough; and hold a Sceptre of Ivory, as the triumphant Victors usually did, after holding a Plough. The Medal above bears the Name of *Caius Attilius*; and it is supposed to have been struck in Honour to the triumphant Victor. It bears on one side the Head of *A Rome*, and on the other, a Chariot drawn by two Horses.

88 The Island of *Melita* is now universally known by the Name of *Malta*; ever since it has been the Residence of the Grand Master, and *Knights of St. John of Jerusalem*. It lies between *Tripoly* in *Barbary*, and *Sicily*; in the 39th Degree of Longitude, and 35th of Latitude. It is twenty Miles long; but not above twelve broad, in the widest Place; and is commonly reckoned to be sixty thousand geometrical Paces in Circumference. *Cluver* has omitted nothing to prove, That it was originally

inhabited by *Phœacians*; That the *Phœnicians* afterwards seized it, and planted *Colonies* in it, having first forced the Natives to retire to the Island of *Corcyra*: And lastly, That the *Carthaginians* subdued it. The Ancients much commend the Cotton this Island produces; and above all, its exceeding fine Honey. Hence, say some, it had the Name of *Malta*. It is surprising that *Ovid* should say it was a fruitful Country. It is notorious, that the whole Island is nothing but one Rock of sandy Stone, covered with a very light Earth, which nevertheless bears excellent Fruits. The Temple of *Juno* was one of the greatest Ornaments of *Malta*, for its Antiquity and Riches. *Verres* had plundered it, of all that was most valuable in it, as *Cicero* reproaches him, in his *de Signis*.

89 See the Ceremonies of the *Feriae Latinae* described, *B. 4. Vol. 1. p. 168*; and *B. 7. Vol. 1. p. 292. Note 57.*





T H E

Roman History.

B O O K XXIV.

§. I. **T**HE War with *Carthage* had now lasted eight Years. The *Romans* had already extended their Conquests almost to *Africa*; and the great Islands, which were a Barrier for the *Africans* against *Italy*, and which in some Measure, covered *Lybia*, were already subdued. The *Carthaginians* had just been driven out of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, and the Republick could almost reckon *Sicily* one of her *Provinces*. Except *Lilybæum*, *Panormus*, and some Ports, in that Neighbourhood, it had wholly shaken off the *Carthaginian* Yoke. The *Syracusans* and *Mamertini*, formerly such inveterate Rivals, now joined in labouring to aggrandize *Rome*. In short, under the Shelter of so glorious an Alliance, they thought of nothing but enjoying Peace, or helping to carry on a War, which delivered them from their *African* Tyrants. And *Sicily* had indeed long seemed to be the utmost Limits of the Ambition of the *Romans*: But can Conquerors set any Bounds to their Desires?

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCVII.
L. MANLIUS
VULSO, Q.
CÆDICUS,
Consuls.

AFTER having tried and surmounted the Dangers of the Sea, nothing could probably stop the Progress of the *Romans*. The next thing therefore was to dispute the Empire of the Seas, with the *Carthaginians*; and *Carthage* itself seemed to be a worthy Object of their Ambition. With these Views, they ordered both the new *Consuls* jointly to command the Fleet, without dividing them as formerly, and appointing one to the Land, the other to the Sea-Service. These *Consuls* were *L. Manlius*, surnamed *Vulso*, and *Q. Cædicius*¹; but the latter did not long enjoy his new Dignity. He died a few Days after his Election; and the Republick substituted a Man in his room, whose Name will live for ever, as one who signalized himself more by his Constancy, than the greatest Generals ever did, by their Conquests. This was the famous *M. Attilius Regulus*. The few Defects he had were abundantly compensated by the Eminence of his Virtues. He was a great Soldier; had conquered the *Salentini*, in his first *Consulship*, and by his Victory merited a Triumph. He was a sagacious Politician; carried his Views farther, during his Captivity, than the whole Senate; and by his Capacity and Penetration, changed the Dejection of the *Romans*, into Constancy and Magnanimity. Considered in his private Capacity, he was a frugal and temperate Man, and was always contented with his seven Acres of Land, for the Subsistence of himself and his Family. He was so strictly observant of the Laws, that he looked upon himself as a Stranger, even to his own Country, from the time that he became a Prisoner at *Carthage*; and he would not enter into *Rome*, without the Consent of his new Masters. He was so faithful to his Oaths, as to chuse rather to expose himself to all the Rage of the *Carthaginians*, than save his Life by

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCVII.
L. MANLIUS
VULSO, M.
ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

¹ The *Fasti Capitolini*, which are of unquestionable Authority, have been of great use to us, in enabling us to rectify the Mistakes, and Omissions, of the Historians and Annalists, who have written the History of this *Consular* Year 497. *Cassiodorus* and *Marianus Scotus* say nothing of the Death of *Quintus Cædicius*, or of his Successor. They falsely supposed, that he lived till his Office expired. And *The Greek Tables*, and those of *Cuspinian*, are as defective, in this Particular. *Polybius*, *Zonaras*, and *Entropius*, on the contrary, make no mention at all of *Cædicius*, and allow of no *Consuls* for this Year, but *Lucius Manlius*, and *Marcus Attilius*. These

Differences therefore caused great Confusion in Chronology, and the Order of the *Consuls*, till the happy Discovery of *The Capitoline Tables*, which removed the Difficulty, which learned Men had before in vain endeavoured to clear up, for several Ages. Upon the Credit of a Monument of such decisive Authority, we ought also to correct an Error, which is crept into the 41st Book of *Justin*. He says, the *Parthians* revolted from *Seleucus*, in the time of the first *Punic* War, when *Attilius Regulus*, and *Manlius Piso* were *Consuls*. He has by Mistake put *Manlius Piso*, for *Manlius Vulso*.

Year of Perjury. Nevertheless, he is reproached with being too ambitious of Honours in his Republick, too confident and presumptuous after Victory, and too haughty and severe to the Vanquished. And indeed, it may truly be said of him in general, that he shewed more of the Hero in Adversity, than in Prosperity.

R O M E
CCCCXCVII.
L. MANLIUS
VULSO, M.
ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

THIS great Man was appointed, with his Collegue *Manlius*, to extend the Dominion of *Rome* into a Country, hitherto unknown to the *Romans*. The two *Consuls* had Orders to endeavour to pass over into *Africa*, and make that the Seat of War, for the future. They first crossed the Streights of *Sicily*, and landed at *Messina*. Their Fleet was the strongest the *Romans* ever yet had at Sea; and consisted of three hundred and thirty Ships of different Sizes. From *Messina*, the *Consuls* sent their Orders into *Italy*, to all the Cities in Alliance with *Rome*, or subject to her, and settled the Affairs of the *Provinces*, before their Departure. Then they doubled Cape *Pachynum*, with Design to take on board the Land-Forces, which were posted in that² Neighbourhood. As for the *Carthaginian* Fleet, it was more formidable, with respect to the Number of the Gallies, than the *Roman*. It consisted of three hundred and sixty Sail. Two *Consuls* commanded the former, two Admirals the latter. One of these was the brave *Hamilcar*, and the other *Hanno*; both Generals of great Esteem in their Republick. These two Commanders had set out from *Africa* with powerful Forces, and were arrived in the Port of *Heraclea*, in *Sicily*; where they watched the Motions of the *Romans*, with full Resolution to oppose their making a Descent in *Lybia*.

THE *Consuls* were not ignorant of the Enemy's Design, but prepared, at all Events, either to come to a Sea-fight, or to make a Descent, in some convenient part of *Africa*. The Troops they were to land, were three *Legions*, that is, one fourth part less than two *Consular* Armies, exclusive of the Ships Crews, and the Auxiliaries. They divided this Multitude into four Parts, and embarked them on four Squadrons, which all made but one Army. The first *Legion* was embarked on the first Squadron; the second, on the second; the third, on the third; and the *Triarii* were posted, as at Land, in the Rear-guard, and embarked on the fourth Squadron. They were a *Corps-de-reserve*, for the Fleet. The *Triremes*, generally speaking, were all much of the same Size, and therefore an equal Number of Soldiers, that is, six-score, were put on board each of them. These, with the three hundred Rowers in each Galley, made four hundred and twenty Men: so that, upon the whole, this *Roman* Armament consisted of about 140000 Men, Legionaries, Auxiliaries, and Rowers, all included. Nevertheless, as the *Carthaginians* exceeded the *Romans* in the Number of their Ships, so they had more Men on board. They were reckoned to be at least 150000. The *Africans* looked upon it as a Matter of the last Consequence, to keep the *Romans* at a Distance from *Africa*, and confine them to *Sicily*. Both Nations were now going to expose all their Forces to the Hazards of one Battel; and the Conquered were to expect nothing but to see their Coasts laid waste, and their Ports taken, or insulted by the Victors. Out of Emulation therefore the two Republicks, which were Rivals for Glory, and desperately bent, on destroying each other, exerted themselves to the utmost. The *Carthaginians* were in Pain for their Capital, and thought nothing ought to be neglected, to save their native City from Destruction. The *Romans* were afraid of a Battel in the high Seas, where the Lightness of the Enemy's Gallies might prove fatal to them. As for the *Carthaginian* Troops, they despised them, and promised themselves all the Success they could wish for, if they could but board them. The main Point, on both sides, was to draw up their Ships in good Order, and range them in such a manner, as that they should mutually support each other. To this end, *Regulus* and his Collegue formed this Scheme. Each *Consul* went on board an *Hexaremis*, that is, a Galley with six Rows of Rowers, which was twice as long, and twice as wide, as the *Triremis*. These two enormous Ships were placed side by side, at the Head, or rather, at the Point of the Fleet, and no more Space left between them, than was necessary for working them. To the right, on the side of *Manlius*, the first Squadron was drawn up in a sloping Line, and presented their Prows to the Enemy. To the left, on the side of *Regulus*, the second Squadron was drawn out also in a Line, the Ships all

*Polybius B. 1.
c. 26.*

² According to *Polybius*, the Troops encamped in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Ennomus*, a Mountain in *Sicily*, now called *Monte d'Alicata*, or *di Licata*, at the Mouth of the River *Himera*, which the *Sicilians* now call *Salfi*.

at equal Distances : So that the two first Squadrons made two sides, of an acute angled Triangle. The Space in the middle was left empty ; and the third Squadron made the Base of the Triangle, and extended a large Front towards the Enemy. Behind, were the Ships of Burden ; and these unwieldy Vessels, which served for transporting the Cavalry, were fastened with Cables to the Rear of the Gallies, which sailed before them, that they might be towed along, if there was Occasion. The Disposition closed with the *Triarii*, who were posted in the Rear-guard, and made a wider Front, than the Base of the Triangle, so that some of their Ships jettied out on both sides. In short, the whole *Roman* Fleet was like a Wedge, to cleave Wood ; in which Form the *Romans* often drew up their Armies, by Land.

In this fine Order, the *Consular* Fleet appeared off *Heraclea* in *Sicily*, resolving to go farther, and continue their Course towards *Africa*, if the Enemy declined fighting. But *Hamilcar* and *Hanno*, the two *Carthaginian* Generals, were too nearly concerned in Interest to give Battel, to refuse the Challenge. Their Fleet was yet riding at Anchor in the Port ; and they instantly assembled their Troops, and Crews. *Friends*, said they, *the time is now come, when we must either re-establish our selves in Sicily, or expect to see the Walls of Carthage overturned. If we come off victorious, we shall recover the Dominion of an Island, which has cost our Fathers so much Blood. If the Enemy prevail, we must look on our Wives, Children, and Estates, as utterly lost. It is therefore of the utmost Consequence to us, to conquer now ; and it is dangerous to the last Degree, not to endeavour at least to stop the Enemy in their career. So that the Gods have this Day put into your Hands, the Fate of Sicily, and of Carthage.* At these Words, there arose a great Murmur among the *Carthaginian* Soldiers ; and their Ardour for fighting was visible in their Faces. They instantly got ready, weighed Anchor, and put out to Sea. And the Order of the *Romans*, was a Rule for the *Carthaginians* to range their Ships by. They also drew up their Fleet in three Lines. The first, which *Hanno* commanded (doubtless as eldest Admiral, for he had lost a little of his Reputation, since the Affair of *Agrigentum*) advanced far out to Sea, as if with Design to surround the Enemy ; and therefore the lightest *Triremes*, and *Quinqueremes*, in the Fleet, were in this Squadron. *Hamilcar*, who had a greater Character as a General, commanded the two other Lines, and placed himself in the Center of his Gallies. His Squadron, which was nearer to Land than *Hanno's*, was drawn up in form of a *Tenaille*, whose sides are joined at one end. The *Romans* moved first, and attacked the Enemy's Gallies, with the Point of their Fleet ; and then *Hamilcar* made use of a Stratagem, which might have utterly destroyed the *Roman* Army, if it had succeeded. He ordered the Line in the middle to give Way, and by a feigned Flight, make the *Romans* to pursue them ; who perhaps might let their Courage carry them too far, so to be easily surrounded by the Lines, on the right and left. And indeed, the two Squadrons which followed the *Consuls* *Hexaremes* pursued the Fugitives with too much Ardour ; and the two sides of their Triangle, were neither followed by the third Squadron, which was in the Base of it, nor by the Transports, which must have been towed, nor by the *Triarii*, which covered them in the Rear. As soon therefore as *Hamilcar* saw, that the two Squadrons which followed the *Consuls* were advanced far enough between two of his Lines, he gave the Signal for the Battel. Then the Fugitives tacked about, and presented their *Proes* to the Enemy : and the Battel quickly became very fierce, and the Victory was long disputed. The *Carthaginians* took Advantage of the Lightness of their Ships, and threw Showers of Darts from them upon the *Romans*. These, on the other hand, as soon as they came to grapple with one of the Enemy's Ships, by the help of their *Crews*, immediately made themselves Masters of it, and made a great Slaughter in it. The former fought flying, if I may so speak ; the latter standing still, whenever they could join the Enemy. The *Romans* fought in the sight of both their *Consuls* ; and never shewed more Intrepidity.

In the mean time *Hanno*, who commanded the Squadron of the *Carthaginians*, which was to the left, and was farther out at Sea, instead of falling upon the two *Consular* Squadrons, in order to surround them on all sides, took a Compass, and came and fell on the *Triarii*. His Attack was violent ; and this fourth *Roman* Squadron already suffered very much, when the *Carthaginian* Squadron, which was nearest the Land, changed its Order all on a sudden. It extended itself in one strait Line, Frontways, and came and fell upon the third *Roman* Squadron, to the Gallies of

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of which the Transports were fastened, that they might be towed along. Then the latter instantly cut off the Cables that fastened them, and fought with a great deal of Bravery. So that there were then in a manner three Sea-Engagements at the same time, and at some Distance from each other. The Attack was long continued on all sides, without any great Advantage on either. Till at length *Hamilcar*, who fought in the middle Squadron, was first obliged to leave off. Being vigorously pressed by the *Consuls*, and the two Squadrons which followed them, he fled, and recovered the Port. Thus the Victory began to declare itself for those, who had begun the Battel, with an attack, which was rather fortunate, than prudent. After it was over, the *Consul Manlius* made it his Business to gather together the Ships which had been taken from the Enemy, and fasten them to his own: whilst *Regulus* fell upon *Hanno*, who pressed hard upon the *Triarii* of the Rear-guard of the *Romans*, which was already broken. But, at sight of the *Consul*, the *Triarii* recovered their Courage, and *Hanno's* Squadron lost theirs. It was attacked by the *Triarii* in Front, and by *Regulus* in the Rear. The *Carthaginians* were in imminent Danger, and their Defeat seemed certain; but the Lightness of their Ships saved them. By the help of their Sails and Oars, they disengaged themselves, and drove out into the main Sea with such Expedition, that they were soon out of sight. The only remaining Combatants on the *Roman* side, was now their third Squadron, which was still fighting with one of the Squadrons of the *Carthaginian* Fleet; and being worse treated even than the *Triarii*, and driven near the Shore, it was in danger of running a-ground. But *Manlius* came very seasonably to its Relief; and *Regulus* himself, after he had secured the *Triarii* and the Transports, rowed up to him, to share this last Victory with him. Then the unfortunate remains of the *Carthaginian* Fleet was immediately surrounded on all sides, and taken as it were in a Net. In short, this whole Squadron was entirely defeated: and the *Romans* took fifty Gallies of it, with all their Rigging and Crews. Only a small Number of them escaped, by the help of the Coast, where the Water was deep enough to afford them a Passage. Such was the Battel of *Heraclea*, which will never be forgotten, as long as any Monuments of old *Rome* shall remain. *Hamilcar* occasioned the Loss of it by his flight. The *Consuls* gained it by an excess of Bravery, and good Fortune. In the whole Action, *Rome* lost but four and twenty Gallies, which were all sunk; the Enemy did not take one. The *Carthaginians* had thirty sunk, and sixty four taken.

Orosius B. 4.
c. 8. and
Polybius B. 1.
c. 28.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 12. and *Polyb.*
B. 1. c. 29.

§. II. THIS complete Victory removed all Obstacles in the Way, of their making a Descent in *Lybia*; and the *Consuls* therefore prepared for one. They returned into the Ports of *Sicily*, took in fresh Provisions, and embarked new Troops. But during their stay here, *Hamilcar* thought to have amused them, with Conferences about a Peace. His Design was to prolong the Departure of the victorious Fleet, till such time as he could get new Succours from *Carthage*, in order to venture a second Battel. Nay, *Hanno* had the Boldness to come to the *Roman* Generals, upon a pretended Deputation from his Republick. Had he then forgotten *Hannibal's* Treachery, who, five Years before, had persuaded the *Consul*, *Cornelius Arvina*, to come on board him, under pretence of an Interview, and had carried him in Irons to *Carthage*? If he did not remember this, the *Romans* did; and as soon as *Hanno* was come to the *Consuls*, the Multitude cried out, *We ought to make Reprisals, and treat a Carthaginian General, as the Carthaginians treated a Roman Consul.* But tho' these Clamours alarmed *Hanno*, they did not discompose him. He, with an Air of great Confidence, made this artful flattering Reply; *What Advantage will it be to you Romans, to be as perfidious as we were? It will then be said, that Rome has produced as bad Men, as Carthage.* And this artful Speech struck the *Consuls*. They piqued themselves upon their Honour, and suffered the Deputy to return to his Army. *It is for the perfidious Carthaginians, said they, to violate the Laws of Nations. But it becomes the Probity of Romans, to observe them, even with Traitors.* As for a Peace, neither Party had any great Desires to conclude one. *Hanno* did not much insist on a Treaty; and the *Consuls* hastened their Departure. But before they had finished their Embarkation, *Hanno* carried the News of their speedy coming, to *Carthage*. This gave a general Alarm, to all the Coasts of *Lybia*; and People in vain hoped, that *Hamilcar* would make a fresh Attempt to keep off the *Consuls*, with the rest of his Fleet. He continued unactive in *Heraclea*.

BUT there were some fearful Persons among the *Roman* Troops, who were more af-
frighted

frighted at the bare Name of *Africa*, than at the sight of an Enemy. *The Consuls*, said they, *are going to carry us to a Country of Monsters. We are not going to fight with Men, but frightful Serpents and Crocodiles.* And these Discourses, in the Port, filled the Minds of the Soldiers with Terror. However, *Regulus* was not a Man, to suffer these seditious Murmurs to escape unpunished; which had already made an Impression on a *Legionary Tribune*, named *Manius*. He refused to embark, and disobeyed the *Consul's* Orders: But a greater Fear in him got the better of a less. He was threatened with the Rods and Axes of the *Lictors*; and this made him more afraid of present Death, than of his own chimerical Monsters.

THE Weather being favourable, the *Consuls* put out to Sea; and had a most fortunate Passage. The first Land in *Africa* they set their Eyes on, was Cape *Hermæa*: and there the Fleet lay at Anchor for some time, waiting till all the *Roman Gallies* came up. From thence they coasted along, till they came before *Clypea*, a City on the East of *Carthage*, at a little Distance from Cape *Hermæa* ³, and there they made their first Descent in *Africa*. They summoned *Clypea* ⁴ to surrender, which was a very advantageous Post, for a Magazine for Arms; and there were near it several Ports, which lay very conveniently for sheltering the Ships, which should come from *Italy*. In a Neck of this Coast, the *Romans* laid up their Fleet, and defended this new Port, on the Land-side, with a Rampart, and large Ditch, to guard it against any Irruption of the *Africans*. And now the *Consuls* were wholly bent, on laying Siege to a City, which would not submit. Whether *Clypea* surrendered to the *Romans* by Capitulation, or was deserted by its Inhabitants, the Historians are not agreed; but all affirm, the *Consuls* made themselves Masters of it. This important Conquest spread inexpressible Terror in *Carthage*; though after all, the *Carthaginians* did not suffer so much as they had expected. They imagined, That the Fleet would sail directly to *Carthage*, and That the *Romans* would make the Capital of *Africa*, their first Conquest. Being therefore a little recovered from their Fright, they made it their principal Business to increase the Number of their Troops, assemble them together from all Parts, and cover the Country round *Carthage*. The *Consuls*, on the other hand, continued pretty quiet in their new Post, without advancing far up into the Country. Before they could do that, it was necessary they should have fresh Orders from the Senate. So dependent were the *Consuls* at that time, that all their Expeditions were pointed out to them, and nothing left to them, but the Execution. And they succeeded the better for it. No body of Men in the World, was more able to direct their Generals what Steps to take, than the *Roman Senate*. It almost wholly consisted of experienced Officers, who had formerly commanded Armies; and whose Ability supplied the Defects, which might arise from the Rashness or Ignorance of the *Consuls*. *Manlius* and *Regulus* therefore dispatched a Courier to *Rome*, to give the Senate and People an Account of the Situation of their Affairs in *Africa*; and till the Messenger returned, they employed their Soldiers in fortifying *Clypea*, after the *Roman* manner. This was to be, for the future, the general Rendezvous of the *Italian Fleets*, and a Key to *Africa* for the *Romans*. However, the *Consuls*, tho' very quiet, were not totally unactive. They suffered their Troops to make some Incurfions along the Coasts; and they ravaged these fruitful Plains, where no Enemy had long appeared. What Booties did the Soldiers take out of those fine Country-houses, which the *Carthaginian* Lords had built upon the Sea-shore! How many Slaves did they carry away from their Masters! It is pretended, and with some probability, that the *Consul Cornelius Arvina*, who had been treacherously taken, was then delivered from his Captivity at *Carthage*, in order to be carried to *Rome*. He had been forced to drive a Plough; but the Republick soon restored him the *Consular Fasces*. In short, the *Romans* took from the *Carthaginians* above twenty thousand Prisoners, whom they made Slaves: and whilst the *Consuls* were thus living at Discre-

³ See what we have said of Cape *Hermæa*, or *The Promontory of Mercury*, B. 15. p. 125. of this Vol. Note 96. It is now called *Cape Bon*, or *Bona*, or *The Good Cape*.

⁴ This City, which the ancient *Greeks* call *Aspis*, and the *Latins*, *Clypea*, or *Clupea*, was so called, because it stood on an Hill, which was like a *Buckler*. *Strabo*, B. 17. and *Solinus*, c. 27. tell us, that the *Sicilians* founded it. The former says, it was built by *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Sicily*, whilst he

was making War with the *Carthaginians*; who soon after seized it. The old Geographers differ, as to the Situation of this City. Whatever *Pliny* may say to the contrary, it is certain, it did not stand on *The Promontory of Mercury*. *Polybius*, *Strabo*, and *Hirtius*, in the second Chapter of his *African War*, place it beyond that Promontory, more towards the southern Coast, which now belongs to the Kingdom of *Tunis*.

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L. MANLIUS
VULSO, M.
ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

Val. Max. B.
4. c. 4. §. 6.

Tab. Triumph.

Oros. B. 4. c. 8.

Year of
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CCCCXCVIII.

SER. FULVIUS
PÆTINUS NO-
BILIOR, M.
ÆMILIUS
PAULUS,
Consuls.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 30.
Florus B. 2.
Zonaras B. 8.
c. 13 ; Oro-
sius ; Florus ;
Val. Max. B. 1.
c. 8. Extern.
19. Orosius,
B. 4. c. 8. A.
Gel. B. 6. c. 3 ;
Pliny B. 8.
c. 14.

tion, in an Enemy's Country, the Messenger returned from *Rome*, with new Orders from the Senate. They commanded *Manlius* to return into *Italy*, and bring back the Fleet with him : And *Africa* was appointed to be *Regulus's* Province, in which he was ordered to continue the War. Add to this, that the latter was empowered to keep as many Troops and Ships with him, as he thought proper for the Service of the Publick. But *Regulus*, as strange as it may appear, was dissatisfied with this new Appointment. Whether out of some secret Forebodings of the Misfortunes, which were preparing for him ; or, as some maliciously suggested, because he wanted to receive the Honours of a Triumph ; whatever were his Motives, he was very desirous of returning Home. At least, he prayed to be recalled, upon a Pretence, which would now be thought a very trifling one ; but which shews the Character and Manners of the *Romans*, in his time. He represented to the Senate, That the Farmer, who had taken the little piece of Ground of seven Acres, which he had in the *Pupinian's* Tribe, was dead ; That he had hired a Man to take care of his Farm, in his room ; That this Man had utterly neglected to manure it, and carried off his Cattle and Utensils from the Estate ; and lastly, That his Presence was therefore necessary, to work for the Subsistence of his Wife and Children. The Republick therefore had Regard to the Wants of his Family ; and ordered, that *Marcia* his Wife, and his Children, should be maintained at the Expence of the Publick. But as for *Regulus*, he was ordered to continue in *Africa*, and to command the Army there, with the Title of *Proconsul*, as soon as his *Consulship* should expire. *Manlius* his Colleague set out from *Clypea*, returned to *Rome*, and there triumphed. An Honour, which doubtless was designed for *Regulus* also, after his Return ; but his change of Fortune, procured him a much more lasting Glory, than a transient Procession.

§. III. WHEN *Manlius* left him, he embarked 27000 Prisoners, which had been taken in Fights at Sea, or on the Continent, on board his Fleet ; and it is probable, that *Regulus* kept the rest in his Troops. The Forces he kept for himself were 15000 *Legionaries*, 500 Horse, and a much greater Number of Auxiliaries. All his Fleet consisted of but forty Sail. He soon changed his Title of *Consul*, into that of *Proconsul* ; for the Republick chose *Ser. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus*, to be the new *Consuls* ; and they continued for some time unactive in *Italy*. The whole Attention of the Publick was fixed on *Regulus* only. Nothing was thought of, or talked of, but him. And indeed, this great Man carried on this Conquests with surprising Rapidity. *Carthage* was terrified at it ; and chose out three of her most famous Generals, to put a Stop to the Progress of this formidable Enemy. *Hamilcar* was brought from *Sicily*, who, notwithstanding the last Defeat of the Fleet, still preserved some Reputation ; and with him were joined *Bostar* and *Asdrubal*, two Men in Esteem among the *African* Troops. These Chiefs held a Council together, in which they resolved to take the Field, and not to wait in their Cities for the Enemy any longer. *It is our own Inaction*, said they, *which has occasioned the Devastation of our Plains, and the taking of our Cities and Towns. We have left the Romans at Liberty to do any thing ; and this has encouraged them to attempt every thing.* As soon as this Resolution was taken, and the Design was put in execution, *Hamilcar* put himself at the Head of the Army he had brought from *Sicily*, which was exactly equal to that *Regulus* commanded. His Army consisted of 15000 Foot, and 500 Horse. *Bostar* and *Asdrubal* commanded separate Bodies, which were always ready to join their Captain-General. In the mean time, as *Regulus* was pursuing his Conquests, he arrived on the Banks of the *Bagrada*. This River was then in the Territory of the *Carthaginians*, and emptied itself into the Sea, at a little Distance from their Capital. There *Regulus*, and his Army, had a Monster to contend with ; which the *Latin* Historians have taken great Pleasure in describing, in too lively Colours. They have all employed so much Art and Eloquence in the

5 The *Pupinian* Tribe lay in *Latium*, on this side the *Tyber*, not far from *Rome*, according to *Livy*, B. 26 ; and near *Tusculum*, according to *Festus*.

6 *Orosius* and *Eutropius* reckon up a considerable Number of *Carthaginian* Prisoners, which *Manlius* carried to *Rome* ; and they say, he himself returned thither, enriched with the Booty, and valuable

Spoils of the Enemy. According to *Florus*, the Consul, *Marcus Atilius*, embarked all his Riches on a part of the Fleet, which entered triumphantly, into the Port of *Rome*.

7 Only the *Fasti Capitolini* mention this Triumph ; the Ancients all pass it over in Silence.

8 The River *Bagrada* is now called the *Megrada*, or *Magrida*.

Description,

Description, every one in his own Way, that it is difficult to believe they have not exceeded Nature. They say, this Monster was a Serpent, of an immense Bigness; which he infected the River, and made its Banks uninhabitable. He poisoned the Air, and killed Animals with his Breath alone; and the *Romans*, who encamped on the *Bagrada*, found him to be a more formidable Enemy, than the *Carthaginians*. When they went to fetch Water, this frightful Dragon attacked them, twisted himself round them, and sometimes swallowed them whole, down his wide Throat. It was therefore necessary to dispute the Possession of the River with this furious Monster, and to fight him in form. The *Romans* threw Showers of Darts at him, and attacked him with their Arrows. But his Skin was so hard, and his Scales so thick, that the *Romans* could not penetrate him with their Arms. So that it was necessary to make use of those Machines against him, which the Ancients call *Balistræ*, and which were employed in Sieges, for throwing great Stones to beat down Walls. They supplied the Place of Cannon among the Ancients: And the Beast was therefore attacked like a strong Citadel. Nay, it was a great while before the *Balistræ* could reach him; but at length, a great Stone fell so heavily upon his Body, that it broke his Back-bone. Then he could no longer make his Windings and Twistings without Pain; and being thereby become more accessible, he was at length subdued and killed; but the Stink of his Carcase amply revenged his Death. It corrupted the Air, and the Water of the River, and spread so great an Infection all over the Country, that the *Romans* were obliged to decamp. To which I will not add, with the same Emphasis, which some Historians do, that the Goddess of *Africa* brought this frightful Monster there, to drive back the *Romans*. This Story, which has more of Imagination than of Truth in it; has either been totally omitted, or very prudently qualified by many *Greek* Historians. If I may be allowed to guess what this Monster was, I shall take it to be a Crocodile, a Water Animal, common enough in *Africa*. As the *Romans* had never yet seen any, and as he might besides do some Damage to their Soldiers, they magnified the Figure and Fury of it in their Imaginations; and their Historians took their Descriptions from unfaithful Accounts of it. Nevertheless it is affirmed, That *Regulus* sent the Skin of this frightful Beast to *Rome*, which was a hundred and twenty Foot long; That it was hung up in a Temple; and That it was preserved there, to the time of the War of *Numantium*. And without denying this Fact, which is taken from a *Greek* Author, we may allow, That the Serpent was exceeding long, and at the same time not believe, that he did so much Mischief in the *Roman* Army, as is pretended.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCV. II.
SER FULVIUS
PEDITUS NO-
BILIOR, M.
ÆMILIUS
PAULUS,
Consuls.

§. IV. *REGULUS* having conquered the Dragon, marched on further, in search of Matter for more substantial Victories. He formed the Design of besieging *Adis* 9, a City on the Continent, subject to the *Carthaginians*; and in his Way thither, pillaged Castles, overturned Villages, and spread Desolation, wherever he came. At length the City of *Adis* was invested, and besieged in form. But the *Proconsul* wanted Galleries, and *Mantelets*, to make his Approaches to it, and Machines to batter it; and whilst the *Roman* Army was busy about these laborious Works, the *Carthaginian* Army approached to relieve the Place. It came at length within reach of the *Roman*, and posted itself on an Hill, which overlooked the Enemy's Camp. This Hill was uneven, and encumbered with Bushes, and Points of Rocks: and by the Situation of the Place, on which the *Carthaginians* were encamped, *Regulus* judged, that they would be conquered upon the first Attack. Only the Infantry could act in such uneven Ground; and that of the *Carthaginians* was as weak, as that of the *Romans* was brave and warlike. The whole Strength of the *Africans* consisted in their Elephants, which the Rocks and Bushes would hinder from having any Share in the Battel. These Considerations determined the *Proconsul* to give Battel, on the very Ground, on which *Hamilcar* was posted. To this end, he marched directly to the Enemy's Camp, without giving them time to consider the Disadvantages of the Ground, on which they stood. The *Roman* Army was in full march before Day-break; was upon the Hill, before it was Light; and this Confidence surprized the *Carthaginians*. They were infinitely superior in Number; but they found that their Elephants would only embarrass them in the Action, and they began to doubt of the Success of it.

*Polybius B. 1.
c. 30.*

9 The City of *Adis* is no longer in being; nor do we know its ancient Situation. It seems not to have been far from *Carthage*.

Besides,

Year of Besides, as they had been surprized, great Numbers of their Men were in Bed, when
 R O M E the Charge was sounded: and it seems plain, that the *Carthaginians* had not yet learnt
 CCCCXCVIII. the Art, of shutting themselves up in good Entrenchments, in the Night. The Ro-
 SER. FULVIUS mans entered their Camp without Difficulty, killed those whom they found asleep,
 PÆTINUS NO- pursued those that fled, and strewed the Ground with a great Number of dead Bodies.
 BILIOR, M. But the Resistance was greater on the side where the *Spanish* Mercenaries, and *Gauls*,
 ÆMILIUS had their Quarters. They behaved themselves with more Bravery, than the native
 PAULUS, Africans. They defended themselves with such Vigour, that they put the first Ro-
 Consuls. man Legion into Disorder. It was repulsed, and retreating with Loss, when *Regulus*
 Zonar. B. 8. c. ordered some *Manipuli* to attack the Enemy in the Rear. Then the broken Legion
 13. and Polyb. took Courage again, the Fugitives rallied under their Colours; and the brave Foreign-
 c. 30. ers were surrounded on all sides; but sold their Lives very dear, and died Sword in
 Hand. After this, all the *Africans* which were left in the Camp, were in great haste
 to get out of it. They took care to save all the Elephants they could, and drove
 them as fast as they would go, when they had once got them down into the Plain.
 The *Romans* being tired with following them, returned to the Enemy's Camp to
 plunder it: and how much this Battel weakened the *Carthaginians*, is not to be ex-
 pressed. Seventeen thousand of their Men were killed, five thousand made Prisoners
 of War, and eighteen Elephants taken.

Origene B. 4.
 c. 8. Eutrop.
 B. 2.

THEN the Terror of the *Roman* Arms, spread far into *Africa*. Both from the
 neighbouring Provinces, and distant Regions, the People came in Crouds to make
 their Submission to the Conquerors. Fourscore Cities surrendered to the *Proconsul* in
 a few Days; and among the rest, the Town and Port of *Utica* were delivered up with
 its Castle and Port. This increased the Alarm in *Carthage*, which is said to have been
 reduced to despair, when *Regulus* laid Siege to *Tunis*. This great City was but about
 nine Miles from the Capital; and it being situated in a Plain, all the Operations of
 the Siege could be seen from the Walls of *Carthage*. However, the Place was taken
 in sight of the *Carthaginians*, who had neither Courage, nor Strength enough, to
 relieve it. And to complete their Misfortunes, the *Numidians*, their eternal Enemies,
 and nearest Neighbours, took up Arms against them, entered their Provinces, and
 destroyed all with Fire and Sword. The *Numidians* were more cruel than the Ro-
 mans; their Fury had no Bounds. They laid the Fields waste, and forced the
 Peasants to fly to the Capital for Refuge. And then as fertile as the Country was,
 and as many Magazines as there were in *Carthage*, so many Mouths soon consumed
 the Provisions there. What remained was carefully concealed, and hid by the Owners.
 In a City full of selfish Merchants, every one took Advantage of the publick Distress,
 and sold his Provisions at an excessive Price. So that Famine, and the Evils that at-
 tend it, were additional Misfortunes to *Carthage*. The *Romans* were set down before
 her Gates; but *Regulus* did no more there, than *Hannibal* afterwards did, before
Rome.

§. V. IN this Extremity, to which the *Carthaginians* were reduced, they received
 the Deputies sent to them by the *Proconsul* to treat of a Peace, with Joy. It may
 seem strange, that *Regulus* should have so much Indulgence for a Republick, which
 rivalled his own, at a time, when one single Stroke more would, in all Probability,
 have subdued her; and it must be granted, that though the *Proconsul* loved his Coun-
 try, he also loved Reputation and Glory. He considered, That his *Proconsulship* was
 ready to expire; That, at the end of the Year, *Rome* would, according to her Laws,
 appoint him a Successor; That this new General, whoever he was, would rob him
 of the Glory of a Conquest, the beginnings of which, had cost him a great deal
 of Labour and Fatigue; and That at *Rome*, those who put the last Hand to great
 Enterprises, were much more regarded, than those who had happily begun them.
 Besides, if his Army had been numerous enough to have attempted the Reduction of
Carthage, he would not have once hesitated, about finishing his Expedition, with so
 fine a Conquest. But the Case being otherwise, he resolved to conclude the War,
 to his own Glory, and the Benefit of his Republick, by so advantageous a Peace, as
 should ever be an Honour to his Memory. With these Views, he purposed to spend
 the rest of the Campaign in Negotiations. The Deputies he sent to *Carthage*, pro-
 posed the most hard Conditions to the Senate; and that not by way of asking more
 than he intended to insist upon. *Regulus* was determined to abate nothing. They
 demanded, That the *Carthaginians* should relinquish all claims to *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; That
 they

Zonaras B. 8.
 c. 13.

they should restore the Romans all the Prisoners they had taken from them ever since the beginning of the War, without Ransom; That if they would redeem any of their own Prisoners, they should pay so much per Head for them; That they should pay Rome all the Expences of the War; and lastly, That they should for ever pay the Romans an annual Tribute. These Conditions, the African Republick thought intolerable; as much reduced as she was, she preferred a forced Slavery, to a voluntary one; and the Indignation of the Senators increased, upon the Deputies adding two new Articles, which, as they pretended, were only Consequences of the principal one. 1. That the Carthaginians should for the future never fit out more than one Ship of War for their own Use. 2. That, if required by any future Consuls, they should equip fifty Triremes, at their own Expence, to serve in the Roman Fleets. These extravagant Demands provoked the Senators. They loudly and unanimously rejected them, and insisted on some Mitigations. But the Deputies had Orders to abate nothing. So that when they went out of the Assembly, they plainly told the Senate, *They must either conquer the Romans, or obey them*: and after this formal Declaration, the Carthaginians had nothing to do but to die with Honour. But they soon found by Experience, that Heaven is often pleased to humble the Pride of Conquerors, who have no Pity. Before she treated with *Regulus*, the Carthaginian Republick had taken the Precaution to send to Greece to hire Mercenaries, to supply the Place of those brave Gauls and Spaniards, which she had lost before *Adis*: and this Reinforcement arrived, when most wanted. With the Fleet which brought these Succours, there came a Lacedæmonian of great personal Bravery, and who was a much better Soldier, than he had ever yet shewn himself to be. His Name was *Xanthippus*; and as he was much lower of Stature, than Men usually are, this disadvantageous Figure did not promise so much Valour and Wit, as Nature had given him. *Xanthippus* had studied the Theory of the Art of War from his Youth; and by Experience in Armies, had perfected what Knowledge he had acquired of it, by Reading and Meditation. Nevertheless we don't find that this Great Man had any considerable Post in the Troops of his own Country. He was one of those Subalterns, who are often more able Soldiers than their Generals, and want only an Opportunity to shew themselves. His Discourses made him known to the Carthaginians. After he had informed himself of the Particulars of the Battels in which they had failed, he immediately saw what Misconduct had occasioned their Misfortunes; and said to them, *You have not so much been conquered by the Romans, as by your selves. You have not been made a Prey to your Enemies, by the Ability of the Proconsul, but by your own Insufficiency.* These Words made an Impression on the People, and being reported to the Senators, they were curious to know the Man who spoke them. *Xanthippus* was therefore introduced into their Assembly, and there spoke so judiciously, and so clearly explained the Causes of the present Calamities of the Republick, that all confessed his profound Knowledge in the Art of War. Even the Generals of the Armies, *Hamilcar*, *Bostar*, and *Asdrubal*, commended the able Lacedæmonian. *You have not had any Regard to your own Advantages*, said he to them, *either in your Marches, your Encampments, or the Places on which you have chosen to give Battel. You posted your selves and engaged upon hilly Ground, and thereby lessened the Strength of your own Armies. If you will trust to me, I dare promise to secure your Cities, and procure you a certain Victory.* All conceived great Hopes from these Promises; and the Carthaginian Generals themselves resigned their Commands to him, which was confirmed by a Decree of the Senate. *Xanthippus* applied himself first to discipline the Carthaginian Troops. He exercised them every Day; taught them to obey the Word of Command; and instructed them how to move. The Africans were capable of Discipline; they only wanted a Master to instruct them. They soon learnt to close and widen their Ranks, and to rally under their proper Colours; and then these Troops thought themselves invincible, and their Confidence gave their new Commander some hopes of Victory. The old Generals were for taking the Field without delay; and when they exhorted their Soldiers, they encouraged them to fear nothing under the Command of the new Generalissimo. The Carthaginian Army consisted of 12000 Foot, 4000 Horse, and about 100 Elephants. The Romans were surprized to see so sudden an Alteration in their Marches, and Encampments. They did every thing by Rule; their Motions were regular; and their Camps guarded. But nevertheless, *Regulus* was not the less haughty, or the less enterprising. He now

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCVIII.

SER. FULVIUS
PÆTINUS NO-
BILIOR, M.
ÆMILIUS
PAULUS,
Consuls.
*Diod. apud
Ursin.*

*Diod. Sicul. in
Eclog.*

*Silius. Stat.
B. 6.*

*Polybius B. 1.
c. 32.*

*Zonaras B. 8.
c. 13.*

*Polybius B. 1.
c. 32.*

Year of discovered as much Audaciousness, and even Insolence, in his Prosperity, as we shall
 R O M E see him shew Temper and Moderation in his Adversity. He looked on *Xanthippus*
 CCCCXCVIII. as a contemptible Greek, a mere Adventurer, of no Character or Resolution, whose
 SER. FULVIUS Experience reached no farther, than to some trifling Observations on Discipline. And
 PÆTINUS NO- being puffed up with his Success, the *Proconsul* wrote to Rome about him, giving
 BILIOR, M. much the same Account of him, and enumerating his own Exploits, and Victories.
 ÆMILIUS After having first conquered at Sea, I carried the War into Africa, said he to the Senate,
 PAULUS, which no Roman ever did before me. My Conquests there, are almost as numerous as the
 Consuls. Cities ¹⁰, Carthage formerly had under her Dominion. The Capital itself is ready to be
 subdued; I am now set down before the Gates of it. The Vanquished in vain endeavour
 to obtain a Peace on tolerable Conditions. Either they shall be reduced to Slavery by the
 Terms I have proposed to them; or your Troops shall complete their Destruction. But the
 Success did not answer the Confidence of the Roman, which proved his Ruin.

*Appianus in
Punicis.*

*Frontin. B. 2.
c. 8. and Po-
lyb. B. 1. c. 33.*

§. VI. THIS Greek, this despised *Xanthippus*, made a good Appearance, in sight of
 the Roman Army. He did not encamp on Eminences, but on the vast Plains,
 which lay on the Sea-shore. His Elephants had room enough there to extend them-
 selves, and his Cavalry, which was much superior to that of the Romans, could make
 their Revolutions freely. *Regulus* plainly saw, that the new General took his Advan-
 tages with more Caution, than his Predecessors: but he could not persuade himself,
 that he could in an Action, equal the Experience of a victorious Roman, and the
 Valour of an Infantry hitherto invincible. He therefore not only marched down into
 the Plain, but boldly passed a River, which ran between his Army, and the Enemy's
 Camp; and as if he had been sure of Conquest, left his Troops no Way to retreat,
 in case of a Repulse. This was exactly what *Xanthippus* expected: And as soon as he
 saw the *Proconsul* in his Snares, the *Lacedæmonian* cried out; *The Gods favour me;*
Regulus himself is come to give me an Opportunity of performing my Promises: and he
 immediately marched out his Troops to draw them up, in order of Battel. The
 Roman Army had halted about 1200 Paces from the Enemy's Camp. It was fa-
 tired with its long March, and did not come up with the *Carthaginians*, till near
 Sun-set. The Circumstances of Time, Place, and the Fatigue of the Romans, all
 favoured *Xanthippus*. As the Action probably could not end till it was dark, the
Carthaginians, who were acquainted with the Roads, could easily escape, by the help
 of the Night, in case of any ill Success. But if Fortune favoured them, it was dif-
 ficult for the Romans to recover their Camp, and make a regular Retreat. These
 Considerations made the *Lacedæmonian* exceedingly rejoice; his Joy was painted upon
 his Face, and his Confidence communicated itself to his Troops. They unanimously
 made the Air ring with the Name of *Xanthippus*, and with an unusual Chearfulness,
 desired him to lead them on to the Enemy. He drew up his Army in this manner.
 In the first Line, he placed his Dart-men, with Orders to retire into the Spaces be-
 tween the Battalions, as soon as they had made their Discharge. Behind them, but
 at some Distance from them, were placed the Elephants, in a long Front, carrying
 wooden Towers, full of Soldiers. Behind them was the *Carthaginian Phalanx*, con-
 sisting of the best Infantry in the Army; and these were the main Body. As for the
 Wings, *Xanthippus* had posted his light-armed Troops in the left, and the Mercena-
 ries in the right. These two Wings were both supported by the *African* Cavalry,
 which had full room to act and spread themselves in this vast Plain; and *Xanthippus*
 had, like an able General, taken Advantage of the Ground, and extended his Troops.

REGULUS, on the other hand, drew up his Troops after the Roman manner;
 but was guilty of a great Fault. He made his main Body too narrow, and too deep,
 which exposed it to the Danger of being surrounded. He foresaw, that the Enemy's
 Elephants would be placed in the first Line, and therefore posted his Slingers, Dart-
 men, and all the light-armed Soldiers he had, to oppose them. The Roman Horse
 were posted in the Wings. By making his main Body so strong, he indeed guarded
 against the Elephants breaking in upon them; but he did not foresee, that the *Afri-
 can* Cavalry might come and attack his Infantry in Flank, and thereby harass them
 exceedingly, during the Action. *Xanthippus* began the Attack. He ordered the Ma-
 sters of the Elephants to advance with them against the Enemy's first Line. Then

¹⁰ *Orosius* tell us, That *Regulus* took no less than three hundred Castles, or strong Places, from the *Carthaginians*; and That he brought eighty two Cities into Subjection to the Romans. But *Entropius* makes the latter to have been no more than seventy three.

the *Romans* moved forwards, and came to meet these Animals. At the same time the *Roman* Cavalry charged the *Carthaginian*, which was infinitely superior in Number: So that the former were overpowered, put into Disorder, and forced to fly. An unfortunate Prelude, which determined the Fate of the Battel. In the mean time, *Regulus's* left Wing fell upon the Mercenaries, which *Xanthippus* had posted in his right; and not only avoided being broken by the Elephants, but routed the Foreigners in the *Carthaginian* Army, who being hotly pursued, retired in Disorder to their Camp. But this was not the Case with the main Body, which *Regulus* commanded in Person. It was broken by the Elephants, which penetrated into it, and with their heavy Bodies, bore down every thing that opposed them. The first Lines of the *Romans* were trodden under Foot by these monstrous Animals, whose Fury made every thing give Way. Nevertheless, the main Body was so thick, and so deep, and the Ranks so well closed, that the last Lines were not yet disordered. They still resisted; and some *Manipuli*, which escaped between the Elephants, maintained their Ground against the Enemy. Till at length, the *African* Horse surrounded them, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. Those who fled, were easily overtaken by the Elephants, and Horsemen, and fared no better than those, who lost their Lives in the Battel. Of all the *Roman* Army, only those two thousand Men, who so furiously pursued the Mercenaries, escaped; and they arrived safe at *Clypea*, after many Fatigues, and Dangers. As for *Regulus*, he did not dishonour himself by a shameful Flight; but being guarded by five hundred Men, who kept constantly about him, he was invested, and taken on the Field of Battel, with his Company. An Accident never before heard of, since the Foundation of *Rome*, that a *Roman* General should be taken alive, in Battel, by the Enemy! *Regulus* followed his Conquerors to *Carthage*, after he had lost about thirty thousand Men in the Action; whereas, the Historians say, that the Loss of the *Carthaginians* was scarce above eight hundred of those foreign Mercenaries, in their right Wing, who had been routed.

THE victorious Army returned to the Capital of *Africa*, and *Xanthippus* entered it, as it were in Triumph. The Applauses of the People were proportionable to their Gratitude: in these first Transports of Joy, they could not contain themselves. All the People in *Carthage* ran to meet the Conqueror, and could scarce believe their own Eyes. The greater their Consternation and Despair had been, the more exulting was their Joy now. A few Hours before, they had been in dread of seeing their Temples, Houses, and City demolished: And they were now delivered from all these Apprehensions, by a Foreigner. They looked sometimes on *Xanthippus*, and sometimes on *Regulus*. The one appeared like some Genius, sent by the Gods, to rescue a miserable People from Oppression. The other, under this Cloud, renewed the Remembrance of his past Victories: And the Comparison they made of the two Commanders, turned much to the Honour of the *Lacedæmonian*. The one, said they, was the Scourge of *Africa*, and the Terror of *Carthage*. The other has only shewed himself yet. One single Battel has raised him above the Conqueror of our Provinces. A Roman Proconsul, is become the Slave of a Soldier of Fortune. How great a Man is *Xanthippus*, who can subdue the most famous Conquerors! Praises, which were the Expressions of the real Sentiments of the People of *Carthage*; but they, in the end, proved fatal to their Deliverer. The *Carthaginian* Generals could not hear them without Pain. They thought this was robbing them of as much Applause, as was given to a Foreigner. Their Love for their Country, had made them consent to place *Xanthippus* at the Head of the Troops, in a time of imminent Danger; but as soon as that was past, Self-love recovered its Ascendant, and Jealousy prevailed over Gratitude. The *Greek* had too much Penetration not to see into the secret Plots of those that envied him; and too much Wisdom, to expose himself long to the Treachery of the *Carthaginians*. He gave Way to the Stream, which was ready to overflow; and content with the Glory, which so fine an Action brought with it, and without expecting any other Reward, resolved to return to *Lacedæmon*. Here, said he to himself, my Hopes are uncertain, and the Dangers I run are sure. So that being a sagacious Politician, as well as prudent Commander, he thought to have avoided the Storm which threatened him, by flight. But he found that Envy will go far in the Pursuit of those who seek to escape it. His Adventure is differently told, but every Way to the Shame of the *Carthaginians*. Some say, that those who were jealous of his Glory, embarked some Assassins in the same Ship with him, who threw him

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCVIII.

SER. FULVIUS
PÆRITUS NO-
BILIOR, M.
ÆMILIUS
PAULUS,
Consuls.
*Frontin. B. 2.
c. 1.*

*Polybius B. 1.
c. 34.*

Florus, B. 2.

*Dion. Sic. in
Eclog.*

*Polyb. B. 1.
c. 36.*

*Zonar. B. 8.
c. 13.
Appian. in
Punius.*

Year of him into the Sea, and drowned him. Others affirm, that an old Ship, which leaked
R O M E in all Parts, was got ready for him, and pretended to be a new one, after it had
 CCCCXCVIII. been a little calked : And they add, that the artful *Greek* foreseeing the malicious
 Designs of his Enemies, went on board another Galley. But which Account soever
 SER. FULVIUS be the right, neither *Xanthippus's* Victory, nor the Ingratitude of the *Carthaginians*,
 PÆTINUS NO- will ever be forgotten.
 BILIOR, M.
 ÆMILIUS
 PAULUS,
 Consuls.

IN the mean time, *Regulus* endured the Hardships of the severest Captivity. Though his Companions in his Misfortunes were treated with some Humanity at *Carthage*, no manner of Regard was shewn to a General, who had been so much dreaded. The Senate remembered the hard Terms he had required of them, as the only Conditions of a Peace. The People were enraged at the Sight of him, who had laid their Lands waste, and plundered them ; and therefore treated him with all the Cruelty, that Revenge could inspire them with. They gave him Food, only to increase his Miseries, by prolonging his Life. They shewed him as a Sight, to the meanest of the Populace, who insulted him. To prevent his taking any rest, they always kept a furious Elephant by him, which threatened him with his Trunk, and kept him awake with his Cries. And after *Regulus* had long been made the Sport of the Multitude, he was shut up in a publick Prison. All this ill Treatment therefore increased his Hatred for the *Carthaginians* ; but did not at all abate that *Roman* Pride, which was then honoured with the Names of Constancy, and Magnanimity.

§. VII. As for *Rome*, the Defeat and Imprisonment of *Regulus*, caused as much Grief there, as Joy in *Carthage*. But the *Romans* were no farther fearful, than to take prudent Precautions. They feared the *Carthaginians*, elated with their Success, would come and fall upon *Italy*, and return upon *Rome* the Devastations which the *Proconsul* had committed in their Country. To prevent this, they ordered the two *Consuls* for the Year, *Servius Fulvius*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus*, to watch the Coasts of *Italy*, to place good Garrisons in all the Sea-port Towns, to go over into *Sicily* with a Fleet, and from thence, if they judged proper, to sail to *Africa*, to save the Remains of *Regulus's* Army, and Conquests ; and lastly, to keep the Enemy employed in the Defence of their own Country. But their Fears about *Italy* were vain. The *Carthaginians* chose rather to recover the Cities which had been taken from them ; and wholly applying themselves to it, they easily recovered the Towns on the Frontiers of *Numidia*, which had revolted from them ; but did not find it so easy, to regain those on the Sea-shore. They besieged *Clypea* in vain. The *Romans* defended it with so much Courage, that they forced the Besiegers to retire. From thence they turned their Arms against *Utica*, and invested it ; but the News which was brought from *Italy*, forced them to put a Stop to the Siege which they had begun. It was reported in *Africa*, that the *Roman Consuls* were equipping a Fleet of 350 Gallies ; and indeed, this formidable Armament was ready, before the end of the Summer. *Carthage* therefore was wholly taken up with refitting her old Gallies, and building new ones. The whole Army, which had fate down before *Utica*, was employed in this new Work. The main Point of the *Carthaginians* was, to defend their Coasts, and hinder the *Romans* from landing.

*Polybius B. 1.
c. 36.*

IN the mean time the *Consuls* weighed Anchor, passed the *Streights*, and landed in *Sicily*. All was quiet there, and the Alarm, which the Rout of *Regulus* in *Africa*, had given the *Sicilians*, had not at all diminished their Fidelity. The *Romans* therefore left some Land-Forces in *Sicily*, to defend it, and immediately sailed for *Africa*. A great Storm drove them upon the Island of *Cossura* ¹¹, which is not above thirty Miles round. But as there were then in it a convenient Port, and a pretty large City, which was subject to the *Carthaginians*, the *Consuls* detached some Troops to seize the Port, and the Town, and laid the whole Island waste. The Weather growing more mild, the *Consuls* set sail again, and appeared off Cape *Hermæa*, where

*Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 14.*

¹¹ The little Island of *Cossura*, or *Cossyra*, is so near *Sicily*, that *Scylax* reckoned it to be but one Day's sail, from thence to *The Promontory of Libya*. But *Ptolomy* reckons it among the Islands, which belonged to *Africa*, as he does *Malta*, which lies 130 Miles North of *Africa*. *Cossura* is generally reckoned to be 15000 geometrical Paces in Circumference ; and it is now known by the Name

of *Pantalearia*. The Ancients call it *Cosyrus*, and *Cosyra* ; and this Difference of the Names caused the Mistake of *Stephen of Byzantium*, or his Abridger. One, or t'other, thought, that these two were the Names of two different Islands ; *Cosyrus*, of one which belonged to *Sicily* ; and *Cosyra*, of one which belonged to *Africa*.

they found the *Carthaginian* Gallies ready to receive them. They were drawn up in Line of Battel, resolving to hinder the *Romans* from landing. Cape *Hermæa* was at an equal Distance from *Carthage* to the West, and from *Clypea* to the East; and the Battel was no sooner begun, but the *Romans* in *Clypea* sent their forty Ships to assist the *Consular* Fleet. With this Reinforcement therefore, the *Consuls* made every thing fly before them; and the Loss the *Carthaginians* sustained, was much greater, than the Advantage they had gained over *Regulus*. An hundred and four of their Ships were sunk; thirty taken; and fifteen thousand of their Soldiers, or Rowers, killed in the Action. Whereas, the *Romans* had only nine Gallies sunk, and no more than 1100 Men killed. But still this fine Victory did not recover them their *Regulus*: and a General of theirs in Chains, was such a Reproach, as they could scarce bear. Nothing now retarded the Conquerors; they landed near *Clypea*, and encamped there. And whilst they were recovering their Fatigues at Sea, and those of the Battel, the *Carthaginians* were in haste to come and attack them in their Camp. But *Xanthippus* was no longer at the Head of them. The two *Hanno's*, Father and Son, commanded the *Carthaginian* Land-Forces; and notwithstanding the new Discipline, the *Greek* had taught them, they were not able to withstand the Valour of the *Romans*. They were routed, and lost nine thousand Men. And what grieved them most, was the Loss of a good Number of their chief Lords, whom the *Romans* made Prisoners of War, and carefully kept in order to exchange them for *Regulus*. Some pretend indeed, that the *Romans* did not yet understand how to make War, and mention their Overthrow by *Xanthippus*, as a Proof of it. The *Greeks*, say they, were vastly superior to them. As if the single Misfortune, or Misconduct of one of their Generals, was sufficient to determine it. Whereas, they had sufficiently shewn, in their Wars with *Pyrrhus*, that even the Disciples and Imitators of *Alexander*, could not withstand the Valour of the *Roman* Troops, and the Skill of their Generals.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXVIII.
SER. FULVIUS
PÆTINUS NO-
BILICR, M.
ÆMILIUS
PAULUS,
Consuls.

Zonar. B. 8.
c. 14.

AFTER these two signal Victories, the *Consuls* deliberated, whether they should carry on their *African* Expedition any farther, or drop it. Every thing inclined them to pursue the vast Designs of *Regulus*, except one single Consideration. This fruitful Coast had been so much laid waste, that the *Carthaginians* themselves were in want, and could no longer subsist upon it. How then should foreign Troops be supported in a ruined Country? or whence could Provisions be brought them? Every Corn-vessel, besides the Dangers of the Sea, would be liable to be taken by the Enemy. And a Resolution was therefore taken, to quit *Clypea* and *Utica*, and carry all the *Romans* out of *Africa*. They were embarked on the victorious Fleet, which sailed for *Sicily*; and so far they had a good Voyage: But *Fortune* has her Humours. The *Consuls* were too greedy of Conquest, and too imprudent, to avoid a Bait which tempted them. Many of the maritime Cities, on the northern Coast of *Sicily*, still adhered to the *Carthaginians*. To appear before them with a Fleet, and a formidable Army, at the same time, seemed to be enough to make them immediately submit; and this had been a good Project, if the Year had not been so far advanced. But the *Consuls* had begun their Campaign late; and the Season was now dangerous for sailing. Nevertheless, the Pilots in vain represented to these Conquerors, That they were too intent upon Expeditions, which might as well be postponed; That from the time of the rising of *Orion*¹², to that of *The Dog-star*, Ships could not live

¹² In order to understand what part of the Year *Polybius* means, by the time between the rising of *Orion*, and that of *The Dog-star*, it must be observed, that the rising and setting of the Stars, are to be considered, either with respect to the Horizon, or to the Sun's Motion in our Hemisphere. With regard to our Horizon, the Stars rise and set every Day; that is, they every Day rise above, and sink below, the Horizon, as they move with the whole Firmament. But it is certain, that when *Polybius* speaks of the rising of *Orion*, and of *The Dog-star*, he did not allude to this daily Motion, which is from East to West. If he did, his Words would be Nonsense; and every Day would foretell Tempests, since *Orion* and *The Dog-star* rise, and set every Day, in this Sense. We must therefore explain the rising and setting of *Orion*, and *The Dog-*

star, by their Distance from, or Approaches to, the Sun. And in order to do this, which was what *Polybius* had in view, we must distinguish three sorts of Risings, and Settings, of the Stars. The *Cosmical*, *Acronical*, and *Heliacal*. The *Cosmical* rising and setting of a Star, is, when it rises with the Sun. By the *Acronical* rising of a Star, is meant, its rising above the Horizon, when the Sun sets; and the *Acronical* setting of a Star is, when it disappears at the same time the Sun rises. The *Heliacal* rising of a Star, is its Appearance immediately after it is emerged out of the Rays of the Sun; the *Heliacal* setting, is its Immersion into, or Conjunction with, the Sun. Being then, as it were, swallowed up and drowned in the Rays of the Sun, it disappears. This being supposed, it is certain, that *Polybius* can only be understood of the time between

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCVIII.
SER. FULVIUS
PÆTINUS NO-
BILIOR, M.
ÆMILIUS
PAULUS,
Consuls.

Eutrop. B. 2.
and Polyb.
B. 1. c. 37.

Diod. Sic. in
Eclog.

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXC X.
CN. CORNE-
LIUS ASINA,
A. ATTILIUS
CALATINUS,
Consuls.
Val. Max.
L. 6. cap. ult.
§. 11.

live in the *African* Sea ; and That it was therefore necessary to seize the first Interval of fine Weather, for their return. The *Consuls* were earnest to signalize the remaining part of their Year by Conquests, which would do them Honour ; and their Delay in returning Home, did the Republick more Prejudice, than the most important Conquests could have done her Service. At the Time foretold, a Storm arose, which was as violent as any which had been known, within the Memory of Man : and the Fleet was so shattered with the Waves and Winds, that it may be said to have been entirely destroyed. How great therefore must have been the Misfortune ! how immense the Loss ! Besides their own Crews, these Ships had a great Army of Land-Forces on board. Almost all the Riches of *Africa*, which *Regulus* had amassed together, had been deposited in *Clypea*, and were now transporting from thence to *Rome*. But the Sea swallowed them all. From *Camarina* to Cape *Pachinum*, the Sea was covered with the dead Bodies of Men, and other Animals, and the Wrecks of the Gallies. In short, of the four hundred Ships, or thereabouts, scarce fourscore escaped. And then the *Romans* experienced the constant Friendship of King *Hiero*. Those, who by swimming, or on the Wrecks, or in Skiffs, escaped the Shipwreck, had recourse to this Good King, who assisted them in their Distress : and after he had supplied them with Provisions, Cloaths, and Ships, sent them to *Messana*. However, the Misfortune which befel the Fleet, did not affect the *Consuls*. The Republick did not make them responsible for Accidents by Sea, and Tempests. She had Regard to their Merit, at the next Election ; and did not refuse them a Triumph, but only postponed it.

§. VIII. IN the *Comitia by Centuries*, which were then held in the *Campus Martius*, there happened a remarkable Instance of the Vicissitudes of Fortune. A Man, who, a little before, had been treacherously made a Prisoner, and carried to *Carthage*, was nominated to the *Consulship*. This was *Cn. Cornelius*, surnamed *Asina*, who had been *Consul* once before ; and his Colleague was *A. Attilius Calatinus*, who had likewise been promoted to that Honour already. The *Consuls* for the last Year, were continued each in the Command of an Army, with the Title of *Proconsul*, notwithstanding the Accident of the Tempest ; and though the *Romans* had left off making War in *Africa*, the *Carthaginians* renewed it in *Sicily*, with fresh Fury. One of their Armies, commanded by *Carthalo*, had already taken, and demolished *Agrirentum*. Most of the *Romans*, who defended it, were killed, or reduced to Slavery. And those who escaped the Fury of the *Carthaginians*, seized a Post, which had been called *Jupiter Olympius*, from a Temple¹³ there, in which that God was worshiped. And now, since *Regulus's* Defeat, and the Shipwreck of the *Roman* Fleet, as *Sicily* was left defenceless, it seemed most probable, that it would entirely fall into the Hands

between the *Heliacal* rising of *Orion*, and the *Heliacal* rising of *The Dog-star*. This appears from the Historian himself. He tells us, that the *Roman* Fleet sailed into *Sicily*, in the beginning of the Summer, and that from thence the *Consuls* sailed into *Africa*. Now the time between the *Heliacal* rising of *Orion*, and the *Heliacal* rising of *The Dog-star*, agrees perfectly well with *Polybius's* Narration. It is certain, according to the *Tables of Geminus*, and *Ptolomy*, That *Orion* then rose after the *Solstice*, about the end of *June* : and That *The Dog-star* rose about the beginning of *August*, when the Sun entered into the eighth or ninth Degree of *Leo*. So that the Month of *July*, which was between these two Terms, was the time that was so dreadful to Sailors. Besides, in the *Tables* before quoted, the rising of *Orion* is said to be the Forerunner of Tempests. Add to this, that whether this Fear of the Sailors, was only the Effect of a vulgar Prejudice, or founded on Experience ; it is certain, that the Ancients governed themselves in most things in Life, by their Observations on the Stars, especially in Navigation, Agriculture, and Medicine. They were of Opinion, that the Seasons were altered, and all sublunary Things affected, by the secret Influences of the Stars.

¹³ This Temple, which was built by the *Agri- gentini*, in honour to *Jupiter Olympius*, was one of the most magnificent in *Sicily*. *Diodorus* makes it

a hundred and twenty Foot high, three hundred and sixty long, and sixty broad. He highly extols the Beauty of the Columns, which supported the Building, the admirable Structure of the Portico's, and the exquisite Taste, with which the *Bas-reliefs*, and Paintings, that enriched it, were performed. And to this Day, says he, the last Hand is not put to this stately Edifice. See his Description of this famous Temple in the thirteenth Book of his History. [The *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, was *Minos* King of *Crete*, who expelled his Father *Asterius* (the *Saturn* of the *Latins*) his Kingdom of *Crete*, and reigned there in his stead, about the Year before Christ 1015. *Chron.* p. 16, 149. He was the Son of *Europa*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*, and the *Cybele* or *Rhea* of the Ancients. His Father *Asterius* reigned in *Olympus*, a Mountain in *Crete*, and *Minos* himself was educated by the *Curetes*, in the *Cretan* Cave. p. 151. *Hercules Idæus*, according to *Pausanias*, came with five of the *Curetes*, or *Idæi Dactyli*, from *Ida*, a Mountain in *Crete*, to *Elis* in *Greece*, and there instituted Games, and erected an Altar to this *Jupiter Olympius*, and called these Games *Olympic*. This *Jupiter*, to whom they were instituted, had also a Temple and Altar erected to him in *Olympia*, a Place on the Confines of *Pisa*, near the River *Alpheus* ; and from this Place he was called *Jupiter Olympius*, p. 151, 157.]

of the *Carthaginians*. But whilst these Enemies of the *Romans* were multiplying their Conquests there, the *Sicilians* were informed that *Rome* was, with the utmost Expedition, fitting out as large a Fleet as the last. And indeed, in three Months time, the *Romans* launched sixscore new Gallies, which, with the old ones that were refitted, made a Fleet of two hundred and fifty Sail. An Instance of Constancy in Adversity in the Republick, no less admirable than that of *Regulus*, who was still kept in Captivity. As soon as the Fleet was ready, it is probable, that both the *Consuls* for the Year, and the *Proconsuls* went into *Sicily*; the former to command the Army at Sea, the latter to act jointly at Land: and they all joined in carrying on the same Enterprizes. As they besieged only maritime Cities, the Land-Forces invested them, on one side, and the Ships on the other. By this means, both *Consuls* and *Proconsuls*, equally helped to conquer them. The first Attempt of the *Romans* was upon the City of *Cephaloedium*¹⁴, on the River *Hymera*, some Miles from the Mouth of it: and this Place was betrayed by some of the Inhabitants, who delivered it up to the *Romans*. From thence the Fleet and Army came towards *Drepanum*, which *Carthalo* succoured so seasonably, that the *Romans* did not attempt to take it. A more important Conquest called them thence to another Place. *Panormus*¹⁵ was then a large City, situated on the northern Coast of *Sicily*; and as it was not far from *Lilybæum*, the *Carthaginians* had long since taken Possession of it, and kept it with Care. Besides, it had been founded by *Phœnicians*; so that the Inhabitants of *Panormus* had had the same Origin, as the *Carthaginians*. Hence their reciprocal Union and Affection. The *Carthaginians* had made this City the Capital of their Dominion in *Sicily*. And now the *Roman* Fleet first seized the Port, and then summoned the Town to surrender; but the Inhabitants and the Garrison were determined to stand a Siege. In order therefore to increase the Army on Shore, the *Consuls* landed all the Troops they had: and then Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation were drawn round the Place. The Country plentifully supplied the Army, with Materials necessary for a Siege. It was agreeably planted with fine Trees, which the *Romans* felled, and built Machines, for attacking a Tower, which overlooked the Sea. And there they made a Breach, through which the Besiegers entered into the new City, and made themselves Masters of it. Those who defended it, retired for Refuge to the old City, and carried with them Terror and Famine; so that they made no long Defence there. The Garrison and Inhabitants sent a Deputation to the *Romans*, and demanded Life and Liberty for themselves, their Wives, and Children; and insisted, That they should not be deprived of their Arms, and Effects; and That their City and Houses should be spared. But the *Consuls* were not ignorant of the Extremity to which the Besieged were reduced; and refused to grant them more than their Lives and Liberties; and not even these, unless they paid so much *per Head* by way of Ransom. The weakest must always submit to the strongest. Forty thousand of the Inhabitants, who were best able, paid * two *Minae*¹⁶ each, for their Ransom; and the rest, to the Number of about thirty thousand, were made Slaves, and sold to the best bidder. This considerable Conquest made the *Roman* Name dreaded, all along the Coasts; and many Cities, and Nations, subject to the *Carthaginians*, voluntarily submitted to the *Consuls*; who returned to *Rome*, but were opposed in their Passage by the *Carthaginian* Fleet. Several Transport-ships were taken from the *Romans*, on board which were the Money, and Spoils, taken in *Panormus*; so that properly speaking, the Campaign proved glorious only to the *Proconsuls*. Nevertheless, *Rome* rewarded them only for their

Year of
R O M E
CCCCXCIX.
CN. CORNE-
LIUS ASINA,
A. ATTILIUS
CALATINUS,
Consuls.

Pol. B. 1. c. 38.
and Diod. in
Eclog.

* 6 l. 9 s. 2 d.
Sterling.
Arbutnot.

¹⁴ *Cephaloedium*, or *Cephaloedis*, an ancient maritime City, on the North Coast of *Sicily*, is now called *Cephala*. It gives its Name to a neighbouring Lake, which reaches to the extreme Parts of *The Valley of Demona*. This City was not far from the Mouth of the *Himera*.

¹⁵ The Antiquity of *Panormus*, now *Palermo*, the Convenience of its Port, and its great Riches, have made it always thought a very considerable City. Its Territory is watered by the River, now called *Amiraglio Fiume*, formerly the *Orethrus*. Near it, the River now called *Baiaria Fiume*, formerly the *Eleutherus*, discharges itself into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. In the Neighbourhood of this City was Mount *Istia*, and a Fortress called by that Name. The Mountain is now called *Monte Pelegrino*.

¹⁶ Each *Mina* contained an hundred *Drachmae*; and each *Drachma* was worth about ten *Sols French*. So that the two *Minae*, which each Person paid for his Ransom, come to an hundred *Francks*. [See Vol. 1. p. 146. where the Reader is desired to read twenty two Pounds eighteen Shillings and four Pence, instead of fourteen Pounds eleven Shillings and eight Pence. And in Pages 147, and 148. he is desired to correct these Errors in the Margin and Text. For 235 l. 18 s. 9 d. read 242 l. 3 s. 9 d. For 157 l. 5 s. 10 d. read 161 l. 9 s. 2 d. For 78 l. 12 s. 11 d. read 80 l. 14 s. 7 d. For 39 l. 6 s. 5 d. $\frac{1}{2}$, read 40 l. 7 s. 3 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. And for 7600 *Drachmae*, p. 147. l. 24. read 7500. And p. 399. Vol. 1. Note 32. instead of about 9 l. 8 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$, he is desired to read 9 l. 13 s. 9 d.]

Exploits,

Year of Exploits, during their *Consulship*; without making any mention of their late Conquests
 R O M E in *Sicily*. They entered *Rome* in ¹⁷ Triumph, on two different Days, almost suc-
 CCCCXCIX.
 CN. CORNE-¹⁹ *Carthaginians*. As for *Cornelius*, we shall see him triumph the next Year. Which
 LIUS ASINA, seems to make it evident, that he was continued in the Command of an Army in
 A. ATTILIUS *Sicily*, with the Title of *Proconsul*. But his Collegue *Attilius*, who had only taken
 CALATINUS, some Cities, without gaining any Battel, was not thought worthy of a Triumph.
 Consuls.

Year of §. IX. IN the mean time new Magistrates succeeded them. The *Consuls* the Re-
 R O M E publick chose were *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *C. Sempronius Blæsus*. The time for
 D. making a *Census* was also lapsed; but the Death of one of the *Censors* suspended the
 CN. SERVILI-
 US CÆPIO,
 SEMPRONIUS
 BLÆSUS, Con-
 suls.
Fasti Capitol. *Lustrum* they ought to have celebrated, and postponed it, till new *Censors* were cho-
 sen. He who died, was *Prætor* at the same time, for these two Offices were not
 incompatible. As soon then as *Posthumius Megellus* was dead, his Collegue *Junius*
Pera, laid down his Office, and acted no longer. By which means, *Rome* was pre-
 vented taking a new *Census*; and this shews how uncertain a Way it would be to
 compute Time by the *Roman Lustra*, which were often varied, and that for very
 weak Reasons. But the *Romans* were more constant in carrying on the Wars, they had
 once begun. They ordered their *Consuls* to set sail with a Fleet of two hundred and sixty
 Gallies, whilst the *Proconsul Asina* commanded the Land-Forces in *Sicily*. The Histori-
 ans have not given us any Account of his Exploits; but if we may judge of them, by
 the Triumph that was granted him, they could not but be considerable. Whereas,
 the *Consuls* had not so successful a Campaign. They went from *Rome* to *Messana*,
 and from thence to *Lilybæum*. But this Place being too strong, and too well gar-
 risoned, for them to attempt to lay Siege to it; the Fleet passed on, and came to the
 Eastern Coast of *Africa*, at a good Distance from *Carthage*. No *Romans* had hitherto
 penetrated so far, and the Coast was unknown to their Pilots. However, the *Consuls*
 made Descents there, surprized some Cities, and plundered some Towns and Vil-
 lages. The Spoils of this rich Country were put on board the Fleet, which had
 like to have perished in sight of the Coast it had plundered. By coasting too



¹⁷ Two silver Medals prove the Triumph of *Marcus Æmilius*, and *Servius Fulvius*. The Face of the first, is the Head of *A Rome*, wearing an Helmet; and the reverse a Galley, over which is a Crown of Laurel, to shew the naval Victory gained by this Admiral. Its Inscription is this; M. ÆMILIUS, M. F. L. N. S. that is, *This Medal was struck by order of the Senate, in honour to Marcus Æmilius Paulus, the Son of Marcus, and Grandson of Lucius*. The Face of the second Medal, is the Head of a winged Victory; the reverse, *A Neptune* in a triumphal Chariot. It bears the Name of *SERVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR PROCONSUL*.

¹⁸ Nevertheless, the Island of *Cosyra* soon returned under the Dominion of its old Masters, ac-

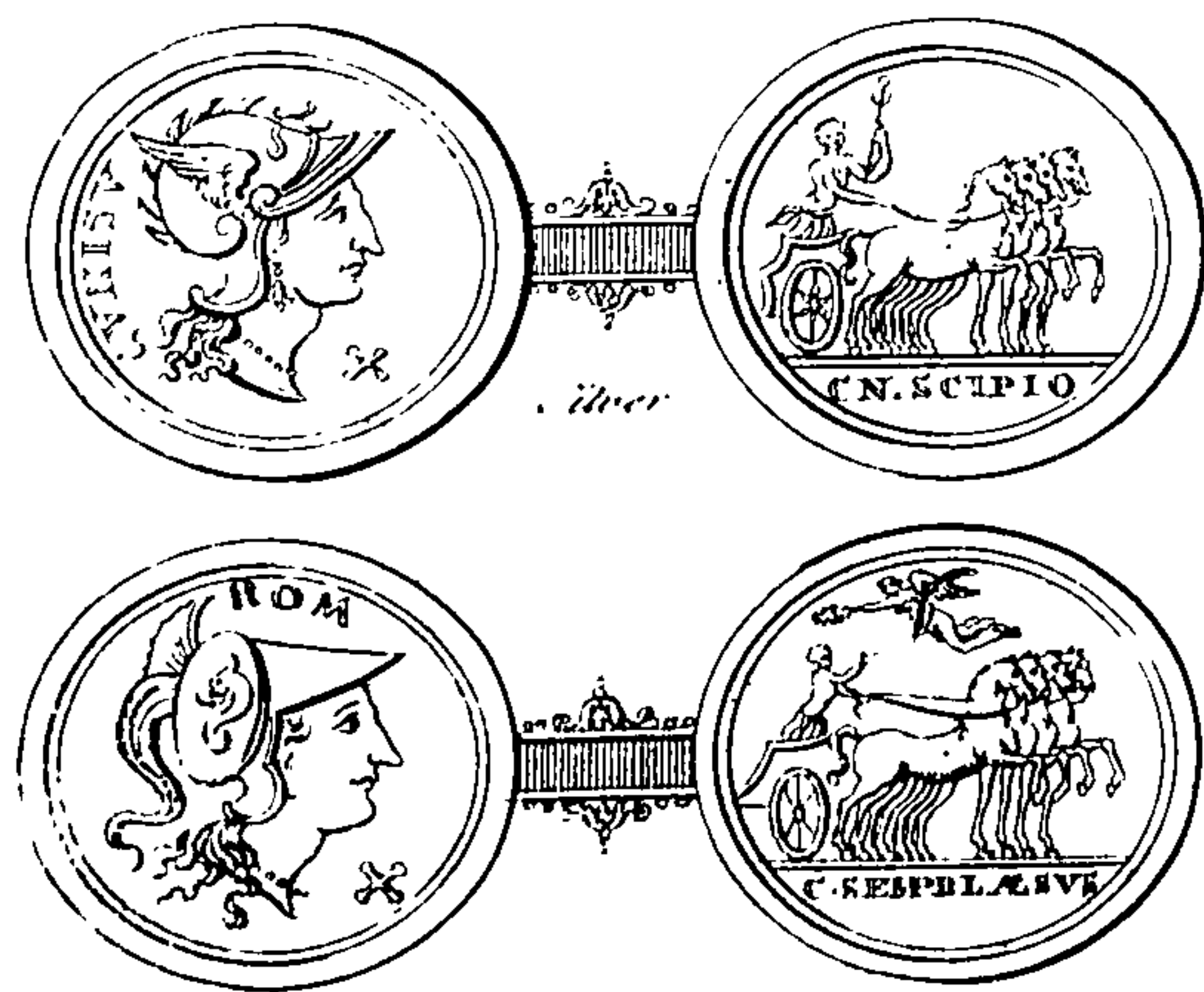
cording to *Zonaras*. The *Carthaginians*, informed of the miserable Condition to which the *Roman Fleet* was reduced by the Tempest, appeared off the Island, and retook it from the *Romans*.

¹⁹ The Ancients entirely omit the Triumph of one of the two *Proconsuls*, *Servius Fulvius*, and *Marcus Æmilius*. Only *Livy* says, B. 42. that the *Roman Republick* erected a *Columna Rostrata*, that is, a Pillar adorned with the Prows of Gallies, in honour to *Æmilius Paulus*. And adds, that this Monument perpetuated the Memory of the Victory the *Proconsul* gained at Sea. This Pillar was placed on the *Capitol*, and stood there, till it was beat down with Lightning, in the time of the second *Macedonian War*.

near

near the Shore, it run a-ground on the Flats of *The Little* ²⁰ *Syrtis*, near the Island Year of
of the ²¹ *Lotophagi*: and then, to lighten the Gallies, the Crew threw all their su- R O M E
perfluous Loading over board. The *Romans* did not know, that the *Mediterranean* DI.
had a Flux and Reflux, in this Place: and therefore, as long as the Water continued C. AURELIUS
low, the Crews thought themselves lost. Since the Defeat, and Detention of COTTA, P.
Regulus, the *Africans* had not been so apprehensive of the *Romans*, as before; and SERVILIUS
they ran to the Shore, resolving to murder all those, who should seek Refuge among GEMINUS,
them, after the Shipwreck. But by good Fortune, the Sea returned, and in a few Consuls.
Hours, the Channel was full. Then the Ships being a-float again, drove out into the Polyb. B. 1. c.
main Sea, and made off so fast, that the *Africans* took their Departure for a Flight. 39.
The Port of *Panormus* sheltered them for some Days, and then they returned towards Zonaras B. 8.
Italy. And they were already within sight of the Coast; were already off Cape *Pali-* c. 14.
nurus, and very near *Lucania*, when they were overtaken with a violent Tempest: Orosius B. 4.
and the *Roman* Vessels, which were built in haste, seem not to have been Proof c. 9.
against bad Weather. The Storm dispersed some, sunk others, and in short, the
Consuls lost a hundred and sixty of their Gallies, besides Transports.

THEN the Republick believed the Gods declared themselves against her Design of depriving *Carthage* of the Empire of the Seas. The two Storms, which had proved so fatal to their Fleets these two last Years, were interpreted to be the Answers of the Gods. So that the Senate made a Decree, commanding, That no more than sixty Ships should, for the future, be equipped at a time; and that no other Use should be made of them, than to guard the Coasts of *Italy*, and convoy the Troops to *Sicily*. It was likewise resolved, not to make War by Sea any more. But the Ambition of the *Romans* soon got the better of their present Discouragement. We shall soon see the Decree of the Senate disannulled, and *Rome* forgetting her Shipwrecks, and attempting new Conquests. It is indeed surprising, that the Republick should grant the *Consul Sempronius* a Triumph, without his Collegue, and in a time of publick Dejection: and we should doubt of the Fact, if both *The Triumphal Tables* and ²² Medals, did not



²⁰ The Name of *Syrtis* was formerly given to two Gulphs in the *Mediterranean* Sea, between the Kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Barca*. They were so called, because the Ships that were drawn into them by the Currents, were generally run a-ground there, or lost in the Whirl-pools. *The Great Syrtis* is a very dangerous Gulph, on account of the Flats, or Banks of Sand, which are about this Coast. It lies between *Cyrenaica*, and the Territory of *Tripoli*. The *Italians* call it, *Golfo di Sidra*, and the *Spaniards*, *Baxos di Barberia*, or *The Flats of Barbary*. *The little Syrtis* lies between *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, and is vulgarly called *The Gulph of Gabes*.

²¹ The *Lotophagi* formerly inhabited this Island, which from them was called *Lotophagitis*. *Ptolomy* says, there were two Cities in it, *Meninx* and *Gerris*, or *Thoar*, according to *Pliny*; who places the Island two hundred geometrical Paces East of *The little Syrtis*; and makes it twenty five Miles

long, and twenty two broad. The old Inhabitants shewed an Altar, which they said was built by *Ulysses*. The Names of *Meninx*, and *Mirmix*, were at first given both to the Island, and the Capital of it. The former was afterwards called *Gerba*; and it now bears the Name of *Zerbi*, which is also given to the neighbouring Promontory. It abounded with the Trees called *Lotos*, whence the Inhabitants of the Island were called *Lotophagi*: i. e. *Lotos-eaters*. This Tree was about the size of a Pear-tree, and its Leaves like those of the Holm-oak. Its Fruit is said to have been so agreeable to the Taste, that Strangers, who once tasted of it, immediately forgot their own Country, and settled in this delicious Place. Thus the Companions of *Ulysses*, who landed in the Island of the *Lotophagi*, were very unwilling to leave it.

²² These Medals were of Silver. We mention them

Year of concur in confirming it. But they must supply the Defects of the Historians; and
 R O M E therefore, though we know not the Reason of it, we shall say, on their Authorities,
 DI. That the *Consul Sempronius Blæsus*, and the *Proconsul Cornelius Asina*, triumphed; and
 C. AURELIUS That no Triumph was granted to *Servilius Cæpio*, though he seems to have had a
 COTTA, P. Share in all the Exploits of his Collegue.

SERVILIUS
 GEMINUS,
 Consuls.

*Dist. Sic. in
 Eccl. 5.*

*Polybius B. 1.
 c. 59.*

*Zonaras B. 8.
 c. 14.*

§. X. *REGULUS* was yet languishing under a severe Imprisonment, and the Republick seemed to languish with him. Indeed, the *Consuls* ²³ *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Geminus*, had none of those Fleets to command, which seemed invincible by any thing, but Winds and Waves. The two Generals were transported into *Sicily*, to be put at the Head of the Land-Armies; and upon their Arrival there, they persuaded themselves that it would be matter of Glory to them, to make themselves Masters of two Places, which the Generals, their Predecessors, had in vain attempted to take. One was ²⁴ *Himera*, a City standing at the Mouth of a River ²⁵ of the same Name; the other *Lipara*, a City which took its Name from the Island of *Lipara*, the largest of *The* ²⁶ *Æolian Islands*. The *Romans* had long thought *Himera* a Conquest of Importance: and had formerly endeavoured to surprise it by Treachery; but the Covetousness of the Soldiers had frustrated their Design. A Gate of the City had been opened by a Traitor, to a great Body of *Roman* Troops, which were to enter it that Way, unknown to their Generals. But those who first got in, immediately shut the Gate, that they might have all the good Fortune to themselves. For fear of having too great a Number of Companions to share their Booty with them, these Madmen shut themselves into the City. Then the Inhabitants, who were stronger than they, cut this handful of Robbers in pieces, and preserved their Effects from the Avarice of the *Romans*. But this was not the Case, in the second Attempt upon *Himera*. The *Consuls* prepared to besiege it in form, and force it to surrender; but the Garrison and the Inhabitants prevented the Misfortunes that threatened them, left their City and empty Houses to the Enemy, and removed with their Effects to another Place. However, *Rome* was put in Possession of an advantageous Post, and fruitful Territory. The *Romans* had also formerly attempted to take *Lipara* without Success; and the *Consul Aurelius* now again undertook to reduce it. But how could he succeed without Ships? How could he get into an Island without a Fleet? which *Rome* had refused to furnish her Generals with? *Aurelius* was supplied with all the Assistance he wanted for this fine Enterprize, by that ever faithful Friend to the Republick, King *Hiero*. The *Consul* transported some of his chosen Troops into the Island of *Lipara*, on board the Gallies, this good Prince lent him, and began to invest the City. And then some unaccountable Scruple seized him, with regard to the *Auspices*; and his Religion would not suffer him to continue a Siege of that Importance, upon only equivocal Signs of the Approbation of the Gods. So that he thought it necessary to interrupt the Works, and return to *Mes-*

them upon the Authority of *Pighius*, who says, he had seen them. The Face of the first, is the Head of *A Rome*, wearing an Helmet; the reverse is, *A Roman* dressed in a *Toga*, carrying a Sceptre in his Hand, and riding in a triumphal Chariot drawn by four Horses. The triumphant Victor is by the Inscription said to be, *CN. SCAPIO ASINA*. The second Medal is the same, only there is added on the reverse, a winged Victory, which holds a Crown over the Victor's Head. The Inscription of it is, *C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS*. The Authentickness of these Medals, is luckily confirmed by *Monsieur Vaillant*, who has preserved Stamps of them in his *Consular Families*.

²³ *Polybius* omits the *Consuls* for this Year 501. But *Cicero* speaks of them both, and tells us, they were twice Collegues in the *Consulate*.

²⁴ The City of *Himera* here spoken of, is the same which the *Latins* call *Therma Himerae*, and *Therma Himeraenses*, that is, *The Baths of Himera*. There were hot Baths near it. *Cicero*, in his *second Oration against Verres*, mentions this City as one of the most considerable in *Sicily*. It was in the Territory in which *Termini* now stands, near the Mouth of the River, formerly called *Himera*, now *Fiume di Termini*. It had been built by the *Car-*

thaginians on the Ruins of *Old Himera*, which they had utterly destroyed about the 92^d *Olympiad*, or the 409th Year before the *Christian Era*; 240 Years after it had been founded by a *Colony* of *Zancleans*, an ancient People of *Sicily*. Out of the Ruins of the City, a Statue of *Bras* was preserved, which represented the City itself, under the Figure of a Woman. *Himera* had the Honour of giving Birth to the famous Poet, *Stesichorus*, to whom she erected a Statue, representing a stooping old Man, with a Book in his Hand. And these two Monuments, which were preserved in the new City, till the time of *Cicero* and *Verres*, were both thought Master-pieces of Art.

²⁵ There were two Rivers in *Sicily* called *Himera*. One which runs Northward, is the same here spoken of, and is now called by the Natives, *Il Fiume di Termini*: Another, which runs Southward, and discharges itself into the *African Sea*, and is now called *Salfi*, or *il Saljò*; which Name agrees very well with what the Ancients say of this River. They observe, that its Water had a salt Taste, which it contracted by running through Salt-Mines.

²⁶ See our Account of *The Æolian Islands*, B. 12. p. 586. of Vol. 1. Note 65.

Anna, there to consult the *Auguries* again. *Aurelius* was a rigid Man, a strict Observer of the Laws, Religious, even to Superstition, and in the Army, a severe Revenger of Breaches of Discipline. When he left his Camp, he appointed *Q. Cassius*, to be General of the Troops during his Absence, and *P. Aurelius Pecuniola* his Relation, to guard the Lines; who were both *Legionary Tribunes*. It had often happened, that Subalterns had neglected the Orders of their absent Generals, and this Breach of Discipline had always been severely punished; but notwithstanding the Punishment with which they were threatened, and their General's express Commands, not to make any Attempt upon the City, during his Absence, *Cassius* and *Pecuniola* flattered themselves that they could take it. Full of Hopes therefore, that as Commanders in chief they should be able to complete an Enterprize, which would do them Honour, and by which they should merit military Rewards, they began an Attack, which succeeded very ill. The *Tribunes* ordered the Place to be battered; but the Besieged made so vigorous a Sally, that they repulsed the *Romans*, and pursued them with such Warmth, that they burnt their Pallisades, and had like to have taken their Camp. The severe *Consul*, upon his return, was full of Rage, to see the Havock which had been made of his Troops, and his Entrenchments demolished; and he punished the Authors of it. The *Tribune Cassius* was deprived of his Employments; and *Aurelius*, though the General's Relation, was beaten with Rods, and degraded. He was reduced to the State of a private Soldier, and forced to go through the servile Drudgeries of a common Centinel. After this, the *Consul* applied himself wholly to the Siege of the Place, took it by Assault, and put almost all the Inhabitants to the sword. Men born with a Severity of Temper, who give themselves up to their natural Dispositions, often run into odious Excesses. Whilst the Army was before the Place, a Squadron of *Roman Knights* refused to obey the General's Orders; and he kept his Temper for the present; but he reserved a Punishment for them, which was the more ignominious, for being inflicted with the Forms of Justice.

BUT after all, the *Consul* valued himself upon his Equity. He knew how to reward, as well as punish. The Family of old *Timasitheus*, the Benefactor²⁷ and Ally of the *Romans*, was yet subsisting in the Island of *Lipara*; and the Generosity of this little King of the Island, had shewn the *Roman* Ambassadors, who carried a Vase of Gold to *Delphi*, to present it in the Temple of *Apollo*, was still remembered. These Ambassadors having been stopped and plundered by the Corsairs of *Lipara*, had recourse to the Governor of the Island, who did not barely do them Justice. He lent them some Ships, which convoyed them to *Delphi*, and back again to *Rome*. And the Descendants of this good Prince, who had been dethroned, in some Revolutions which happened in the Island, now felt the Effects of *Roman* Gratitude. The *Consuls* restored them to their first Dignity, and for ever exempted them from paying any Contributions, or Taxes, which the Republick might demand of the People of *Lipara*. The *Romans* now wanted nothing to conclude the Campaign with Glory, except to beat the *Carthaginians* in a pitched Battel. Nevertheless *Ercta*, a pretty strong Castle, in vain gave them an Opportunity of fighting in the open Field. The *Romans* besieged it with an Army of forty thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse; but as soon as the *Carthaginian* Army appeared, they raised the Siege. Ever since the Affair of *Regulus*, the *Roman* Soldiers were afraid of the Elephants, and durst not face those furious Animals. The Armies often met, and were often near enough to come to an Action; but the *Roman* Generals no longer found their Troops so earnest to attack the Enemy as formerly. The *Carthaginians* followed *Xanthippus's* Maxims, and encamped no where but in Plains. The *Romans* would fain have drawn them up upon the Eminencies, thereby to render their Elephants useless. And neither Party came into the other's Measures. So that the Campaign ended without any considerable Action. As for the *Consul Servilius*, he probably made War separately, and did not signalize himself by any great Exploit. In short, the two *Consuls* returned to *Rome*; where they found a considerable Alteration in civil Affairs.

§. XI. THE Nobility had hitherto kept the Office of *Pontifex Maximus* to themselves. The *Patricians* only had enjoyed this great Dignity, to which was annexed such an extensive Power in Matters of Religion. The *Plebeians* shared with them only the *Consulship*, *Prætorship*, *Ædileship*, *Censorship*, and *Quæstorship*. But now, by

²⁷ See B. 12. p. 586. of Vol. 1.

Year of
R O M E
DI.
C. AURELIUS
COTTA, P.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

Frontin. B. 4.
c. 1. and
Val. Max. B.
2. c. 7. §. 4.

Livy B. 5.
c. 25.

Diod. in Eclog.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 39.

Florus in Epi-
tome B. 18.

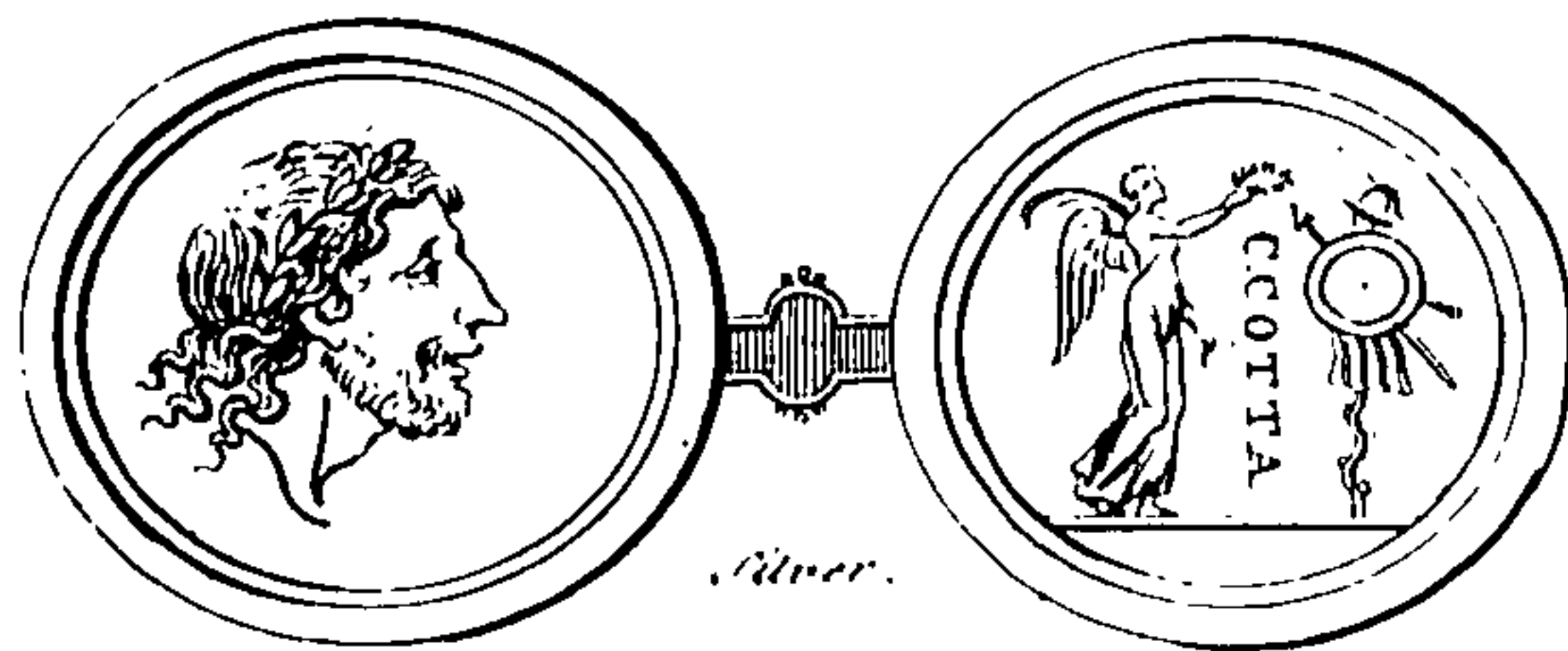
Year of some unknown Revolution, the Office of *Pontifex Maximus* was conferred on a
R O M E Commoner, perhaps, out of Regard to his extraordinary Probity. *Tib. Coruncanius*, who
 DI. was invested with this Dignity, had so great a Reputation for Virtue, as might have
 C. AURELIUS influenced those to favour him, who were interested to appear against him.
 COTTA, P. THE last Months of the present *Consulship* were spent in the *Census*, which was
 SERVILIUS then taken of the *Romans*, and the *Lustrum*, that followed it. There then appeared
 GEMINUS, to be in the Republick, 297797 Men fit to bear Arms : and all Men were then in-
 Consuls. clined to make a general Reformation in the State. The *Pontifex* professed a kind of
 austere Philosophy; and the *Censors* making it their Business to re-establish Order in
 the Senate, they were assisted in it by the natural Severity of *Aurelius*. They with
 great Steadiness punished all without Exception, who either neglected the Worship
 of the Gods, or were immoral, or broke the Laws of military Discipline. Perhaps,
 they thought the Misfortunes the Republick had suffered, both by Sea and Land, for
 three Years last past, were brought upon them by the Licentiousness of the People,
 the Senate, and the Troops. But whatever their Motive was, the *Censors* were inexore-
 ble. They struck thirteen Senators ignominiously out of the List of *The Conscrip*t Fathers,
 and at *Aurelius's* Request, not only degraded the four hundred *Roman Knights*, who
 refused to obey the Orders of their General, but added other Severities to this Pu-
 nishment. The Horses the Republick had furnished them with, were taken from
 them; they were deprived of the Right of Suffrage in their *Centuries*, without being
 exempted from the Taxes of it; and were not allowed the Pay, the Republick owed
 them, for their past Services.

Val. Max. B.
2. 6. 9. §. 7.

Tib. Triumph.

By all these Instances of a rigorous Execution of Justice, the *Consul Aurelius* me-
 rited the Honours of a 2^d Triumph. He had indeed taken two Cities, *Himera*, and
Lipara, in his *Consulship*; but it was not usual with the *Romans* to grant Triumphs
 to Generals, who had gained no Battels. His Exactness therefore in keeping up Dis-
 cipline, and his Rigour in punishing those who broke it, served him instead of Vic-
 tories. Merit assumes different Shapes, at different Times, and depends much on
 Mens Sentiments of it. The *Romans* then rewarded, what, in other Circumstances,
 they would have thought odious; and *Aurelius* entered *Rome* in Triumph, on *The*
Ides of April.

§. XII: THE Dejection of the *Romans* much raised the Courage of the *Carthagi-*
nians. They now saw themselves Masters of the Sea, and their Hopes of recon-
 quering *Sicily* increased, in Proportion, as they found that their Rivals acted only
 on the defensive, and rather tediously spun out the War, than went upon any En-
 terprises, or fought Battels. Having now a free Passage to *Sicily*, to transport as many
 Troops thither as they pleased, without any Opposition from the Enemy's Fleets;
Carthage began to make new Levies in *Africa*, to hire Troops among the *Celtæ*, and in
Spain, and to build Gallies. The only Difficulty which obstructed her Designs, was the
 want of Money. The War between the two Republicks having lasted at least thirteen
 Years, the publick Treasuries of both were exhausted: but *Carthage* was in a worse
 Condition than *Rome*. The *Roman Republick* had always a ready Supply of Troops



28 The Memory of CAIUS AURELIUS COTTA's
 Triumph is preserved by a silver Medal, which bears
 this *Consul's Praenomen* and Surname. The Face
 is the Head of *Jupiter*, crowned with Laurel.
 The reverse is a winged Victory, crowning a Tro-
 phy. These are common Emblems of a Triumph.
 We have already observed, That the triumphant

Victors ended their Procession at the Temple of
Jupiter Capitolinus; and That the Spoils taken from
 the Enemy, were often consecrated to *Jupiter Fe-*
retinus. He that stamped this Medal seems to have
 designed to represent this God, under both these
 Characters.

among

among her own Citizens; the *Carthaginian* could no otherwise raise Armies, than by hiring foreign Troops into her Service, at a great Expence. And therefore the latter sent an Embassy to *Ptolomy* the King of *Egypt*, her Friend, to borrow a Sum of Money of him. The Ambassadors desired this rich Prince to lend them two thousand *Talents**, which they promised to repay after the War. But *Ptolomy*²⁹, who was a Friend to the *Romans* as well as *Carthaginians*, and had not interested himself in their Differences, was resolved to continue neuter; and agreeably to that Resolution, gave them this Answer. *I will assist you against Enemies, or indifferent Persons: But I cannot, without a Breach of Fidelity, assist one Friend against another.* Nevertheless, this Refusal did not hinder the *African* Republick from pursuing her Designs. She exerted her self, equipped a Fleet of two hundred Sail, and raised an Army of a hundred and forty Elephants, and thirty thousand Men, Horse and Foot included. *Asdrubal* was made Generalissimo of these Sea and Land-Forces; and whilst the *Africans* were busy in making these great Preparations, *Rome* chose new Consuls. One was *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, the other *C. Furius*³⁰ *Pacilus*; who went into *Sicily*, and transported thither their Armies, on the little Fleet of sixty Gallies, to which *Rome* had confined her self.

Year of
R O M E
DI.
C. AURELIUS
COTTA, P.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.
Appian.
* 387500 l.
Arbutnot.
Eucrop. B. 2.
Orosius B. 4.
c. 9.
Year of
R O M E
DII.
L. CÆCILIVS
METELLVS,
C. FURIVS
PACILVS,
Consuls.

§. XIII. *METELLUS* was a great Commander, as will soon appear. But whilst he made War with his Collegue, his Valour was fettered, and could not exert itself. Their Troops kept themselves upon the defensive; the two Consuls seemed to have the same Diffidence, as the Senate: so that *Asdrubal* could do nothing with his formidable Army, though he endeavoured to come to an Action. The *Roman* Generals made it their whole Business to avoid the Enemy, and thought it enough to keep the *Carthaginians* in awe, watch them, and prevent their committing any Hostilities, by prudent Encampments, and a cautious Conduct. But though the People at *Rome* approved of the Exactness of the Consuls, in observing the Orders of the Republick, they could not but reflect on that Timorousness, which seemed to have seized all the Members of the State. It was observed, that all this Circumspection, only brought Dishonour to the Generals, and sunk the Courage of their Soldiers. The Senate therefore called up their ancient Vigour, and resolved to have a Fleet at Sea, the next Year, sufficient to make that of the *Carthaginians* disappear. And indeed, how could the *Romans* possibly preserve *Sicily*, as long as their Enemies were Masters of the Seas? *Rome* was very uneasy at the Captivity of *Regulus*, and found this Great Man much wanted, in these critical Times. The Loss of a Barrel had not made him contemptible, in a Republick, the principal Members of which were all Generals, who did not wholly confine the Merit of an Officer, to an uninterrupted Success. And in order to supply the want of him, the *Comitia* chose two Men Consuls, who had enjoyed that Dignity before, and were both esteemed for their Experience and Valour. One was *L. Manlius Vulso*³¹, the other *C. Attilius Regulus*, Cousin-german to the famous Captive, whose Detention gave the Republick so much Uneasiness, and caused her so many Losses. The Consul *Furius* was recalled from *Sicily*, and his Collegue *Metellus* continued there, with the Title of *Proconsul*, to oppose the formidable Army of *Asdrubal*.

Year of
R O M E
DIII.
L. MANLIUS
VULSO, C.
ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

§. XIV. WHILST all things were preparing in the Ports of *Italy*, and the Ships were building, by the Direction of the new Consuls, *Metellus* recovered the former Reputation of the *Romans*, in *Sicily*. This great Man now acted according to his own Judgment, and had no Collegue: so that his Arms prospered. The fierce *Asdrubal* thought himself rid of a dangerous Enemy, by the Departure of *Hannibal*; and had now only one Army, and one *Roman* General to contend with. Besides, the latter had shut himself up in *Panormus*, and seemed to be afraid of meeting the *Carthaginian*. *Asdrubal's* Troops therefore, encouraged by the seeming Timorousness of the *Romans*, pressed their General to exert himself. It was now the midst of Summer, and the beautiful Fields of *Sicily* seemed to offer the greedy *Carthaginians* a

*Polybius B. 1.
c. 40. and
Diod. Sic. in
Eclog.*

²⁹ This was *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who had made an Alliance with the *Romans*, about the Year of *Rome* 481, as we have observed above.

³⁰ The Name of this Consul is disfigured in some Editions of *Polybius*: which have *Caius Curius*, instead of *Caius Furius*: And *Orosius* is guilty of as great a Mistake in changing the Surname of *Pacilus*, into that of *Placidus*.

³¹ These two Magistrates were now promoted to the Consulship a second time. According to *Zonaras*, *Caius Attilius* was Brother to *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, then a Captive in *Carthage*. But it appears by the *Fasti Capitolini*, that they had not both the same Father. *C. Attilius* was the Grandson of *Marcus*, and the other was the Grandson of *Lucius*.

Year of
ROME
DIII.

L. MANLIUS
VULSO, M.
ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 14.

Polyb. B. 1.

Front. Strat.
B. 3. c. 17.

Diod. in Eclog.

Polybius B. 1.
c. 40.

plentiful Harvest. Especially, about *Panormus*, the Crop was like to be exceeding great; and it was partly with a View to assisting the *Panormitani*, in gathering in the Fruits of these fine Plains, that *Metellus* resided at *Panormus*, where he was ready to defend the Reapers, against any Incurfions of the Enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore sent a great many Spies thither, to observe the Motions of the *Romans* in the City, and give him an Account of them. But *Metellus* was informed, that there were some *Sicilians* of the *Carthaginian* Party concealed in *Panormus*; and the only Difficulty was, how to find them out amidst so great a Number of Inhabitants. In order to this, the *Proconsul* commanded all those who resided in the City, to assemble together; and then desired the *Panormitani*, in whom he could confide, to examine every Man's Face, seize those whom they did not know, and bring them before his Tribunal. And the Design succeeded. The Spies were discovered, and the General learnt *Asdrubal's* Designs from them. Being forced to speak, they declared, That the *Carthaginians* were gone from *Lilybæum*, were advancing through the By-ways, and difficult Roads of *Selinus*, to conceal their March, and would soon fall down upon the fruitful Fields of *Panormus*, and encamp there. This the *Roman* thought a rash Undertaking; but dissembled the Joy it gave him. He was so far from going out to meet the Enemy, to give them Battel, after this tedious March, that he seemed to be afraid of them, and kept close within his Fortres. So that the timorous Conduct of *Metellus*, confirmed *Asdrubal* in his Boldness. He entered the Territory of *Panormus*, ravaged the Fields, and took away every thing that the *Romans* had not been able to secure. Yet still the *Proconsul* did not stir, being fully satisfied, that he should recover all the Damages they did him, with Usury. What he chiefly depended on, was, That he should, by his Inaction, tempt the Enemy to pass the River *Orethrus*, which was but a Mile from the City he defended: and That if *Asdrubal* only ventured to cross it, his Ruin was certain. And accordingly, *Asdrubal* made his Elephants pass it; and doing the same thing himself, came and encamped within reach of *Panormus*. Then *Metellus*, to increase the Confidence of the *Carthaginian* yet more, suffered only a few Men to appear upon the Ramparts to defend them, and those of the Militia of the Town; and the Quality of these Troops, and the Smallness of their Numbers, confirmed the *Carthaginians* in their Security. They neglected Discipline, feasted upon what they had taken in the Plain, and the *Gauls* in *Asdrubal's* Army got drunk with the *Sicilian* Wine. Nay, the General was so very inconsiderate, that he neglected to throw up an Entrenchment round his Camp, as usual. The *Carthaginians* pitched their Tents, without surrounding them with any Rampart, or Ditch. Nevertheless, the *Proconsul* did not attack the Enemy even in the Night. He regularly pursued much surer Measures.

As soon as *Metellus* saw the *Carthaginians* were in the Situation he desired, he ordered some few *Manipuli* only, to march out of the City, as it were, to skirmish. His Design was to draw the Enemy insensibly to a Battel. The *Romans* were ordered to retire by Degrees, and lose Ground, till they came to a dry Ditch, which *Metellus* had directed to be dug in the Plain, beyond the Ditch of the City. And as fast as the first *Roman* Troops were repulsed by the Enemy, *Metellus* sent out more: which obliged the Enemy to send other Bodies against them. So that the *Carthaginians* came from their Camp in small Parties, like Waves, one upon the Neck of another; till at length *Asdrubal's* whole Army was in Motion, and with his hundred and forty Elephants drawn up in one Line, appeared in the Plain ready to give Battel. As for the *Proconsul* he was still in *Panormus*; but had drawn up his *Legions*, behind one of the Gates of the City, and was ready to make a Sally, when it should be proper. Then the Elephants, which were posted in the first Line, advanced very fast against the light-armed Infantry of the *Proconsul*. The Masters of these Beasts had no Orders for this, but were willing to gain the Victory themselves, without the help of their General. Upon their advancing, the *Romans* still retired, giving Way to the Enemy, and throwing their Darts at these monstrous Animals. The *Carthaginians* pursued, as fast as the *Romans* retreated. Till at length they came to the Edge of the Ditch, and leaped down into it all on a sudden, and with fresh Darts, which they threw up from the Bottom of it, exasperated the Elephants, which could advance no farther, for want of even Ground. *Metellus* had taken care, that this Body of Infantry, which stood the first Shock, should not want Darts. He employed the Workmen and Artificers of *Panormus* to carry them to the Soldiers, by the help of the Ditch.

Ditch. Besides, the *Roman* Archers powered down a Shower of Darts upon the Elephants and their Guides, from the Top of the Ramparts of the City. In short, these frightful Beasts were so harassed with these Darts, that they grew mad. Some threw their Guides, and trod them under Foot. Others fell into the Ditch, where they were killed; and lastly, others turned about, and ran back to avoid the Blows, and in their flight, put the *Carthaginian* Battalions into Disorder. They entered them, broke them; and having no Guides, but running wherever their Fury led them, they beat down the Men with their Trunks, trod under Foot whatever stood in their Way, and made large Passages through the *Carthaginian* Phalanxes. This was the happy Minute *Metellus* waited for, before he would put his *Legions* in Motion. *Citizens*, cried he, *the Victory is ours. Follow me, and let us complete it!* And immediately he ordered the Gate to be opened, and marched out; and with these fresh Troops attacked the Battalions in flank, which were already broken, and terrified. Some resisted, and were cut in pieces by the *Romans*; others fled, and were killed in their Flight: and which was still more melancholy, the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which lay all along the Coast of *Panormus*, only increased the Misfortunes of the Fugitives, instead of lessening them. They ran to the Shore from the Plain, in order to save themselves in their Gallies; but they almost all perished. They were either trod under Foot by the Elephants, or drowned; some by crowding too fast into the Skiffs, which being overloaded, sunk; others, by endeavouring to swim to the Ships; and lastly, others by tumbling off from the sides of the Ships, which they could not hold fast with their Hands.

Year of
R O M E
DIII.
L. MANLIUS
VULSO, C.
ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.
Frontin. B. 7
c. 5.

Zonar. B. 8.
c. 14.

THIS was so memorable a Victory for the *Romans*, that we shall find few comparable to it, through the whole Course of their History. We know not which to admire most; whether the great Foresight and prudent Management of the General, in forming, and so long conducting, this great Event, Step by Step; or the Dexterity of the Troops, in just advancing far enough, to provoke the Enemy to engage, and then retiring seasonably, to lead on the Elephants to the brink of the Precipice. This single Blow sunk the Pride of the *Carthaginians*, and raised the Courage of the *Romans*. The Enemy had twenty thousand Men killed upon the Field of Battel. Six and twenty of their Elephants were either taken or slain, in the first Onset: and afterwards the rest of them, which escaped, and ran about the Plains, and the Shore, without any Guides, were gathered together, and brought to the Conqueror's Camp, by the good Orders *Metellus* prudently gave for that Purpose. He promised those Masters of Elephants, whom he had taken Prisoners, their Liberty, if they would gather them together; and they dispersed themselves about the Fields, and called after these furious Beasts, which upon hearing their Voices, and being caressed by them, followed them. The *Proconsul* had a mind to send them to *Rome*, to adorn his Triumph with them: and the Machine he invented for getting them over the *Streights*, was a fresh Proof of his fine Genius. He fastened Trees and Planks, well joined upon empty Barrels, and threw Earth over the Planks, which were almost like our Floats of Timber. We should not be surprised at them now; but the Invention of them was then new. These Rafts were guarded with Planks at the Sides, which were high enough to prevent the Elephants tumbling into the Water; and the Weight of them hindered them from being much tossed by the Sea. So that these Animals, which are not without Difficulty brought to bear the Motion of common Ships, were very quiet, through the whole Passage. It was not difficult to get them into these new sort of Boats, which were brought close to the Shore, like Ferry-boats; and when they were once in them, they were as quiet as if they had been in their Stables. In this manner a hundred and four Elephants³² were brought to *Rhegium*, in order to be carried from thence to *Rome*, and shewn to the Cities of *Italy*, through which they were to pass in their Way thither.

Orosius B. 4.
c. 9.

Zonar. B. 8.
c. 14.

Frontin. B. 1.
Zonar. B. 8. c.
14. and *Pliny*
B. 8. c. 6.

Orosius B. 4.
c. 9.

AFTER this considerable Victory, the *Proconsul* immediately returned to *Rome*. There were no more *Carthaginians* in the Field for him to conquer; and *Asdrubal*

³² Authors vary as to the Number of Elephants which were brought to *Rome*, to be shewn in the triumphal Procession of *Cæcilius Metellus*. *Orosius* reckons them to have been, but a hundred and four; and *Florus* reduces them to about a hundred. But the Epitome of *Livy*, *Zonaras*, and *Seneca*, make them

sixscore; and *Entropius* brings them up to a hundred and thirty. Nay, *Dion. Hal.* says, *B. 2.* that the *Roman* General took a hundred and thirty eight from the *Carthaginians*. And lastly, *Pliny* says, *B. 8.* that there were a hundred and forty two brought from *Sicily* to *Italy*, on Rafts.

himself

Year of
R O M E
DIII.

L. MANLIUS
VULSO, C.
ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

Varrius Flac-
cus, and L.
Piso.

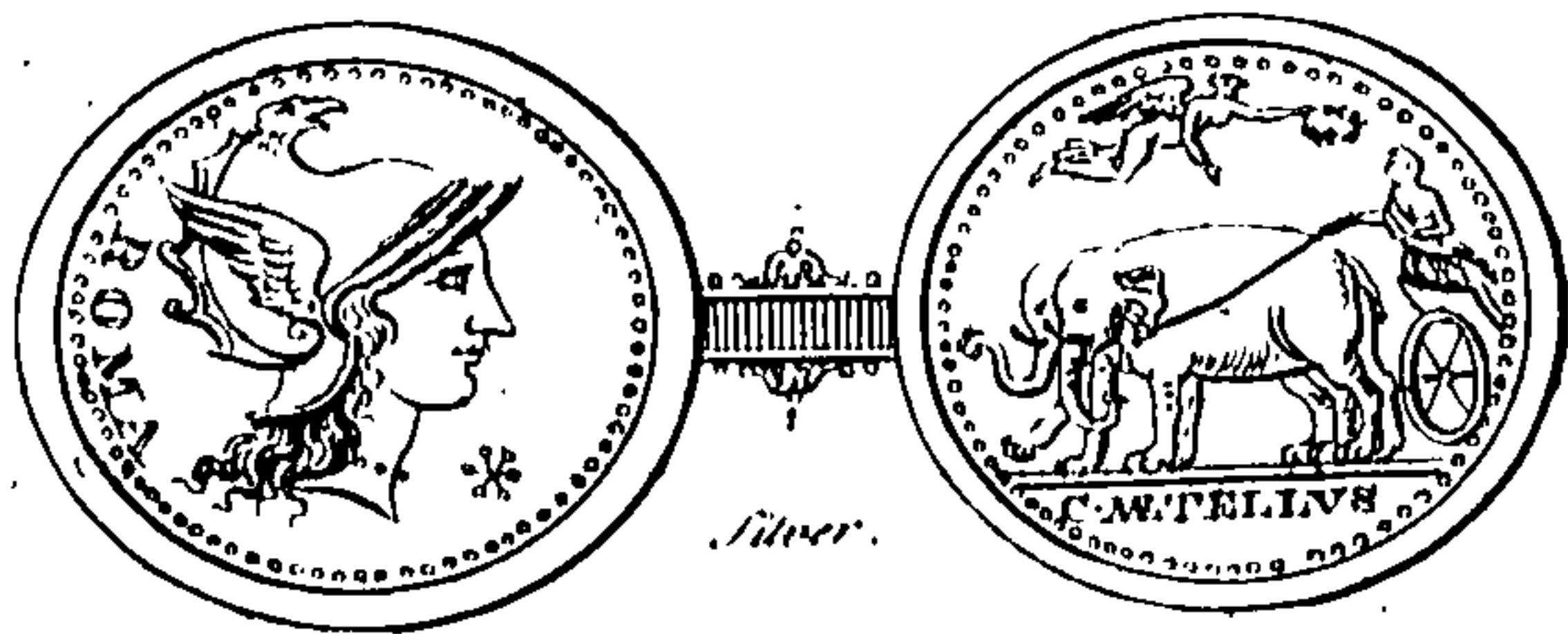
Polybius B. 1.
c. 41.

Polybius B. 1.
c. 41.

himself had not reached *Lilybæum*, without Difficulty. The Romans had never seen a more magnificent Entry, than that of the illustrious *Cæcilius Metellus*. His Triumph was fixed to *The seventh of the Ides of September*, and then this great Number of Elephants, which the Victor had taken, marched through the City in Procession. They took up as much room in their March, as a whole Army would have done. The Air rung with Acclamations, at the sight of these Animals, and of the great Number of Prisoners in Chains, among whom were thirteen General Officers of *Asdrubal's* Army. After the Triumph was over, the Elephants were shewn to the People in the *Circus*, and made Diversion for them. As the Romans had resolved never to use them in their Wars, and as they would neither be at the Expence of keeping them, nor thought it consistent with the Dignity of the Romans, to make Presents of them to foreign Kings, the Citizens were entertained with seeing them pursued and killed in the *Circus*, by *Athletæ*, chosen out of the common People. By this means, these Romans, who were Citizens one Day, and Soldiers the next, were taught to despise these formidable Animals. There was something so new in *Metellus's* Triumph, that the Memory of it has been transmitted down to us, on lasting Monuments. Those of the *Cæcilian* Family, who afterwards were empowered to strike ³³ Medals, have stamped Elephants on the reverse of one, to commemorate the Glory of the most illustrious of their Ancestors.

AND whilst these great Honours were done *Cæcilius Metellus* at Rome, the unfortunate *Asdrubal* was impeached at *Carthage*. He was condemned to death before his return, and without his Knowledge; and as soon as he arrived, he was crucified. One Misfortune, or if you will one single Fault, blotted out the Remembrance of many important Services. How great was the Difference between the two Republics, of Rome, and *Carthage*! *Regulus*, though as unfortunate as *Asdrubal*, had lost nothing of the publick Esteem and Affection his Countrymen had for him; whilst the *Carthaginians* put one of the greatest Officers *Carthage* had ever bred, to a most ignominious Death. The *Carthaginians* seem by this Disparity of Manners alone, to have deserved to be subdued by the Romans.

§. XV. WHEN News was brought to Rome, that *Metellus* had in *Sicily* recovered his Republick that Reputation for Arms, which she seemed to have lost, she immediately resolved to send the two Consuls, *Attilius* and *Manlius*, to pursue the Advantages that *Proconsul* had gained. It was indeed no easy Matter for those who came after him, to follow him with equal Glory. But the two Consuls passed the *Streights* on board the new Fleet, consisting of two hundred and forty Gallies, and sixty small Boats; and animated by a laudable Emulation, undertook to do more, than even *Metellus* their Predecessor had done. To finish the War in *Sicily*, and exterminate all the *Africans* out of the Island, at one Blow, was a thing of more Importance, than barely to conquer *Asdrubal*. Their Fleet was numerous, and their Land-Army consisted of four Legions, besides the Auxiliaries; and with these great Forces they hoped to take the City of *Lilybæum* from the Enemy, and thereby deprive them of their only Fortrefs, and only Resource, in *Sicily*. The Design was truly great. *Lilybæum*, as it was then fortified, was thought impregnable. Nevertheless, the Consuls resolved to attempt reducing it. If they had not the Honour to finish the Enterprize, they had at least the Courage to begin it. But *Lilybæum* proved a second *Troy*; its Siege lasted ten Years. Never were Attacks made



³³ The Medal above was struck by one *Caius Metellus*, in Memory of the Victory and Triumph of *Lucius Cæcilius*. The reverse is a Chariot drawn by two Elephants, and a winged Victory, holding a Crown over the triumphant Victor's Head.

with more Vigour; never was Defence more obstinate. All the Forces of the two Republicks were exhausted, within and without the Walls of one single disputed City. The *Romans* battered it without Intermission, but could not take it, either by Force, or Capitulation. We shall see its Fate determined by the Peace, which will put an end to this long War. As soon as *Lilybæum* was invested, *Carthage*, in her Turn, became discouraged. The Blow *Metellus* had given her, produced the same Effects in *Africa*, as the Defeat and Detention of *Regulus* had produced in *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* could not be comforted for the Loss of their Elephants. They lamented the Captivity of their brave Officers, who were kept Prisoners at *Rome*. Their Finances were as much exhausted, as their Armies diminished. The only Towns they now had left in *Sicily*, were *Drepanum*, and *Lilybæum*. The one was invested, and the other exposed to the Insults of the new Sea-Forces of the *Romans*. These Considerations made them call to mind, the Proposals of Peace which *Regulus* had offered them. They were hard Terms indeed; but if *Rome* would have softened them a little, they would have been tolerable. And whilst the *Carthaginian* Senate was reflecting on these things, *Regulus* was suffered to enjoy more Liberty, and the Rigours of his Confinement were abated. The Senate hoped by this means, to efface out of his Heart, that Hatred for the very Name of *Carthage*, which five Years ill Treatment had so deeply rooted in his Mind.

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ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

Orphus B. :
c. 10.

HIS Chains were therefore knocked off, and he was suffered to enjoy a kind of Liberty. The *Carthaginians* believed, that by his Interposul, they should be able either to obtain a Peace, on reasonable Conditions, or at least an Exchange of Prisoners. They hoped, that Self-love, and the natural Desire of Liberty, Life, and a Return to his native Country, his Wife, and his Children, would incline him to favour the Interests of *Carthage*. But it was judging wrong of the Heart of a *Roman*, and a *Roman* of *Regulus's* Character, to judge of it by the Sentiments of vulgar Minds. They also flattered themselves, that with the Assistance of *Attilius Regulus*, the present Consul, and near Relation of the Captive, the latter would have Interest enough in the Senate, to prevail upon it, to grant them their Demands. After all, said they, *Regulus* has neither lost the Esteem, nor the Affection, of his Republick. If he has the least Love for himself, his being so much beloved by his Countrymen, will enable him, both to make himself happy, and to be thereby the Author of our Happiness. Upon these Prejudices, they endeavoured to persuade him to go to *Rome* with the Ambassadors the *Carthaginian* Senate was going to send thither, to treat of a Peace, or at least of a mutual Exchange of Prisoners. *Regulus* obeyed his Masters; but had resolved what to do. Which was to endeavour to prevail on his Country, not to redeem him, and his Companions in Misery, by Exchanges. He was actuated by very different Motives from those, which they thought might influence him. An implacable Hatred to *Carthage*, the Hopes of a vain Immortality in the Memory of Men, and the Desire of blotting out the Shame of his Defeat, by a glorious Death, made him resolve to sacrifice himself, and the many other Captives of his Nation, to his own Reputation and Glory. These were his Resolutions, but he dissembled them: and he embarked for *Rome*, after having sworn to return to his Chains, if the Negotiation did not succeed. *Regulus* was in no manner of fear of being perjured; he resolved strictly to perform all he had promised. The *Carthaginian* Ship arrived safe in *Italy*, and *Regulus* and the Ambassadors came to the Gates of *Rome*. It was natural enough for him to hasten into his native City, out of an earnest Desire to see his Family and Friends; but his Constancy and *Roman* Gravity, would suffer him to go no farther than the Suburbs. It is contrary to the Law, said he, for a Foreigner, as I am, to enter within the Walls of the City. My Misfortunes have made me a Slave to the *Carthaginians*. I am no longer a *Roman* Citizen. The Senate always gives Audience to Foreigners without the Gates; and I don't come here to break old Customs. This beginning raised the Admiration both of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*; and *Regulus* became the Subject of all Conversations. The *Conscript Fathers* were impatient

Zonaras, B S.
c. 15.

Livy Epit. 18.
Dion. apud
Fulv.

Appianus in
Punicis.

³⁴ *Regulus* came to *Rome* only as a Deputy from *Carthage*. Now the Republick had made a Law, not to receive the Ambassadors of any Province, that was an Enemy to her, within the Circuit of the City. She assigned them Lodgings in the Sub-

urbs, and the Senate met there to give them Audience: which was very sound Policy in the *Romans*. They thought it dangerous to admit Persons within the Walls of *Rome*, who, under the Character of Deputies, might perhaps act the part of Seducers and

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KATROP. B. 2.

impatient to hear him speak, and freely declare his Sentiments in the Senate ; and in the mean time, his Wife *Marcia* paid him a Visit, and presented to him his Children, which were yet pretty young. But he only cast a kind of wild Look on them ; and then to shew how much he was ashamed of his Slavery, fixed his Eyes on the Ground, as if he thought himself unworthy of the Embraces of his Wife, or the Caresses of his Children. At length the Senate was assembled in the Suburbs of *Rome*, and after the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, *Regulus* in his Turn, made the two Proposals with which he was charged. His Discourse was exceeding plain ; he did not drop one Word, whence it could be inferred, to which side he inclined ; and the Modesty with which he spoke, plainly shewed, that he was very sensible, to how low a State he was reduced. *Conscript Fathers*, said he, *being now a Slave to the Carthaginians, I am come, on the part of my Masters, to propose to treat with you about a Peace, and an Exchange of Prisoners.* As soon as he had said this, he would have left the Assembly, and followed the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, who had no Right to be present at the Deliberations of the House ; and the Senate in vain pressed *Regulus* to stay, and vote as a Senator, and old Consul. He refused to take his Seat among *The Fathers*. But being obliged to submit to the Commands of the *Carthaginians* his Masters, the illustrious Slave took his Place in the most august Assembly in the World. There, with his Eyes fixed on the Ground, he continued silent, whilst the most ancient Senators spoke ; and when his Turn came to deliver his Opinion, and he was pressed to declare it, he addressed himself to them in this manner. *Though my Body belongs to the Carthaginians, my Mind and Inclinations are entirely Roman. Fortune may change my Condition, but she cannot alter my Manners, or my Education. Though I am a Slave at Carthage, yet I am free at Rome. And I will therefore declare my Sentiments with Freedom.* Romans, it is not for your Interest, either to grant the *Carthaginians* a Peace, or to make an Exchange of Prisoners with them. I know a long difficult War, must have fatigued you, and your Finances must have suffered by the immense Expences you have been at, in equipping large Fleets, and maintaining great Armies. But are great Enterprizes ever to be finished without Perseverance ? I have seen with my own Eyes, That *Carthage* is extremely exhausted, and That the only Reason why she sues for Peace, is, because it is now impossible for her to continue the War. You have been vanquished but once, and then, by my Fault. But how amply has *Metellus* repaired that by a signal Victory ! All *Sicily* is now yours, except two Cities. The Islands near *Africa* obey you, and your new Fleets spread Terror over all those Seas. Your Allies continue peaceable, and serve you with Zeal : Whilst *Carthage* is utterly destitute of Money, and can have no Dependence even upon her own Provinces. With what Ease did I bring them to a Revolt ! Your Armies consist of only one People, who are united to you in Esteem and Affection. Your Enemies use none but foreign Troops, which have no Tie to hold them to them, but Interest. The perfidious Republick will, in time, disoblige all those brave Nations, who will be intimidated by *Xanthippus's* Example ; and then what will she be able to do with her own Forces only, when deprived of her Mercenaries ? No ; Romans, a Peace with *Carthage* neither suits with my Judgment of Things, nor your Interest. And thus far *Regulus* spoke very sensibly. It seemed to be for the Interest of *Rome* to continue the War, considering the Condition, to which the *Carthaginians* were reduced. But as to the Exchange of Captives, it seemed agreeable both to Reason and Humanity, to treat of it, and agree to it. The Reasons *Regulus* urged to divert the Senate from it, will appear very trifling, to those who coolly consider them. You have among your *Carthaginian* Prisoners, said he, thirteen considerable Officers, who are young, and may one Day, command the Enemy's Armies. But as for me, I advance in Years, and my Misfortunes have made me useless. Besides, the Number of the Prisoners you have taken from the *Carthaginians*, infinitely surpasses that of the Prisoners they have taken from you. What can you expect from Soldiers who have been vanquished, and made Slaves ? Will they serve the State with as much Valour, as Men whose Reputations were never tarnished ? Such Men are like Deer, which have escaped out of the Hunter's Toils ; they are ever

and Spies. It was to be feared, that when mixed with the Citizens, they would enter into Plots to the Prejudice of the State, and watch the Designs of the Senate and Consuls, too narrowly. It is supposed, that this Custom began in the Infancy of the Republick, when *Brutus* and *Collatinus* were

Consuls, on account of the *Tarquinius* Envoys. We have observed, B. 5. that the Pretence of these Deputies was to claim the Effects of the *Tarquins* ; but their real Design was to form Plots in favour of the banished King, and to arm the factious Youth to kill the Consuls.

upon the Alarm, and ready to fly. However, this Discourse filled the Auditors with Ad-
 miration. The Senators were more affected with the Disinterestedness and Magna-
 nimity of *Regulus*, than with the Strength of his Arguments. The Republick would
 willingly have preserved him, continued the War, and not abandoned the Roman
 Captives which were left in *Africa*, to the Cruelty of the *Carthaginians*. The more
 the generous Slave despised his Life, the more ardently desirous Rome was to save it.
 The People were inclined to shew no Regard to the Oath he had taken, that he
 would return to *Carthage*; and said, *That now he was come to Rome, he was not*
obliged to keep the Oaths, which had been violently extorted from him, in an Enemy's
Country. The *Pontifex Maximus* himself, being consulted in the Case, determined
 in favour of *Regulus*, and declared, that he might continue in *Rome*, without being
 guilty of Perjury. But as soon as *Regulus* had learnt this, he opposed the kind Intentions
 both of the People and *Pontifices*, and said to the Senate, who trembled to hear him speak!
What! Am I then fallen into Contempt among you? Is my Advice of no Weight in the Repub-
lick? Have you resolved to disgrace me? I know too well the Inconstancy of the Peoples Favour,
to leave it to them to take care of my Reputation. Upon my first return, their Good-will
 breaks out, and the Publick is much moved at the Remembrance of my Misfortunes. But
 as soon as these first Fits are over, I shall be neglected, and my Glory buried in the Ob-
 scurity of a private Life. These very People will reproach me with my Return, who seem
 most afflicted at my Absence. I shall be often called Slave by the Envious: and how do I
 know, but Rome may be ashamed to own me for a Citizen? O ye immortal Gods! You
 have been the Witnesses of my Oath; and I will never deserve your Vengeance by Perjury.
 Let us therefore go where our Engagements call us. I will never draw down Thunder
 upon my Country, and force Heaven to punish Rome for a Crime which she shall have
 made me commit. No Expiations will effectually appease the just Anger of the Gods. I
 know what Torments are reserved for me: but what Pain is comparable to the continual
 Remorses of a guilty Mind, and the Shame and Infamy, which would follow me to my
 Grave? Don't you therefore be afraid of my suffering Torments, which I my self am not
 afraid to undergo. No Man is an Object of Pity, who dares brave Pain and Death. It
 is my Business to return to *Carthage*, and to leave the rest to the Gods.

BUT this great Intrepidity made the Senate still the more desirous of keeping *Regulus*
 at *Rome*. It was a shameful thing to suffer such an Hero to perish; whose Presence
 alone might be of Use to the Republick. And in order therefore to get rid of the
 fresh Importunities of the Senate, *Regulus* added to these false Virtues, a Lie, for
 which he much applauded himself in his own Breast. He protested, that before he
 left *Carthage*, he had been obliged to take a slow Poison, which consumed him by
 Degrees, and would not suffer him to survive his Deputation long. How madly
 was he bent upon dying, thus to make use of unworthy Artifices to procure his own
 Destruction! When Men once come to make their Fame their Idol, Virtues, Vices,
 and every thing else, are employed to acquire it; and they die Martyrs to it. As for the
 Senate, by the same Decree, whereby they refused either to make a Peace, or ex-
 change Prisoners with the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, they left *Regulus* at Liberty to
 return to *Carthage*, or continue at *Rome*. This was all that *Marcia* could obtain of
 the Consuls, by her Lamentations, and Tears, and with all her Interest. And *Re-*
gulus left his Country to return to the Place of his Slavery, with as serene a Counte-
 nance, as if he had been going to a Country House for Pleasure. An Action, which
 gained him what he aimed at. He acquired more Glory among his Countrymen, by
 thus leaving *Rome*, than he could have done, by entering it in Triumph: and the *Car-*
thaginians increased his Glory by their Barbarity. Their Rage made them invent
 new Punishments for him; and the more they multiplied his Torments, the greater
 Lustre they gave to his Constancy. They cut off his Eye-lids, and placed him
 with his Face to the Sun. After this, they shut him up in a Chest, stuck thick within
 with

35 It is somewhat strange, that *Hoffman*, the
 Author of *The Universal Dictionary*, should treat a
 Fact, attested by a Cloud of credible Witnesses, as
 a Fable. It is true, *Polybins*, who is in other Ca-
 ses a most exact Historian, does not mention the
 cruel Death the *Carthaginians* made *Regulus* suffer.
 But is the Silence of one single Author, who is
 wholly employed in describing Battels and Sieges,

sufficient to overthrow the express Testimony of
Tuditanus only, who lived in the same Age with *Poly-*
bins himself? Besides, *Cicero*, *Livy*, *Appian*, *Zonaras*,
 and *Valerius Maximus*, all unanimously confirm the
 same Fact; and all these credible Testimonies, when
 joined with a constant Tradition, from Age to
 Age, cannot be rejected, without some Suspicious
 of Scepticism. All agree, that *Regulus* died in the
 midst

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Enter B. =
 Scilias Ital.
 B. 6.

Scilias Ital. B. 6.

Zonaras. B. 8.
 c. 15.
 Appian in Pru-
 m. 6.
 Val. Max. B. 1.
 c. 1. §. 14.
 Livy in Epit.
 Author of the
 Lives of Il-
 lust. Men.
 Cicero de Offic.
 Aut. Gell. &c.

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D. Aug. de
Civ. Dei, L.
1. c. 15. & 24.

with Points of Nails, so that he could neither sit nor lean, without excessive Torment; and there they suffered him to die with Hunger, Anguish, and want of Sleep. Thus perished one of those brave Men, who are most highly applauded in prophane History. And if, as is probable, he aimed at no more, than making his Memory famous, it must be owned, that he gained his Point. There are not wanting those even among *The Fathers*, who have commended him; and justly preferred him to *Cato of Utica*. And indeed, where can we find more Steadiness and Constancy? But nevertheless, these are Virtues which differ from Obstinacy, in nothing but the Excellency of the Motives: And the Misfortune in the present Case is this, that we cannot well ascribe *Regulus's* stiff Refusal, in the proposed Exchange of Prisoners, either to a Love of his Country, or to Humanity. How many unhappy Men would have been thereby rescued from Slavery, and saved from Death! It was buying Glory at too dear a Rate, to purchase it with so much Blood, and at the Expence of the Misery of so many of his fellow-Citizens.

THE News of the Punishment inflicted on *Regulus*, at *Carthage*, was no sooner brought to *Rome*, but the Senate made a cruel Retaliation on the *Carthaginian* Prisoners. The *Conscript Fathers* thought they could not decree any thing more severe against them, than to leave them to *Marcia's* Revenge; and this Woman, more affected with the cruel Death of her Husband, than she ought to have been; by another kind of false Magnanimity, vented her Fury on the chief of the *Carthaginian* Captives; and made them suffer a part of the Torments to which her Husband had been condemned. They were shut up ³⁶, two and two, in great Chests, thick stuck with Nails; in which they were kept five Days without any Food. *Bostar* died the fifth Day; but *Hamilcar*, notwithstanding the Stink and Corruption of *Bostar's* Body, lived ten Days there, by the help of a little Bread, which was given him to prolong his Life, and his Misery. And if the *Carthaginians* ³⁷ taught the *Romans* to be cruel; it

midst of Torments: though it must be granted, that all those who have celebrated the Virtues of this Hero, don't exactly agree, as to the Circumstances of his Death. *Aulus Gellius*, B. 6. c. 3. thus relates this fatal Catastrophe, on the Credit of *Tubero*, an ancient Author, and in his own Words. *In atras & profundas tenebras eum [REGULUM] claudabant, ac diu post, ubi erat visus sol ardentissimus, repente educebant, & adversus actus solis oppositum continebant, atque intendere in cælum oculos cogebant. Palpebras quoque ejus, ne connivere posset, sursum ac deorsum deductas insuebant.* The *Carthaginians*, says *Tubero*, first shut him up in a dark Prison. A great while afterwards, they drew him out of his Dungeon, and exposed him to the Sun, when it shone hottest. Nay, their Barbarity went so far, that they sewed his Eye-lids so, as to hinder him from winking; and in this cruel manner, they forced him to look up, and fix his Eyes on the Sun. Thus, according to *Tuditanus*, this great Man died, with the cruel Torment of being kept from Sleep. *Tuditanus*, says *Aulus Gellius* in the Place just quoted, *somno diu prohibitum, atque ita vita privatum refert.* But *Eutropius* only says, B. 2. that the *Carthaginians* inflicted all the different sorts of Punishment upon *Regulus*, which their Rage could invent. *Regressus igitur ad Africam omnibus suppliciis extinctus est.* And as for *Florus*, he seems to doubt, B. 2. c. 2. whether this unfortunate *Roman* died of the Miseries of a long Imprisonment, or was crucified: which was a common Punishment among those Barbarians. *Nec illo voluntario ad hostes suos reditu, nec ultimo, sive carceris, sive crucis supplicio, deformata majestas.* The most common Opinion is that which we have inserted in the Text; except that a few Writers pretend that it was not a Chest but a Barrel, stuck thick with Points, in which the Patient was shut up.

St. Austin's Panegyrick on this Hero of *Old Rome*, B. 1. de *Civ. Dei*, c. 15. and 24. ought not to be omitted. *Inter omnes suos laudabiles & virtutum insignibus illustres viros, non proferunt Romani meliorem; quem neque felicitas corruperit, nam in tanta victoria mansit pauperrimus: nec infelicitas fregerit, nam ad*

tanta exitia revertit intrepidus . . . At illi cum excogitatis atque horrendis cruciatibus necaverunt. Inclusum quippe angusto ligno, ubi stare cogebatur, clavisque acutissimis undique confixo, ut se in nullam ejus partem, sine pœnis atrocissimis inclinaret, etiam vigilando peremerunt. But *Regulus* was not the only Person the *Carthaginians* sacrificed to their Revenge. They, with unparalleled Cruelty, says *Valerius Maximus*, B. 9. c. 2. crushed the other *Roman* Prisoners to death, with the Weight of the Gallies which were upon the Stocks. *Eadem crudelitate usi in milites nostros. Martis certamine in suam potestatem redactos, navibus substraverunt, ut earum carinis ac pondere elisi, inusitata ratione mortis, barbaram ferocitatem satiarent tetro facinore, pollutis classibus ipsum mare violaturi.* And *Varro* confirms the same thing. According to him, the *Carthaginians* vented their Fury in excessive Barbarities. They tied the Captives to the Keels of their Gallies; so that the Bodies of these Wretches were stretched under these unweildy Hulks, as it were for Rollers: which are used for the more convenient launching of Ships.

³⁶ *Aulus Gellius* says, B. 6. c. 4. that the *Roman* Senate left it to *Marcia's* Children, to do what they pleased with the *Carthaginian* Prisoners. But if that was true, it is probable, that she joined with her Sons in revenging the Death of her Husband in this cruel manner. The same Author also adds, that the Chests, which were built on this Occasion, were stuck with *Crows-feet*, that is, pieces of Iron, with several Points, which are often thrown in Roads at certain Distances, to incommode the Foot, and wound the Horse, of an Enemy.

³⁷ *Diodorus Siculus* adds, B. 24. that the *Roman* Magistrates were informed of these excessive Cruelties; and being moved with Compassion, at the relation of the Torments so many miserable Wretches were forced to endure, they put a Stop to the Fury of *Marcia*, and her Children; and gave Orders, That those who had survived their Tortures, should be treated with more Humanity. The Senate also passed a Decree, commanding, that the Ashes of the unfortunate *Bostar* should be gathered up, and sent to *Carthage*.

may

may be observed, that the savage Pride of *Regulus*, was the Cause of these bad Examples, in both Republicks.

§. XVI. BUT the Death of *Regulus* did not put the Affairs of *Rome*, or *Carthage*, into any Disorder. He was one of those transient Comets, which shine more than the other Stars, and then vanish out of sight, and leave no Marks behind them. When he was dead, the *Carthaginians* recovered new Courage, and new Strength. As for the *Romans*, they were extremely distressed for want of Money; but had great Plenty of every thing else. A * *Modius* of Corn, and one of their largest Measures³⁸ of Wine, were each sold for one *As* † of Brass; and thirty Pounds of dried Figs, ten Pounds weight of Oil of Olives, and ten Pounds of Meat, were sold at the same Price. Indeed, it was of no great Consequence to private Persons to have a great deal of Money, provided they could have the Necessaries of Life, at a very low Rate. But the Case was different, with Regard to the Publick. The Sinews of War began to fail, and the Treasury was almost exhausted.

In the mean time, the *Consuls Attilius* and *Manlius* then encamped before *Lilybæum*, carried on the Siege, with all the Ardour, that an Emulation for Glory, and the Desire of gaining a Post, the taking of which would utterly ruin the Affairs of the *Car-*

³⁸ *Pliny* calls this great Wine-measure a *Congius*. We need not observe, that all Nations have had their own Weights and Measures settled, to prevent Frauds and Injustice in Commerce. The Difficulty is, how to reduce them all to one Standard. Many learned Men in our Days have bestowed much Pains about those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; but we shall not trouble the Reader with their long Dissertations on this Subject. The main Point is to determine as exactly as possible the Contents of those principal Measures used in *Old Rome*, which were, as it were, the Foundation of all the rest; that is, the *Libra*, or *Pound*, and the *Foot*. And in order to make an exact Estimate of them, and reduce them to *French* Measures, it is necessary to compare them with *The Royal Pound*, and *The Royal Foot*, which are most commonly used in *France*.

We have already observed in general, that the *Romans* divided any *Integer* into twelve Parts, which they called *Unciæ*; and the same may here be observed of the *Foot*, and the *Pound* in particular. The only remaining Question then is, whether these Parts, or Twelfths of a *Foot*, or *Pound*, were equal to what we call *Ounces*, and *Inches*, that is, to our twelfth-Parts of a *Pound*, and *Foot*. And after many Calculations, it appears to be most certain, that the old *Roman Libra*, or *Pound*, of twelve *Ounces*, was no more than equal to eleven *Ounces*, one *Gros*, one *Denier*, and four *Grains French*: and consequently, that the *Roman Pound* was to the *French Pound*, as 536 $\frac{1}{2}$ is to 576. As to the *Roman Foot*, it is demonstrated, by the most exact Calculations, that it is a hundred and four Parts, and forty five thousandth Parts less, than *The Royal Foot*, in *France*; that is, that the old *Roman Foot*, was to the modern *French* one, as a 1000 is to 1104 $\frac{1}{2}$, and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, if we carry the Fractions as low as is possible. Whence it will follow, that there is a Difference of about eight or nine of these hundred and four Parts in every Ounce. This being supposed, it is easy to find out the Contents of the old *Roman* Measures, both liquid, and dry. Besides, most of those Measures, referred to what the *Latins* commonly called the *Quadrantal*, or *Amphora*; which being once known, the Knowledge of the rest will follow of course. It was called *Amphora Capitolina*, both to distinguish it from another sort of *Amphora*, which was no fixed Measure, but sometimes greater, and sometimes less, and in which the *Romans* used to keep their Wine; and because it was made by the Standard, which was kept in the *Capitol*: agreeably to these Lines of *Fannius*.

*Amphora sit cubus, quam ne violare liceret,
Sacra vere Jovi Tarpeio in Monte Quirite.*
Ancient Authors say, the *Quadrantal* contained one *Cubic Foot*. It held as much Wine as weighed eighty Pounds. But the Weight of what it contained, varied according to the Weight or Lightness of the Body that was measured by it. Almost all the other *Roman* Measures, were only Diminutives, or Parts of the *Amphora*; which contained two *Urne*. The two *Urne* contained three *Roman Modii*, or eight *Congii*; the eight *Congii*, forty eight *Sextarii*; the forty eight *Sextarii*, ninety six *Hemina*; the ninety six *Hemina*, a hundred and ninety two *Quartarii*; and the hundred and ninety two *Quartarii*, five hundred and seventy six *Cyathi*. Whence it follows, that the *Quadrantal*, or *Amphora Capitolina*, was twice as much as the *Urna*, eight times as the *Congius*. And by a Parity of Reason, the *Congius* must be six times as much as the *Sextarius*; the *Sextarius* twice as much as the *Hemina*; the *Hemina*, twice as much as the *Quartarius*. There were two Measures larger than the *Amphora*; one of which was called *Culeus*, the other *Medimnus*. The former held twenty *Amphoræ*; the latter two. At the rate of 26 *Pounds* $\frac{2}{3}$ each *Modius*, the *Medimnus* must have contained six *Roman Modii*, or a hundred and sixty *Pound* weight. Nevertheless, *Pausanias* makes the *Attick Medimnos* to contain no more than a hundred and eight Pounds. In *Festus*, under the Words *Publica Pondera*, we meet with an ancient Form of Words, which determines the Weight and Capacity of the *Roman* Measures, with a Prohibition to any one to alter them in any manner, under the Penalty of a Fine. This *Formula* is drawn up in due Form of Law; and that Author adds, that it was published at the Request of two *Tribunes of the People*, named *Sibii*; but at what time, is not known. We shall have Occasion to speak particularly of all these different Measures, in the Sequel of this History. [Dr. *Arbuthnot* makes the *Roman Libra*, or *Pound*, equal to only ten *Ounces*, eighteen *Penny-weights*, and 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Grains English Troy Weight*; and the *Roman Foot*, equal to eleven *Inches*, six hundred and four *Decimals English*. The *Quadrantal*, or *Amphora* contained, according to him, seven Gallons, one *Pint English*, Wine-measure; The *Urna*, three Gallons, four *Pints* and a half; The *Congius*, seven *Pints*; The *Sextarius*, one *Pint*; The *Hemina*, half a *Pint*, The *Quartarius*, a quarter of a *Pint*; The *Cyathus*, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *Pint*. The *Culeus* contained, according to him, a hundred and forty three Gallons, and four *Pints English* Wine-measure; The *Attick Medimnos*, four *Pecks*, six *Pints English* Corn-measure; and The *Modius*, one *Peck* Corn-measure.]

Year of *thaginians* in *Sicily*, could inspire. *Lilybæum* was both the Name of a Cape, and of a City. The Cape was one of the three which gave *Sicily* the Appellation of *Trinacria*; and considered as that which looked towards *Africa*, and was nearer to it than either of the other two, it was of great Consequence to *Carthage* to preserve it; because the *Carthaginian* Ships could more easily put in there, than in any other Port in the Island. Considered as a City, it was deemed one of the strongest Places in the World. It stood almost at the Extremity of the Promontory, and was defended on one side by the Sea, which formed a Port, which it was both difficult and dangerous to enter, by Reason of the Rocks on both sides of it. On the Land-side, the City was fortified with a wide and deep Ditch, which in stormy Seasons was filled with the Sea-water, and had a Communication with the Port, by a Gut. It was also surrounded with a thick Wall, flanked with Towers, difficult to be come at, and more difficult to be battered down with a Ram. *Himilco*, one of the most famous Generals of the *Carthaginians* was in *Lilybæum*, and defended it with a numerous Garrison. Exclusive of the Multitude of *Carthaginians*, who had long inhabited it; and the other *African* Troops; *Himilco* had there, at least ten thousand Mercenaries, partly *Greeks*, and partly *Gauls*. This was a great Army to be in a fortified Town, which was easy to be relieved, by means of a Port so near *Carthage*, and so long frequented by the *Africans*.

ROM E
DIII.
L. MANLIUS
VULSO, C.
ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.
Polyb. B. 1.
c. 42.

THIS was the State of *Lilybæum*; but the *Romans* had too much Courage and Constancy to be terrified from besieging it. The *Consuls* divided the Attacks between them; one was to command on the Sea-side, the other, on the Land. With this view, they pitched two Camps, which had a Communication, by a deep Ditch, covered with a Rampart, and a Wall; so that the *Consuls* could mutually assist each other.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 15. and
Diod. B. 24.

THE first Attack was made at the Point of the Cape of *Lilybæum*, where it jets out farthest into the Sea. There seems to have been a Castle there; or rather a long *Courtine*, with seven Towers, in a direct Line, which had a Communication with each other, and reached to the Town. The first thing the *Romans* undertook, was to gain the first of these Towers. It was nearest the Sea, and from thence the Coasts of *Africa* were to be seen, at a great Distance. It was taken, by the help of the Machines; and then those Machines were rolled on from Tower to Tower, and being made still better and better, the longer they were used, the last Towers were more easily taken than the first. When the *Consuls* had thus made themselves Masters of these Outworks, they then resolved to attack the Place: but before the Machines could be brought up to the Wall, the Ditch must be filled. This was a laborious Work, considering the Breadth and the Depth of it. It was sixty Cubits broad, and forty deep; but the *Romans* were indefatigable, in the Labours of a Siege. What increased their Trouble, was the Pains the Besieged took, to draw the Earth into the City, as fast as the Besiegers, threw it into the Ditch. But the *Romans*, by the superior Numbers of their Workmen, gained their Point.

Polybius B. 1.
c. 42.
Zonar. B. 8.
c. 15.

THE Ditch began already to be filled up, when the *Carthaginian* General undertook another Work; which was to throw up a second Rampart, and build a second Wall behind, to hinder the Enemy from coming further, after they had made themselves Masters of the first. And indeed, the *Consuls* battered it with their Rams, and endeavoured to make a Breach in it with their Engines. But they had to do with a vigilant Governor, who knew how to make the best use of the strong Garrison he commanded. He was watchful and sagacious; and both saw through, and defeated, all the Stratagems of War, which the *Romans* made use of to surprise him. He spared his Troops wherever it was proper to do so, and gave them all their Turns of Rest and Refreshment; whilst at the same time, he kept the Enemy always in Play, and perpetual Alarms. Sometimes he made brisk Sallies, either to repulse the Enemy, or at least to destroy their Machines. Then bloody Skirmishes ensued, in which there was often as much Blood spilt, as in pitched Battels. Oftentimes, the *Romans* attempted to undermine the Walls of *Lilybæum*, and throw them down.

39 Mining consisted formerly in first sapping the Walls of a besieged City, and then propping up the Mine with Wood. When the Work was finished, the Miner daubed the Props all over with Pitch, and other combustible Matter; and as soon as the Wood was burnt, the Wall tumbled down, with a great

Noise, and filled up the Ditch. Then the Besiegers marched up through the Cloud of Dust which arose from it, and began the Assault; and generally took the Place, by the help of the Breach, that was made by the falling of the Wall.

The *Carthaginians* on the other hand, countermined them, and came well-armed, and attacked the Miners under-Ground, when they had scarce any Arms to defend themselves. Sometimes the *Romans* sent Reinforcements to their Miners; but the *Carthaginians* killed them in the Mouth of the Mine, by throwing burning and smoking Materials into it, from the Top of the Wall, whereby they stifled them.

However, notwithstanding all the Care *Himilco* could take, not to harrafs and discourage his Troops too much, by excessive Labours; there were some Traitors among the great Number of Strangers, he commanded. Their Pretence for their Discontent was, that they did not receive their Pay; and the Heads of these Mercenaries entered into a Plot, well knowing they could depend on their Troops to join in it. In short, they escaped the Vigilance of the Centinels in the Night-time, came to the Camp of one of the *Consuls*, informed him of the Condition of the Place, and told him, how he might, by their Assistance, make himself Master of it. But among those whom the Conspirators would have drawn into their Measures, there was a Man of Honour, and Fidelity, though a *Greek*. The Name of this Commander of these Mercenaries, who came from *Achaia*, was *Alexon*; and he thought himself obliged to inform the *Carthaginian* General of the Plots, these foreign Officers were forming, against the Interest of *Carthage*. Upon this Information the General instantly assembled all those foreign Officers, who were not yet infected, exhorted them not to stain their Reputations with an odious Act of Unfaithfulness, or draw down the Vengeance of the Gods upon them by Perjury; and after he had given them Hopes of all the grateful Returns *Carthage* could make them, he distributed among them all the Money he could collect; and assured them, that their Troops should soon have their Pay. So that these Officers being appeased, and effectually secured, they pacified their Troops, and kept them in their Duty. *Alexon* took upon him to prevent the Revolt of the *Greeks*; and *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian*, who was both known, and beloved, by the *Gauls*, diverted them from their seditious Designs. So that no body joined with the Conspirators, who, upon their return from the *Roman* Camp, found themselves abhorred by those very Men, whom they hoped to have drawn off from the *Carthaginian* Interest. Their only Refuge therefore was to return to the *Consuls*, who graciously received them, made them Presents, and assigned them Lands in *Sicily*, for their comfortable Subsistence. The *Romans* took care, not to let their bare Desires of doing them Service, pass unrewarded.

§. XVII. IN the mean time the Siege was carried on with Vigour by the *Consular* Armies; and *Lilybæum* must have fallen into their Hands, if it had not received a seasonable Reinforcement. The *Romans* so carefully shut up the Port, that the Governor could not find means to send an Account of the Siege to *Carthage*; but nevertheless, it was there questioned, whether the Besieged did not want Men, Money, and Provisions. And certainly, the more vigorous Resistance they made, the more they deserved to be relieved. The *African* Republick therefore sent away a Squadron to *Sicily*, with Soldiers and Provisions. *Adherbal* ordered it to be fitted out, and *Hannibal*, the Son of *Hamilcar*, commanded it. But without a strong Wind, and that directly a-sterne, it was impossible for him to force his Way through the Enemy's Fleet, and enter the Port of *Lilybæum*, in their sight. *Hannibal* therefore sheltered himself in the Island of *Ægusa* 40, a little Way from *Sicily*, and there waited for a proper time, to make the Attempt. As soon as a brisk South-wind blew, he hoisted all his Sails, and plied all his Oars, after having disposed his Soldiers in order for fighting, in case of an Attack; and the Weather favoured him so much, and he so well knew how to take Advantage of all Circumstances, that he made his Way through the midst of the Enemy's Gallies, and arrived safe in the Port. Nevertheless, the *Romans* had done all they could to stop up the Mouth of it. They had sunk there fifteen round Ships, full of Stones; but the *Carthaginian* Gallies were so very light, that they found Water enough to carry them in, without striking upon them. Perhaps, the sudden Appearance of the *African* Squadron, and the Fear of being driven into the Port after it, by the Violence of the Wind, and of not being able to get out of it again, hindered the *Romans* from pursuing and attacking *Hannibal's*.

40 The Island of *Ægusa*, called *Capraria* by the *Latins*, and *Apponiana*, by *Hirtius*, in his *History of the African War*, lies in the *Sicilian*, and not in the *Lybian* Sea, as the *Abridger of Stephens* falsely imagined. Over against this Island, were the Cities of *Drepanum*, and *Lilybæum*. It is now called *Favignana*; and is three Miles from *Levenzo*, and ten from *Sicily*.

Year of
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DIII.
L. MANLIUS
VULSO, C.
ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.
Polybius B. 1.
c. 43.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 15.

Polybius B. 1.
c. 43.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 15.

Diod. in Eclog.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 44.

Year of
R O M E
DIII.

L. MANLIUS
VULSO, M.
ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

Diod. Sic. in
Eclog.

Polybius B. 1.
c. 45.

Diod. Sic. in
Eclog.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 15.

Diod. Sic. in
Eclog.

Polybius B. 1.
c. 46.

nibal's Gallies. But be that as it will, it is certain, the *Carthaginian* entered *Lilybæum* without Opposition, stored it with fresh Provisions, and provided it with fresh Troops, and thereby put it into a Condition to sustain a long Siege.

THE Joy of the Besieged, to see ten thousand Men enter triumphantly into their City, upon which all the Hopes the *Carthaginians* had of maintaining their Glory in *Sicily* depended, is not to be expressed. And then the *Romans* despaired of succeeding with their Engines. How could they defend them against so great a Number of Men, who shewed so much Resolution in their manner of getting into *Lilybæum*? The *Consuls* indeed foresaw what would happen; but their Foresight did not enable them to guard against it. All their Dependance being upon their Engines, they expected the Garrison would soon make a Sally, and attack them. That they might therefore have the more Men to defend them, they raised Troops among all their Allies in *Sicily*; and it is said, that these *Sicilian* Recruits amounted to a hundred thousand Men; of whom the *Consuls* employed only sixty thousand in the Siege, and made it the Business of the rest to supply the Army with Provisions. But be that as it will, Battels now became more frequent, and more warm, since the Numbers of the Besieged, and the Besiegers, were increased. After this *Himilco* made a Sally, with no less than twenty thousand Men, in hopes of destroying the Machines of the *Romans*; and the *Consuls* defended them with as great a Number. Never was Action begun, or carried on, with more Bravery. The *Carthaginians* appeared with their Swords in one Hand, and lighted Torches in the other, to burn the Engines. On the other side, the *Romans* dispersed these Fire-men, and either repulsed them, or strewed the Ground with their dead Bodies; so that they came not near the Machines. Then *Himilco* finding that his Troops began to be worsted, sounded a Retreat; these brave Men returned into the City; and the *Romans* durst not pursue them. The latter had indeed gained Advantage enough, in having saved their Engines.

THE Night after this obstinate Fight, *Hannibal*, who found himself to be of no use in *Lilybæum*, thought it adviseable to take Advantage of the Weariness of the *Romans*, and sailed out of the Port, he had so successfully entered. He embarked on board his Fleet the *Carthaginian* Cavalry, which, in a besieged City, served only to consume its Provisions; purposing to make a better use of them in the Country: and he succeeded to his utmost Wishes. He repassed through the *Roman* Fleet, and transported the *Carthaginian* Horse to *Drepanum*, almost the only Place in *Sicily*, which continued subject to the *Africans*, except *Lilybæum*. From thence the General, who understood the Land, as well as the Sea-service, made long Incursions; ravaged the Territories of the Allies of the *Romans*; intercepted the Provisions which were designed for the *Consuls* Camps; sometimes ruined the Coasts with his Gallies; sometimes penetrated into the inland Parts of the Island with his Horse; and used all possible means, to distress the *Roman* Army. And he gained his Point. Provisions grew very scarce among the *Consular* Troops. They had nothing to eat but Horse-flesh; and Bread was at an excessive Price. Distempers followed the Famine; and they produced Murmurs, and Inaction. And indeed, ever since the *Sicilians* had joined the *Consuls*, their Army was too big to be easily supported: and therefore it was thought proper for one of the *Consuls* to return to *Rome* with his two *Legions*, and preside in the Election for new *Consuls*. This lessened the Number of Mouths in the Camp, and it became more healthy. Then, after the Troops were recovered, they formed a new Design; which was to shut up the Port of *Lilybæum*, and make the Mouth of it utterly impassable. For this purpose, they made a Mole of Timber; consisting of great Piles, joined together with Brackets, and fastened with Iron Braces; but the Misfortune was, that the Sea was so deep, and so rapid in this Place, that such a Work could not hold long. The great Winds, and the Currents immediately overturned it. In the mean time, it was soon reported in *Carthage*, that a Mole was making at the Entrance of the Port of *Lilybæum*; and this Report spread such Terror there, that after this time, no Man durst go and enquire after any News of the Siege.

§. XVIII. IMAGINARY Evils have often the same Effects as real ones. There was an universal Dejection in *Carthage*; but a Captain of a Galley in the Port, named *Hannibal the Rhodian*, gave the Republick some glimmering Hopes. He was personally brave, enterprising, and knew all the Ways into the Port of *Lilybæum*. He took upon him to go into it, and return, and bring News of the Siege. Little Dependence

dence was at first had upon his Promises, but he was advised to make the Attempt, and thanked beforehand for his Boldness; which succeeded beyond Expectation. He set sail with his Galley, which was lighter than ordinary, hid himself behind an Island near the Port, there waited for a favourable Wind, and notwithstanding the Mole, and the Enemy's Fleet, he escaped the Vigilance of the *Roman* Officers, appeared making for the Port, in broad Day-light, and entered it without Resistance: and early the next Day, the brave *Rhodian* prepared to return. The *Consul* himself was upon the Shore, with a part of his Troops, and had barred up the Entrance into the Port, with ten of his lightest Ships. But what cannot Address and Intrepidity do? *Hannibal* passed a second time through the Enemy, who were struck with his Boldness. As soon as he was got out into the main Sea, he made his Crew stop rowing, and lift up their Oars as high as they could; which they continued to do a great while, as it were by way of Insult to the *Romans*, and bidding them Defiance. He depended on the Swiftmess of his Galley; and indeed, those of the *Romans* were too heavy, to be able to come up with her. The *Rhodian* played the same part several times, came from *Carthage* to *Lilybæum*, and always carried back an Account of the Siege; which very much encouraged the *Carthaginians*, and as much enraged and confounded the *Romans*. But the most audacious fail at last. *Hannibal's* Success depended upon his perfect Knowledge of all the Ways into the Port of *Lilybæum*, and of the Currents, which run between the Rocks and Flats that surrounded it. As soon as he arrived near the Port, he directed his Course by the Tower, that stood farthest out towards the Sea, and tacked about, as if he was come from *Italy*. By this Management, he brought his Galley directly to the very Passage, by which he chose to enter the Port. Several *Carthaginians* endeavoured, out of Emulation, to imitate him; but they did not succeed so well. One among the rest, brought his Galley to the very Entrance into the Port; but instead of happily passing it, she struck against the Remains of the Mole, which the Winds and Waves had spared. The *Romans* seized the *Carthaginian* Boat, and made their Advantage of it. This alone sufficiently enabled them to suppress the Insolence of the audacious *Hannibal*. The *Consul* put the best Crew he had, on board his Prize, and waited for a fresh Insult from the *Rhodian*. Accordingly, he, as usual, entered the Port in the Night, and resolved to sail out of it the next Morning, in open Day-light. He did not know that the *Romans* had taken a Galley, which was as swift a Sailor as his own; and therefore weighed Anchor with great Confidence; sailed out of Port; and was pursued by the *Romans*; who came up with him, boarded him, and took him. And with the help of these two *African* Vessels, the *Consul* absolutely barred up the Port, so that no *Carthaginian* durst attempt to enter it any more.

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DIII.

L. MANLIUS
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REGULUS,
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§. XIX. HOWEVER, the Besieged were not discouraged by being deprived of this single Advantage; they boldly resisted two Attacks of the Besiegers. The latter battered the Place with Vigour, on the side next the Sea. But this was only a Feint, in order to draw all the Forces of the *Carthaginians* that Way, whilst the *Consul* made an Assault upon the outward Wall of the City on the Land-side. However, the Governor had Valour enough to withstand both Attempts. The *Romans* were in a manner already Masters of the first Rampart, when *Himilco* hastened thither with his Troops, made a great Slaughter of the Enemy, and forced them to return into the Plain. And this first Disadvantage was followed by another, which had like to have reduced the *Romans* to despair, and rendered them utterly incapable of carrying on the Siege. A violent Storm arose very suddenly; and the Land-wind blew with such Force, that it shook the Machines prepared for the Siege, as substantial as they were, to the very Foundations. The Covered Galleries for making the Approaches, and the high wooden Towers, with which they were flanked, tottered; and seemed to be ready to fall. And then, some of the *Greeks*, who were hired into the *Carthaginian* Service, foresaw the Injury this sudden Storm might do the Besiegers, declared their Opinions to the *Carthaginian* General, and their Advice was followed. So that the *Greeks* now recovered the Affairs of the *Carthaginians* a second time, by their wise Counsels. At their Motion, and under their Direction, a Body of Men made a Sally, armed with Swords, and Flambeaux; and every thing favoured their Design. The Wind carried their Darts and Arrows against the *Romans*, with great Force; whilst those of the *Romans* could scarce reach the Enemy. So that the Besieged, by that means, made themselves a Passage to the Machines of the Besiegers, which being made of very

Diod. in Eclog.

*Polybius B. 1.
c. 48.*

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R O M E
DIII.

L. MANLIUS
VULSO, M.
ATTILIUS
REGULUS,
Consuls.

dry Wood, were easily set on Fire. The Wind carried the Flames from one Machine to another; whilst a Cloud of Smoke hindered the Besiegers from seeing the Firemen. The Romans threw their Darts at them, only at a Venture; the Flame, which spread very fast, blinded them, and gave Light to their Enemies. Besides, the burnt Beams, which continually fell down, one after another, terrified the boldest, from attempting to put out the Fire. So that Rams, Galleries, Towers, Platforms, and Ballistæ, were all burnt, and the Work of several Months, consumed in one Hour. Then the boasted Constancy of the Romans would not have been able to have born up under this terrible Disaster; if the King of Syracuse, that ever faithful and generous Friend to Rome, had not raised their Spirits, under this Dejection. Hiero sent a Convoy of Provisions to their Camp, and exhorted them not to abandon their Enterprize. If the Expedition had failed, the ill Effects of it would in the end have fallen upon him; for if the Carthaginians had again gained the Ascendant in Sicily, Syracuse must have been lost.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 48.

BUT after this Shock, the Consul found himself out of a Condition to take Lilybæum by force, and therefore turned the Siege into a Blockade. The Romans kept themselves upon the defensive; and waited for some lucky Minute, which should determine the Fate of Lilybæum. The two Parties gave each other time to entrench themselves. The Besieged repaired the Breaches the Machines had made in their Walls; and the Romans, who foresaw that the Siege would be long, fortified their two Camps, with good Stone-walls, so that they looked like two Cities, which inclosed a larger City, on both sides. At Rome, the News of the burning of the Machines, and the Battel which it had occasioned to the Disadvantage of the Romans, made different Impressions, on the People, and the Senate. The People were the more animated by it, to carry on the Siege. Ten thousand Men entered into an Association, to go and serve in the Army before Lilybæum, passed the Straights, and marched on Foot to the Roman Camps. But the Senators were somewhat divided in Opinion. Notwithstanding the Advice Regulus had given them, never to make a Peace with Carthage, some of them were for treating about one. And from

Zenar. B. 8.
c. 15.

Words, the Dispute came to Blows. We are assured, that one Senator was killed, in the Senate-house itself, for appearing too zealous for a Peace. It was doubtless a very disputable Point, whether Peace or War was to be preferred; since two of the best Historians we have, tell us, that in the Year Regulus died, and Lilybæum was besieged, Affairs turned more in favour of Carthage, than of Rome.

Polyb. and
Zenar.

Year of
R O M E
DIV.

P. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER, L.
JUNIVS PUL-
LUS, Consuls.

§. XX. THE next Year, the Carthaginians were yet more successful, and the Romans humbled. Two Men were promoted to the Consulship, who were more rash and bold, than skilful in the Art of War. One of them⁴¹ was a Man of a great Name, descended from the Claudian Family, which was originally Sabine; and some make him to have been the Son, others the Grandson, of the famous Appius Claudius. And it is certain, that the new Consul had all the Faults of his Father, or Grandfather, but had inherited none of his good Qualities. Generally speaking, the Claudian Family were remarkable for assuming Airs of Haughtiness, Independence, and even Fierceness, which signally appeared in all those Members of it, which were advanced by Rome to her highest Dignities. The Colleague of P. Claudius Pulcher, was one L. Junius Pullus, a Plebeian, who was worse born, and had no more Courage or Conduct, than Claudius. The Collegues drew Lots for their Provinces; and it fell to Claudius, to command the Land-Forces in Sicily, and carry on the Siege, which was begun there; and to Junius, to command the Fleet. The General of the Land-Forces came to take Possession of his Command, and of the two Roman Camps before Lilybæum; and he discovered all his Faults, as soon as he entered upon his Office. He never spoke of his Predecessors, but with Disdain, and to their Disadvantage: and the first Speech he made his Soldiers, was full of bitter Reflections upon

Diod. Sic. in
Excerptis.

⁴¹ Some Authors give the Consuls for this Year other Prænomina, than what are given them, in The Capitoline Tables. Orosius gives Lucius Junius the Prænomén of Caius. Cicero, Pliny, Valerius Maximus, Eutropius, and Mariannus, give the Prænomén of Appius to Publius Claudius, who was, according to Pliny, the Grandson of Appius, surnamed Cæcus, or The Blind. But Tull de Divin. and de Natura Deor. B. 2. tells us, that he was the

Son of that Appius: in which he agrees with the Fasti Capitolini, and with Aulus Gellius, B. 10. Livy, and Valerius of Antium, as quoted by Censorinus c. 19. de die Natali, place the third Secular Games, in this Consulship: but we, upon the Authority of the Fasti Capitolini, place the Celebration of them, in the Year 517. when Publius Cornelius Lentulus, and Caius Licinius Varus, were Consuls.

them,

them, for their past Indolence. *Your Generals*, said he, *have enervated your Strength, by Laziness and Cowardice. Though you are Besiegers, they have suffered you to live, as if you were your selves feintly besieged. Your Camps have only been Places of Refreshment and Diversion for you, where you have spent your time idly, and merrily; and have been mighty well satisfied, that you have not utterly ruined the Republick.* *Claudius* never gave Orders but in an imperious manner. He never descended from that height, to which his Birth raised him in his own Thoughts. In short, he was harsh, and severe, and did not spare even the Allies of the Republick, whom he caused to be bastinadoed upon every the least Dislike. This Pride and Contempt for the other Generals, made them look the more narrowly into his Conduct, which they found to be miserably defective. As he was successively governed by different Passions, he pursued no one regular Design. His Impetuosity, or mere Caprice, put him upon chimerical Projects; and he was too proud to take Advice. It was in one of these Humours, that he formed the fine Design of surprising *Drepanum*. *Adherbal*, an Officer of Reputation, was the *Carthaginian* Governor of it: and *Claudius* took it into his Head, that it was not known there, that the *Roman* Army had been reinforced with ten thousand Men. He also flattered himself, that the Enemy would give themselves up to Security, since the Repulse the *Romans* had met with, when they endeavoured to defend their Machines: and upon these false Prejudices, he made a second Attempt to build a Mole before the Port of *Lilybæum*. But he succeeded no better, and was worse served, than his Predecessors. The second Mole was blown up, as well as the first, and his Labours became the Sport of the Winds and Waves. Nevertheless, the fiery General ordered the Gallies, which shut up the Port of the besieged City, to follow him to *Drepanum*. They were in all sixscore. The Passage could not be long, since it was reckoned but fifteen Miles from *Lilybæum* to *Drepanum*. The *Roman* General was very confident, that as soon as he should take *Drepanum*, and sack it, the double Fortifications and Towers of *Lilybæum*, would be overturned. He set sail in the dead of the Night, and had a very good Passage. But by that time he appeared off *Drepanum*, the Day began to break, and discovered his Motions, which till then were unknown. *Adherbal* made no doubt, but the Enemy was coming against him; and he had but two Ways to take, either to meet the *Consul*, and give him Battel; or else to let him enter the Port, and suffer himself to be besieged. The latter he thought the less honourable Method, and it was indeed the least safe; and he therefore immediately ordered his Ships to be got ready, sent his Rowers aboard, and assembled his Mercenaries on the Shore. He told them in few Words, how shameful it would be for brave Men to suffer themselves to be invested in the Port, and to hide themselves behind their Ramparts, without daring to face the Enemy; and his Harangue had the designed Effect. His Troops all desired a Battel, and the Cheerfulness of his Seamen, and Soldiers, was an happy Omen of Success.

NEVER was Resolution more readily taken, or more vigorously executed. *Adherbal* went aboard the best of his Ships, sailed first out of the Port, after having given Orders to the Commanders of his Gallies to follow him, and not to lose sight of him, but to sail directly after him: and he was obeyed. He had scarce quitted the Port, sailing through the Rocks to the left, before the *Roman* Fleet, which came to the right, entered it, because they found it empty, and thought the Enemy had deserted it. The foremost of the *Roman* Ships were already in the Bason, and those which followed, were in the Mouth of the Port, in order to enter it; when *Adherbal* appeared, as coming from a great Distance, and advancing towards *Claudius*, who was in the Rear of his Fleet. Then the *Roman* General tacked about, towards the *Carthaginian*, and sent Orders to the Gallies before him, immediately to leave the Port, and hasten to his Assistance. This created a terrible Confusion in the Mouth of the Harbour, which was too narrow, for several Gallies to pass through it, in Front. As it was necessary for all the *Roman* Ships to tack about, they fell foul on one another, and the Oars struck against one another, for want of room to work them. So that it was a great while before they could extricate themselves out of this Difficulty, which the Precipitation of the General, and his repeated Orders to make haste, increased. But at length they disintangled themselves; and the *Roman* General hastily drew out his sixscore Gallies along the Coast, because *Adherbal*, who made all the haste he could to attack him, would not give him time to get farther out to Sea. *Claudius* removed from the right to the left, to receive the *Carthaginian's* first Onset: but

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PULCHER, L.
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LUS, Consuls.

*Oronius B. 4.
c. 10.*

Year of but the latter had only five of his Gallies with him, the rest followed him at a Distance. With those he had, he advanced from the left to the right, above the *Romans*; began to place his Ships in order, presenting their Prows to the Enemy; and as fast as his Gallies came up, he drew them up in Line of Battel; and had all the Advantage on his side. The *Romans* were pent up a-stern, by the Coast; the *Carthaginians* had the open Sea behind them. If the *Romans* should be hard pressed, or obliged to retire ever so little, they must necessarily either run a-ground on the Flats, or split upon the Rocks on the Coast. On the contrary, if the *Carthaginians* were pursued, they had Sea-room enough to escape; and if any *Roman* Ship should pursue them too hastily, and out of rank, it would be easy to surround her, in the main Sea. Nor was *Adherbal* either ignorant of any of his Advantages, or how to make the best use of them. His Fleet indeed was not so numerous as that of the *Romans*, it consisting only of ninety Gallies; but his Seamen were better, and his Ships lighter.

DIV.
P. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER, L.
JUNIUS PUL-
CHER, Consuls.

Cic. L. 2. De
Nat. Deor.
Val. Max. B.
1. c. 4, §. 3.

Orosius B. 4.
c. 10. and
Diod. Sic. in
Eclog.

Front. Strat.
B. 2. c. 10.

NEVERTHELESS, the *Consul* and his Fleet might have avoided the Enemy, and returned before *Lilybæum*, if he had thought fit. But he was obstinate, and chose rather to fight, though contrary to the *Auspices*, which foreboded nothing but the worst of Consequences. The Reader must remember a vain and superstitious Custom of the *Romans*, before they gave Battel; of which neither Experience nor Reason had yet cured them. An *Augur* always attended the General, both by Sea and Land, with a Cage ⁴² full of Chickens, from which Presages were taken of the good or ill Success of Battels. If they leaped hastily out of their Cage, and fell greedily to the Food which was thrown to them, the *Augur* thought this an infallible sign of Victory. If, on the contrary, they refused to eat, and scattered about their Meat with their Feet and Wings, it was concluded, that the Consequence would be bad. In all probability, these Diviners judged of the Event of an approaching Battel, by the present Circumstances of Things; and if they foresaw that it would succeed ill, they gave the Chickens as much Meat as they would eat, before they let them out of Cage, and shewed them. But be that as it will, the Ceremony was now performed in *Claudius's* Presence; the Fowls not only neglected eating, but even threw away their Food; and upon this, even the Prejudices of Religion could not restrain the *Consul's* Brutality. He took both Cage and Chickens together, and threw them all into the Sea, with a Jest, which was then thought highly impious. *If your Birds won't eat*, says he to the *Augur*, *let them drink*. The silly Politician did not consider that the Contempt of Religion would discourage his Troops. Indeed, the *Romans* seemed to forget themselves in the Action. They no longer acted with their wonted Intrepidity, which used not to be discouraged at any Disadvantages of Situation, or the Fierceness of any Enemy. Most of their Gallies suffered themselves to be driven against the Shore, run a-ground on Banks of Sand, scarce made any Motion against the Enemy, and very feintly sustained their Attacks. As for *Claudius*, who was so ready to hazard a Battel, contrary to the common Opinion, and in spite of the Prejudices of Religion, he was the first to get out of Danger. As soon as he saw the Victory incline to *Adherbal's* side, he sheered off with thirty of his Gallies, and left the rest to struggle with the Winds, Rocks, and Quicksands, and so fall a Prey to the Enemy. The *Romans* lost ninety Gallies in this ill-conducted Action; had eight thousand Men killed or drowned; and twenty thousand of their Soldiers, and Seamen, were taken Prisoners, and carried to *Carthage*. Whereas, the *Carthaginians* scarce lost one single Man; had very few wounded; and not one of their Ships was either sunk, or taken. A memorable Instance of the ill Conduct of a proud and obstinate General. Nevertheless, *Claudius* had afterwards Presence of Mind enough, to adorn his thirty Ships with Crowns, as if he had gained the Victory. And by this Artifice he passed safely, by several maritime Ports, which the *Carthaginians* held between *Drepanum*, and *Lilybæum*. In *Lilybæum* itself, which was still carefully invested, it was taken for granted, that the *Romans* had been victorious; but this false Fear did not last long. The News of *Consul Claudius's* being recalled, and of his Colleague *Junius's* Adventure, was soon afterwards brought thither.

⁴² See our Account of the sacred Chickens, and the Superstition of the *Romans*, upon the Principles of Ornithomanthy, p. 72. of this Volume, Note 88.

§. XXI. INDEED, as soon as it was known in *Italy*, what Disgrace and Mischief *Claudius* had brought upon the Republick, by his Humours, his Flight, and his Impiety, he was immediately recalled, before his *Consulship* was expired. It would not have been regular, to have begun a Prosecution against him, whilst he was in his Office : and therefore the Senate only ordered him to nominate a *Dictator*. This was then necessary. One of the two present *Consuls* was little better than a Mad-man ; the other had suffered the *Roman Fleet* to be destroyed, partly by his own Fault ; as will soon appear, when we come to relate that Story. The proud *Claudius* therefore being obliged to abdicate the *Consulship*, and nominate a *Dictator*, took Pleasure, in offering the Senate an Affront, which was entirely new. By way of Contempt to their Orders, and in Derision of the Laws, he, without considering the Danger which might thence arise to the State, nominated one of his Clients, named *Claudius Glycias* to the *Dictatorship*, with the usual Ceremonies. He was one of the meanest and lowest of the People, and had no other Office in the City, but that of Secretary, and *Viator* ⁴³, that is, Tipstaff to *Claudius*, during his Office. But this very unseasonable Jest brought the new *Dictator* himself into ridicule, and made the Person who nominated him odious to all Orders of Men in the State. And therefore *Glycias* was forced to abdicate ; but was so far indulged, as to be permitted to wear the Robe bordered with Purple, called *Pretexta*, in the Theatre and *Circus*, all the rest of his Life. The *Romans* thought they might be at Liberty to grant this little external Mark of Dignity, to a Man, whose Nomination had indeed made him the Jest of *Rome*, but who had resigned his *Dictatorship* with a good Grace. The *Dictator* who succeeded him was *M. Attilius Calatinus* ; and he made the famous *Cæcilius Metellus* his General of Horse. As to the mad *Claudius*, he was prosecuted at the Tribunal of the People, immediately after his Deposition ; but Historians give us different Accounts of the Success of his Prosecution. The best Writers say, he was condemned. Others perhaps, to wipe off this Stain from the *Claudian* Family, which became powerful in *Rome*, say, That when the People came to proceed to the Condemnation of the Criminal, a sudden Storm arose, which obliged them to leave the *Forum Romanum* ; and That the *Romans* looking on this Accident, as a tacit Absolution given him by the Gods, did not think fit to call him up to Judgment any more. But the whole Story has the Air of a Fable, invented by Flattery, when the *Claudian* Family was in Power at *Rome*.

Year of
R O M E
DIV.
P. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER, L.
JUNIUS PUL-
LUS, Consuls.

Sueton. Life of
Tiberius, and
Fast. Capit.

Polybius B. 1.
c. 52.
Cicero de Nat.
Deor. L. 2. §
de Divin.

Val. Max. B. 8.
c. 1. §. 4.

§. XXII. As for *Junius*, the Command of the Fleet having fallen to him by Lot, he had set sail from *Italy*, with sixty Gallies, and several Transports. When he came to *Messana*, he increased the Number, both of his Gallies and *Pinks*. His Design was to carry Provisions to the Camp, before *Lilybæum* ; and his whole Fleet now consisted of sixscore Gallies, and eight hundred other Boats, of all sorts. From *Messana* he sailed on to *Syracuse*, without doubt, in order to load his Fleet with Corn, Wood for Machines of War, and the other Provisions necessary for continuing the Siege. And whilst he tarried in this Port, and waited for those of his Ships, which had not yet been able to join him, or follow him, he sent a Squadron of his Fleet before him, under the Command of his *Military Quæstors*. In the mean time, *Adherbal* was not indolent, upon the News of *Consul Julius's* being at Sea with a second Fleet, and going to carry Reinforcements and Provisions to the Camp before *Lilybæum*. The Victory he had gained over the rash *Claudius*, made him hope for the like Success against *Junius*. He had ordered *Carthalo*, one of the *Carthaginian* Generals in *Sicily*, to go and attack the *Roman* Squadron, which shut up the Port of *Lilybæum* : And *Carthalo*, with an hundred Gallies, had insulted those of the *Romans*, in the fight of the Besieged, and filled the *Roman* Camp with Terror. Then, after he had sunk some Ships, and taken five from the Enemy, he had continued his Course along the South-coast of *Sicily*, in order to cruise round *Heraclea*, and hinder the *Consul Junius* from carrying his Convoy to the *Roman* Camp, before *Lilybæum*. In this Latitude, *Carthalo* was told, that a *Roman* Squadron was seen out at Sea ; which was that of the *Quæstors*. Full of Joy therefore, he prepared for a Battel, and considering the Superiority of his Fleet, in point of Numbers, promised himself a sure Victory. He made the best use of his Oars, and came within sight of the Enemy ; but the *Quæstors*, who were diffident of their own Strength, sought for a

Polybius B. 1.
c. 52.

Diod. in Ex-
cerpt.

⁴³ See our Account of the Office of *Viator*, Vol. 1.

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P. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER, L.
JUNIUS PUL-
CHER, Consuls.
Polybius B. 1.
c. 53.

Place of Shelter, and found one near *Phintia* ⁴⁴, a City subject to the *Romans*. It happened unfortunately, that *Phintia* had no Port; but there was a kind of Road so sheltered by Rocks round it, that Ships might ride in it very safely. And there the *Romans* landed, drew up their Vessels along the Shore, and resolved to defend them with their *Ballistæ*, and other Engines, proper for throwing Stones. Then a Battel ensued between the *Romans* at Land, and the *Carthaginians* at Sea. The City of *Phintia* had furnished the *Quæstors* with the Machines necessary for their Defence; and *Carthalo* had not all the Success that he expected. He thought the *Romans* would have abandoned their Fleet, and fled to the City for Refuge: but they made a vigorous Resistance, and as they had all the Advantage of the Ground, the *Carthaginian* only took from them a few Barks.

At some Distance from *Phintia*, was the Mouth of a little River, which the Historians call ⁴⁵ *Halycus*: and there *Carthalo* put in his Fleet, and refreshed his Crews. In this advantageous Post he waited for the *Quæstors*, resolving to attack them, as soon as they should appear at Sea. But a more important piece of News, made him weigh Anchor, leave the *Halycus*, and give up all Hopes of engaging the *Roman* Squadron. His Advice-boats, which he had sent out to make Discoveries, brought him Word, that the Consul *Junius's* Fleet was sailed from *Syracuse*, had doubled Cape *Pachynum*, and was bound for *Lilybæum*. The *Carthaginian* therefore thought it necessary to make all haste to join the Enemy, and fight him as far as he could from *Phintia*, lest the Consul's Fleet, should join the *Quæstors* Squadron. Accordingly, he made the best use of his Oars, and crowded all the Sail he could to meet the Consul; who neither knew any thing of the Battel he had fought with the *Quæstors*, or where their Squadron lay. Had he known that, he would have made it his Business to come up with them, and join them. As for *Carthalo*, he came in sight of the *Roman* Fleet, off of *Camarina*; but the *Romans* thought their Fleet too weak, to hazard a Battel. However, as it was neither for the Honour, or Advantage of the Consul to fly before an Admiral, whose Gallies were lighter than his; he chose to act much the same part his *Quæstors* had done, on the like Occasion, though he did not know it. He turned towards the Coast, and came and posted himself in a Place, which was full of Rocks and Mud. It was better to lose some of his Ships there, than to give up the whole Fleet to the Mercy of an Enemy, stronger than himself. And the Design had been very successful, if the Winds and Sea had favoured it. *Carthalo* durst not follow the Consul to the Port, where he had fled for Refuge, and therefore brought his Gallies under Shelter of a Cape, from whence he could observe the Motions, both of the *Quæstors* Squadron, and the Consul's Fleet. And being thus posted between them, he kept them both in Awe; so that neither of them could put out to Sea, without being beaten.

Orosius B. 4.
c. 10. and
Polybius B. 1.
c. 54.

WHILST the *Romans* obstinately continued in their Retreats, and *Carthalo* was watching them, the Wind blew fresh, and the *Carthaginians* observed, that the Sea would soon grow boisterous. The *African* Pilots, who had always been used to these Seas, knew by certain Signs, and foretold, when Tempests would happen, some Days before they arose. They therefore persuaded their Admiral, to leave this Station, double Cape *Pachynum*, and go and shelter himself under the opposite Coast. And it was not without some Difficulty that *Carthalo* was able to double the Cape, where he felt the first Effects of the Storm: whilst the *Roman* Squadron and Fleet, were dashed against the Rocks, and driven a-ground on the Shores, and utterly destroyed. Never was a more complete Shipwreck. It is said, that of all this great Number of Ships of War, and Transports, there was not one Plank saved, that could be of use again; but we are to understand this Exaggeration with due Allowances. There was no Ship left whole, and all the Provisions they carried, were swallowed up by the Sea. But after all, few Men perished, either Soldiers, or Seamen. It was easy for them to reach the Shore, either by swimming, or upon the Wrecks. The Winds and Waves themselves drove them upon the Coasts. Thus Heaven again destroyed the *Roman*

⁴⁴ *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*, make *Phintia* one of the inland Cities in *Sicily*; but the Authority of *Antoninus's Itinerary*, of *Diodorus of Sicily*, and of *Cicero*, in his *Third Oration against Verres*, incline us to believe, that it was a maritime City, situated near the Mouth of the *Himera*, not far from Mount *Etna*, in the South Part of the Island. We

guess, that the present City of *Licata* stands, on the Place where *Phintia* stood.

⁴⁵ The River *Halycus*, is now called by the *Sicilians*, *Platani*. Near its Spring stood an ancient City called *Halycie* from the Name of this River; which discharges itself into the *Sicilian* Sea, near *Heraclea*.

Fleets, on purpose, as it should seem, to try the Constancy of the Republick : and she was indeed discouraged at first, and again renounced the Empire of the Seas. But neither did this Dejection last long. Ambition always raised the Romans above any Difficulties, or Losses.

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R O M E
DIV.
P. CLAUDIUS
PULCHER, L.
JUNIUS PUL-
LUS, Consuls.

§. XXIII. THE Siege, or rather the Blockade of *Lilybæum*, was still continued. The Romans were yet strongest at Land, notwithstanding all their Disasters ; and the greatest part of *Sicily* was subject to them. Ever since the Death of *Regulus*, that is, from the time that the Roman Republick had suffered her greatest Misfortunes, the Carthaginians had taken nothing from them but the City of *Eryx*. And the Consul *Junius*, made it his Business to reconquer it, in order to make some Amends for the Loss of his Fleet, by a signal Action. *Eryx* was very finely situated, on the Declivity of the highest Mountain in *Sicily*, next *Ætna*. The Top of the Mountain was flat, and upon it was built a Temple to *Venus Ericyna*, which surpassed the most magnificent Buildings in *Sicily*, for Riches and Beauty. The City, which lay almost at the Foot of the Temple, was accessible, only by one steep Way : and this advantageous Post overlooked *Drepanum*, which was not far from it. The Consul did not indeed attack *Eryx* openly ; but he surprized it by Night, through the Treachery of some Soldiers, who sold it to the Romans.

Zonar. B. 8.
c. 15.
Polyb. B. 1.
c. 55.

In order to maintain himself in his new Conquest, the Consul ordered a Fort to be built, in the Town of *Ægithallus* ⁴⁶, at the Foot of Mount *Eryx*, and put in it a Garrison of eight hundred Men. It may well be imagined, that *Carthalo* could not but burn with Envy, to see the Roman General, who had been vanquished by the Sea, and fled before his Fleet, in the Possession of so important a Post, at Land ; and he therefore made a Descent, came and besieged *Ægithallus*, stormed it, and put all the Garrison to the Sword. Some say, that the Consul *Junius* was taken Prisoner in defending the Place. Others, that he killed himself, either out of Fear of being condemned at *Rome*, for having lost the Roman Fleet, or out of Melancholy, for so fatal a Campaign. And others affirm, that all these Misfortunes happened to him, and to his Colleague *Claudius*, for having despised the Augury of the Chickens. But is it not credible, that some Historians may have invented this last Circumstance, either to raise the Credit of these superstitious Divinations ; or to ascribe all the Misfortunes of this fatal Consulship, to a Contempt of Religion ?

Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 15.
Cicer. de Nat.
Deor. L. 2.

§. XXIV. THE Death and Deposition of the Consuls, made the Presence of a Dictator necessary in *Sicily*. But from the Foundation of *Rome* to this time, no Roman Magistrate, who was invested with absolute Authority, in the Republick, had ever been seen out of *Italy* : and much was expected from this Novelty. Nevertheless, the Dictatorship of *Attilius Calatinus*, was not signalized by any remarkable Exploit. *Lilybæum*, the darling Object of the Ambition of the Romans, continued blocked up, as before ; and the Dictator returned to preside at the Elections for the ensuing Year, without having done any thing remarkable. But we cannot believe, that these *Comitia* were held exactly a Year after those, in which the late Consuls were chosen ; and therefore think our selves often obliged to observe, how uncertain a Method it is, to compute the Years of the World, by those of the Consuls. The Dictators, who continued six Months in Office, often postponed the Elections for the ensuing Year. As there was no certain time fixed, for assembling the *Comitia*, it was sometimes done sooner, and sometimes later.

Year of
R O M E
DIV.
ATTILIUS
CALATINUS,
Dictator.

THE Centuries promoted two Men to the Consulate, who had already enjoyed it once before ; the first of which was *C. Aurelius Cotta*, the second *P. Servilius Geminus*. But their Commands were not separate, as the Year before, one at Sea, and the other at Land. The Romans had now no Sea-Forces, and seemed to have renounced them for ever. The two Consuls were therefore ordered to go and make War in *Sicily* together, to continue the Siege of *Lilybæum* by Land, and to drive the Carthaginians out of *Drepanum*, if possible. It is probable, that in their time an Innovation was introduced into the City, which much raised the Plebeian Party. The *Vestals* had never yet been chosen, out of any Families, except the most illustrious of the Patricians. But as five Years since, *Tib. Coruncanius*, though a Plebeian, had

Year of
R O M E
DIV.
C. AURELIUS
COTTA, P.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

⁴⁶ Both the Historians and Geographers mention the Promontory, and Fortrefs of *Ægithallus*, at a little Distance from Cape *Lilybæum*, in the most western part of *Sicily*. It is now called *Capi di Santo Podaro*, or *Buranni*. *Fazellus*, by mistake, confounds it with *Capo di Santo Vito*.

Year of
R O M E
DV.
C. AURELIUS
COTTA, P.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.

been, contrary to ancient Custom, raised to the Dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*, on whom the *Vestals* depended, it was now but natural for the Daughters of *Plebeians*, to aspire at the Priesthood of *Vesta*, under a *Plebeian Pontifex Maximus*. A Law was therefore made, at the Motion of *Papius*, one of *The Tribunes of the People*, That when any Vacancy happened in the College of *Vestals*, twenty *Plebeian* young Women should be presented to the *Pontifex*; and That she, on whom the Lot should fall, should enter into the Service of the Goddess. But this Law, which obliged the *Pontifexes* to suffer the *Vestals* to be chosen by Lot, was afterwards abrogated, at the Motion of another *Tribune of the People*, named ⁴⁷ *Popilius*. He left the *Pontifex Maximus* at Liberty to fill up the Vacancies among the *Vestals*, with whomsoever he thought fit. Indeed, it was no great Degradation of the *Vestal* College, to admit some *Plebeian* Women into it. There were many *Plebeian* Families, more considerable for great Employments, Triumphs, and Ancientness, than some of the *Patricians*.

§. XXV. AFTER this, the *Consuls Aurelius* and *Servilius* set out for *Sicily*, and making it their whole Business, guarded the Coasts so well, as to prevent the *Carthaginians* making any Descent, or conveying any Succours, or Provisions, into *Lilybæum*, or *Drepanum*. *Carthalo* attempted both, in vain. He found the *Romans* every where upon their Guard, and at last, the Vigilance of the *Consuls* discouraged him. That therefore he might lose no more time, in sailing round an Island, which was so carefully guarded, he resolved to make Incursions into *Italy*, and both ravage and terrify the Provinces belonging to the *Roman Republick*. He hoped by this means to have given a Diversion to the *Consular* Troops, and to have caused one at least of the Collegues to be recalled into *Italy*, with his *Legions*. But the *Carthaginian* was mistaken. The Senate had provided for every thing. As soon as *Carthalo* had made his first Descent in *Italy*, on the Coasts of *Lucania*, the *Prætor of Rome*, whose Office empowered him to act in a double Capacity, left the hearing civil Causes, put himself at the Head of an Army, which was immediately raised in the City, and forced *Carthalo* to reembark, and return to *Sicily*. And there this General, who could no longer quiet his Troops, by giving them leave to plunder the Country, as in *Italy*, found it difficult to appease their Murmurs. The Mercenaries demanded their Pay with great Clamours; and *Carthalo* found it no easy Matter to get Money from *Carthage*, which was now exhausted, to pay these foreign Soldiers. The Mutiny therefore increased, and it became necessary to punish the most seditious. Some of them were put upon desert Islands, where they were left to perish; the most Criminal were sent to *Carthage* to be executed there; and this Rigour stirred up the most pacifick to a Revolt. The Rebellion was becoming general, when *Carthalo* was very seasonably recalled; and *Carthage* sent a Man to succeed him, who was not so much known then, as afterwards. He had at that time a good Reputation for Valour and Prudence; but he was not known to have that implacable Hatred for the *Roman* Name, which he did not even suffer to die with him, but transmitted to his Posterity. This great Man was *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Barca*, who would have been deemed the greatest Officer of his Nation, if he had not had for his Son, the famous *Hannibal*, whose Courage and Experience in War, could only yield to the superior Virtue of a *Roman*.

HAMILCAR was yet young, when he came to command the *Carthaginian* Army, in *Sicily*. After he had appeased the Sedition, which his Predecessor had raised by his Rigour, he sailed for *Italy*: where he was more successful than *Carthalo*, and made great Ravages far up into the Country. He extended his Incursions all over the Territories of the *Locri* and *Bruttii*, and *Rome* had then a Specimen of the Ravages which his Son was one Day to commit in *Italy*. But barely to sack and pillage, was not enough for *Hamilcar*. *Sicily* offered him a finer Scene for War, than *Italy*, and he therefore returned thither. There was a very proper Place for a Camp between the Cities of *Panormus* and *Eryx*, which, according to a modern Author, was called ⁴⁸ *Epierète*. But the Description he gives of it, seems to be rather Matter of Invention,

⁴⁷ It is uncertain when the *Popilian* Law was promulged; all we know is, that it was in force, in the time of *Aulus Gellius*, and under the Reign of the *Philips*. Some think that, in order to put this Law in force, the *Romans* only renewed King *Numa Pompilius's* Law, which gave the *Pontifex*

Maximus the Power of choosing the *Vestals*; and therefore they called it the *Pompilian* Law, from the Name of that King.

⁴⁸ This Mountain is doubtless the same which the Historians called *Ereîta*, and which is now called *Monte Pelegrino*, not far from *Panormus*. We have spoken

Invention, than taken from ancient Memoirs. *Epierète*, says he, was a Town situated on an high Mountain, which stood by itself, and was steep on all sides. And whatever becomes of the Name or Description of the Place *Hamilcar* chose; it is at least certain, that People were surpris'd at his Boldness. No body ever imagin'd, that a *Carthaginian* Army would come and post itself between two of the Enemy's Cities, which would have it in their Power to harra'ss it continually; whilst it had no City allied to the *Carthaginians* near enough to send Succours to it. But *Hamilcar's* Knowledge of War, made Amends for the Disadvantages of his Post. He subsisted there, in spite of the *Romans*; and from his steep Rock, made Incursions upon the Lands of their Allies. In short, he obstructed the Siege of *Lilybæum* so much, that the *Consuls Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius*, could make but very little Progress in it. *Hamilcar's* Campaign was looked upon at *Carthage* as a piece of masterly Conduct in a young Officer, on whom she built great Hopes. Indeed *Hanno*, his Rival in Glory, made a Campaign on the Continent of *Africa*, with more *Eclat*; but it was really not so considerable as *Hamilcar's*. *Hanno* entered into *Lybia* 49, took *Hecatompylos* 50, and carried off from thence three thousand Hostages to *Carthage*. Nevertheless, this fine Conquest did not eclipse the Reputation *Hamilcar* had acquired in *Sicily*. He had disconcerted all the Measures of the *Consuls*, and by temporising, made their Campaign fruitless.

§. XXVI. WHEN their time was expired, *Servilius* and his Colleague returned to *Rome*; and *L. 51 Cæcilius Metellus*, and *N. Fabius Butco*, were chosen to succeed them. It is surpris'g, that *Metellus*, who had been *Consul* once before, and was so famous for his magnificent Triumph, did not prevail over *Hamilcar*, and take *Lilybæum*, since it was his Province to carry on that Siege, whilst his Colleague *Fabius* went to besiege *Drepanum*. But the Name of *Metellus* is scarce mentioned during the whole Campaign; all the Historians say of him, is, that he did not prejudice the Affairs of *Rome*, but left *Lilybæum*, just as he found it. Whereas, *Fabius* acquired a little more Glory before *Drepanum*. In order to attack it, on the side next the Sea, which was least fortified, he thought it necessary to possess himself of a little Island, or rather a Rock, called *Peliadis* 52, which stood in the Sea, near *Drepanum*. The *Carthaginians* had a Garrison there, which *Fabius* surpris'd, in the Night, and put to the Sword. This was so important a Post, that *Hamilcar* came immediately to retake it; but *Fabius* did not alter his Measures. Indeed, he did not give himself much Trouble about defending the Rock; but attacked the Walls of *Drepanum* with such Vigour, that *Hamilcar* was forced to quit his Attempt upon the Rock, and come to relieve the Town. The *Consul* being in Possession of the little Island, made a good use of it, in carrying on the Siege. He easily filled up the Channel of the Sea 53, which

Year of
R O M E
DV.
C. AURELIUS
COTTA, P.
SERVILIUS
GEMINUS,
Consuls.
Polybius B. 1.
c. 56.

Died in Ex-
ceptus.

Year of
R O M E
DVI.
L. CÆCILIVS
METELLVS,
N. FABIVS
BUTCO, Con-
suls.
Zonaras B. 8.
c. 16.

spoken of it already. As this Post was difficult of access, *Hamilcar* seized it, to secure himself against the Attacks of the *Romans*. And he found another Advantage in it. The Top of the Mount was a vast Plain, which was very convenient for his Troops to encamp on. *Diodorus Siculus* says, B. 22. that it was at least a hundred *Stadia* *, that is, 12500 geometrical Paces in Circumference. Its Soil, he says, was fruitful, and furnished good Pasture for the Cattle of the Country. It had several Springs of fresh Water, and all things necessary for the Subsistence of an Army. And near it, Nature had formed a very convenient Port, for Ships, that sail'd from *Lilybæum*, or *Drepanum*, to *Italy*.

49 Under the Name of *Lybia*, the Ancients comprehended all *Africa*. But strictly speaking, it signified that vast Country, which lay between the *Mediterranean* to the North, *The Atlantick Ocean* to the West, *The Ethiopian Sea* to the South, and *Ethiopia* itself, to the East. *Lybia* was divided into two Parts, one of which was called *The Outer Lybia*, and the other *The Inner*. The former reached, according to *Ptolomy*, from *Alexandria* to *Cyrene*; and comprehended those vast Regions, which were called by the ancient Geographers, *Africa*, *Lybia Propria*, *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, *Mauritania Sitifis*, *Mauritania Tingitana*, and *Numidia*. The Kingdoms of *Fez*, *Morocco*, *Algiers*,

Tunis, *Tripoli*, and *Barca*, were all Parts of this great Country. The Name of *The Inner Lybia*, was given to that vast Tract of Ground, which lay more to the South, and was bounded by *The Outer Lybia*, *The Atlantick Ocean*, and *Ethiopia*. But the *Romans* gave the Name of *Lybia* more especially to that part of the North of *Africa*, which was bounded to the East, by *Egypt*; to the North by *The Mediterranean*; to the West, by *The Great Syrtis*, and the Kingdom of *Tripoli*; and to the South, by *Ethiopia*.

50 Neither the Historians, nor ancient Geographers, have told us the Situation of the City, called *Hecatompylos*; nor have we any Footsteps of it, now remaining.

51 *Marianus* is mistaken, in substituting one *Lucius Lucilius*, in the room of the *Consul Lucius Cæcilius*: and he, contrary to the *Fasti Capitolini*, gives *Fabius* the *Prenomén* of *Cains*, instead of that of *Numerius*. In *Cassiodorus*, and some other *Annalists*, *Fabius* has two false *Prenomina* given him, that of *Cneius*, and that of *Marcus*.

52 The little Island of *Peliadis*, called by the *Latins*, *Columbaria*, is now known by the Name of *Columbara di Trepani*.

53 The Island of *Peliadis* was divided from *Drepanum*, only by a very small Arm of the Sea, or rather according to *Zonaras*, by a Neck of marshy Ground,

Year of
R O M E
DVI.
L. CÆCILIVS
METELLVS,
N. FABIVS
BUTEO, Con-
suls.
Polyb. B. 1.
c. 57.

which was between *Peliadis* and *Drepanum*; and from thence conveyed all Necessaries for his Attacks to the Land, over a Causeway. Nevertheless, all *Fabius's* Pains did not much advance the Works before *Drepanum*. He had to do with the most able General, the *Carthaginians* had ever had. According to the best Historian of those Times, it is not possible to enumerate all the Battels *Hamilcar* then fought. He continually sent Parties from his Camp at *Epierete*, as there was Occasion. He sometimes seemed to be before *Lilybæum*, and *Drepanum*, at the same time. His Foresight extended to all Particulars, and his Valour was sufficient for any Attempts. The *Romans* pretended to bar up his Camp with another, which they also pitched among the Rocks. But this Precaution only served to increase the Number of Battels, without preventing the frequent Sallies and IncurSIONS of the *Carthaginian* Troops: and in this glorious part of *Hamilcar's* Life, his Son *Hannibal* came into the World.

§. XXVII. WHILST the *Carthaginian* General was thus keeping two *Consular* Armies in Awe, and maintaining his Country a footing in *Sicily*; the *Romans*, on the other hand, pillaged the Coasts of *Africa*, with a Fleet. We have observed, that *Rome* had renounced the Empire of the Seas, and had laid aside all Thoughts of building any new Gallies, after the Damages she had sustained by Tempests, and the ill Conduct of her Admiral. So that this new Fleet was not built, at the Expence of the Publick. Upon the return of their Ambition, the Senate lamented indeed the Loss of the Glory and Advantages, a Sea-armament had brought the Republick: but the Treasury was not in a Condition to bear the Expences of building and equipping a whole Fleet. However, the *Conscript Fathers*, in some measure, supplied this want. They passed a Decree, empowering all private Persons to arm, build Ships at their own Expence, fall upon the Enemy, pillage the Coasts of *Africa*, and to apply all the Profits of their Plunder to their own Use. Nay, the Republick lent her Subjects the Gallies she had left, *gratis*; with this Proviso only, that they should return them, in as good a Condition, as they received them. It is probable, that this Fleet of Privateers was commanded by *Aurelius*, the *Consul* for the last Year, who was placed at the Head of it, with the Title of *Proconsul*. And it may be inferred from it, that the private Subjects of the Republick were rich, though the State was poor: and these Riches in the Hands of private Citizens, were a means to support the Glory of the Republick. The Admiral of the People, rather than the Republick, set sail, and coasting along the *African* Shore, came and fell upon the Port of *Hippo*; and there he burnt Ships and Houses, and got rich Spoils. But whilst the *Romans* were busy in plundering, the Inhabitants of *Hippo* thought to have pent them in. They shut up the Mouth of their Port with Chains: so that the *Africans* imagined they had got the *Proconsul*, and his Gallies fast, in their Nets. But the *Roman* Pilots found out an Expedient to disengage their Fleet, and carry it out to Sea. As fast as each Galley came into the middle of the Port, where the Weight of the Chain made it touch the Water, the Men all removed from the Prows to the Stern. This raised up the Foreparts, and then, by the help of their Oars, they forced her on upon the Chain. When they were got far enough upon it, the Crew all removed

*Pigbius, ad
annum, 506.*

Ground, which was overflowed by the Sea. So that it was no very difficult Matter for the *Roman* General to throw up a Ditch cross this little Space of Ground, and thereby make a Communication between the Rock and the City.

54 We build this Date of the Birth of the Great *Hannibal*, upon what *Polybius* says, B. 15. According to him, *Hannibal* was forty five Years old complete, in the Year of *Rome* 551; which was the seventeenth Year, of the second *Punic* War. Whence it will follow, that he was born about the end of the 506th Year from *Romulus*. From that time to the end of the 551st Year of *Rome*, is just forty five Years.

55 The ancient Geographers mention two Cities of *Hippo* in *Africa*. One they call *Hippo Regius*, because subject to the Kings of *Numidia*; which lay towards the western Coast of *Africa*, near a Gulph of the same Name; and which was the City in which St. *Austin* ended his Days, after he had been Bishop there, several Years. The *French* now

call both the City, and the neighbouring Gulph, *Bone*. It at present belongs to the Kingdom of *Algiers*. But this in all Probability was not the City, in which the *Romans* committed their Hostilities. They had then no Quarrel with the *Numidians*: which makes it more likely, that the *Roman* Fleet fell upon the other City of *Hippo*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Hipponem Diarrhytum*, that is, *Irriguum*, or *Wet Hippo*, because its Territory was watered with many Rivulets; agreeably to *Pliny's* Observation, B. 5. c. 4. *Diarrhytum a Græcis dictum, propter aquarum Irriguum*. Nevertheless, *Strabo* calls this City *Regius Hippo*, as well as the other. It stood near *Utica*, twenty five, or thirty Leagues from *Carthage*. *Antoninus's Itinerary* places *Hippo Regius* 218000 geometrical Paces, that is, above eighty Leagues from *Carthage*. The *Hippo* here spoken of, is now only a Castle belonging to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. Some call it *Biserta Vecchia*, others *Razamilara*.

back again to the *Prows*, which weighed down the Gallies at that end, and so brought her over the Chains into the Water. By this means the whole Fleet escaped the Danger, and put out to Sea, loaded with Spoils. Nor was it enough for the *Proconsul* only to enrich the Masters of the Fleet: he also employed it for the Honour of his Country. He met the *Carthaginian* Fleet before *Panormus*; which perhaps was the same, that supplied *Hamilcar's* Camp at *Epierete*, with Provisions: And be that as it will, *Aurelius* attacked it, and gained a considerable Advantage over it.

Year of
ROME
DVI.
L. CÆCILIUS
METELLUS,
N. FABIVS
BUTEO, Con-
suls.

THESE alternate Successes and Losses of the Republick, since the Death of *Regulus*, made the *Romans* a little abate of that Pride, with which the brave Captive had inspired them by his Bravadoes. They had refused to consent to a mutual Exchange of Prisoners with *Carthage*; but now they were the first to move it. The Senate thought the Reasonings of the extravagant Philosopher very frivolous, and consented to such an Exchange, Man for Man. And as the *Carthaginians* had more Captives to redeem, than the *Romans*, Rome gained by it, and the Money which was given for the Supernumeraries, was some help to the publick Treasury. Then the two *Censors*, *Attilius Calatinus*, and *Manlius Torquatus*, made a *Census* of the *Roman* People, which ended with a *Lustrum*, which ought to be reckoned the thirty eighth. The Number of Citizens fit to bear Arms, amounted to no more than two hundred fifty one thousand two hundred and twenty two Men, which was eighty six thousand five hundred and seventy five less, than were found upon the last *Census*. A very considerable Diminution, which can only be ascribed to the Wars and Shipwrecks, by which the Republick had for some time suffered.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 16.

§. XXVIII. *HAMILCAR* gained his Point, in prolonging the Sieges of *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*; he rendered the *Roman* Valour ineffectual in both Places. A *Greek* Historian here makes a sensible Reflection, on the Defects of the Conduct of the *Roman* Senate, and People. I know not, says he, how they came to take it into their Heads, not to leave one of their *Consuls* in *Sicily*, as formerly, to command their Army, the next Year, in quality of *Proconsul*. Indeed, this continual Succession of new Generals, who appeared, and disappeared, every Year, was long prejudicial to the Affairs of *Rome*. The new *Consuls* Year was scarce sufficient for them to settle Things in order, and form their Designs. How then could it afford time to put them in Execution? Hence it was that this War was unusually barren of great Exploits: of which the Republick was but too sensible. In this, the *African* Policy was much superior to the *Roman*. *Carthage* left *Hamilcar* long at the Head of her Troops, and never recalled him, till being weary of the War, she put an end to it, by a Peace. As for the *Consuls* ⁵⁶, *M. Otacilius Crassus*, and *M. Fabius Licinus*, they made no better Figure than their Predecessors. Things went heavily on in their Army, and their Republick gained no other Honour by it, than that of persisting with Constancy in carrying on two Sieges, with little Success. They spent their whole *Consulship* before *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, to no purpose; and as they did not return at the time of the Elections, *Rome* thought it necessary to nominate a *Dictator*, only to preside in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*. The Election was made in the *Campus Martius*, under the Direction of *Tib. Coruncanius Dictator*, and *M. Furius Flaccus* his General of Horse; and the *Consuls* chosen, were *M. Fabius Buteo*, and *C. Attilius Bulbus*. But before they entered upon their Office, an Accident happened, which will shew to what Lengths the *Romans* carried the Love of their Country. It was their chief Idol, and their only Motive to Heroism. To deviate from it, was, with them, to overturn all Morality; the slightest Offence of that kind was too great to be forgiven. Even Women were punished for dropping any Words, that betrayed a want of Affection for the Publick. And this Love for the Interests of their Country, was as old as *Rome* itself. It had been imprinted on the Minds of the People in their Education; and it was Policy to keep it up, and punish the least Offences against this universal Law. Thus the Sister of the *Horatii* was deemed worthy of Death, for not having a Heart entirely *Roman*. And thus a Woman of the noblest Extraction in *Rome*, was now accused before the People, and condemned by them,

Year of
ROME
DVII.
M. OTACILI-
US CRASSUS,
M. FABIVS
LICINUS,
Consuls.
Zonaras B. 8.
c. 16.

⁵⁶ *Anlus Gellius*, or his Copyists, have very much disfigured the Names of the *Consuls* for the Year 507, in his tenth Book. One is called *Titus Licinius*, and the other *Titus Acilius Crassus*. *Polybius* says nothing either of them, or any of their Successors to *Latinius*. He runs hastily over the Years, that afford little Matter for History.

only

Year of only for having spoken some Words, which imported a want of due Affection for her
 R O M E Country.

DVII.

M. OTACILI-
 US CRASSUS,
 M. FABIVS
 LICINVS, Con-
 suls.

A. Gel. B. 10.
 c. 6.

Val. Max. B.
 c. 1. Dam. §. 4.
 and Sueton.
 Life of Tiber.

CLAUDIA, the Sister of that *Claudius*, who had a few Years before disho-
 noured his *Consulship*, by the Loss of a Fleet, and his Contempt of the *Auspices*,
 was born with all the Vices of her Family. She was vain, haughty, and inconside-
 rate. She demanded Respect wherever she came, and upon the least neglect, would
 fly out into the most violent Transports of Rage. One Day, as she was returning
 from a Shew, in a Chariot, which Women of her Condition were permitted to ride
 in, the Crowd did not disperse and make Way for her, fast enough, or perhaps, she
 might be crouded in the Press: and this was enough to rouse all her Family-Pride
 in an instant. She thought it intolerable, That a Woman of her Rank should pass
 undistinguished among the Multitude, and That her Presence alone was not sufficient
 to disperse the Crowd. And in a Transport of Fury, wherein she was not Mistress
 of her self, she cried out, *Would to the Gods my Brother was alive again, and could find
 means to rid Rome of some of this scoundril Mob, as he formerly did! The City is too full
 of them.* In any other Nation, this Discourse of an angry Woman, would only have
 exposed her to ridicule, who made it. But at *Rome* it was charged upon her, as a
 Crime, and it was believed, that no true *Roman* could have uttered such Words. It
 was made a serious Affair. Two *Ædiles of the People*, *C. Fundanius*, and *T. Sempro-
 nius*, undertook the Management of it, and cited *Claudia* to appear before the *Comitia
 by Tribes*. All the Nobility interested themselves in behalf of the Accused. There
 was scarce a *Patrician* Family, that was not either related, or allied to her's. And
 when *Claudia* appeared, it was urged in her Defence, That it was not usual to cite
 Women before the Tribunal of the *Roman* People; That her's was a very slight Of-
 fence; That bare Words ought to be forgiven a Woman of Spirit, who was fond
 of her self, and impatient of being in the least incommoded; and That the Respect
 due to her Family, ought to have preserved her from the Shame of being brought to
 a Bar. But to this the *Ædiles* answered; That her Crime was a publick one, and re-
 quired a publick Satisfaction; That no Sex was exempt from the Observation of the
 Laws; That all Persons whatsoever, that were guilty of Treason against the State,
 ought to be judged by the People; That Words are as criminal as Actions, since they
 shew the Sentiments of the Heart; That *Claudia's* Nobility only aggravated her
 Crime; That the more elevated her Station was in the Republick, the more she ought
 to love it; and lastly, That as to her Ancestors, the Remembrance of them could
 only prejudice the People to her Disadvantage, since from the first Man of the Family,
 they had all been guilty of Faults, which had now been renewed in an infamous
 Brother, and a Sister, who was an Enemy to her Country. The People were indeed
 in this case, Judges in their own Cause, since *Claudia's* Imprecations were made against
 the Populace; and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that they fined her twenty
 five thousand *Asses* * of Brass. A Punishment, much more considerable for the
 Shame of it, than the Largeness of the Fine. Nevertheless, the *Ædile Sempronius*
 built a little Chapel with it, on the Hill *Aventinus*, and dedicated it to 57 *Liberty*.

* So L. 1. 4. 5. 7d.
 Arbutnot.

Year of
 R O M E
 DVIII.

M. FABIVS
 BUTEO, C.
 ATTILIVS
 BUTIVS,
 Consuls.
 Fron. Strat.
 B. 3. c. 10.

§. XXIX. THE time being now come for 58 *Fabius* and *Attilius* to enter upon their
 Office, they both set out for *Sicily*. But those times were past, when scarce any of
 the *Consuls*, who passed the *Streights*, returned without a Triumph! *Hamilcar* had
 carried the Palms from the *Roman* Generals. As long as he continued in his Camp
 at *Epierete*, it was grown as uncommon for the *Consuls* to signalize themselves, as it
 had formerly been customary for their Predecessors, to enter *Rome* triumphantly, for
 having taken Cities, and won Battels. The Siege of *Lilybæum* was still continued,
 and the *Romans* pretended to reduce it, at least by Constancy, or Famine. But the
 industrious *Hamilcar* found means to store it with fresh Provisions, and frustrate the
 Expectations of the Besiegers. He sailed from the Port of *Epierete* with his little
 Fleet, loaded with Provisions; and unknown to the *Romans*, and doubtless in the
 Night-time, made some of his Transports to advance behind the Islands 59, which

57 The *Romans* worshiped *Liberty* as a Goddess, after they had freed themselves from the Tyranny of the *Tarquins*.

58 According to the *Fasti Capitolini*, this *M. Fabius Buteo* was now made *Consul*, the first time. But *The Greek Tables* make this his second *Consul-*

ship. They doubtless confound this Magistrate with his Brother *Numerius Fabius Buteo*, who had been *Consul* two Years before, that is, in the Year of *Rome* 506.

59 These Islands are commonly called *Ægates*, or *Ægades*; they lie North of *Cape Lilybæum*.

covered the Port of *Lilybæum*. As for *Hamilcar* himself, he followed at a Distance, with the small Remains of his Gallies; appeared in open Sea, in the midst of the Day, as it were, bidding the Enemy Defiance; and the *Roman* Gallies which guarded the Port, and stopped up the Avenues to it, were deceived by it. They sailed after *Hamilcar's* Squadron, which was in their sight, with great Impatience to attack it; and as soon as they were out at Sea, the *Carthaginian* Ships, which lay concealed behind the Islands, entered the Port, unloaded their Provisions, and fresh Troops, and got out to Sea again, before the *Romans* returned from pursuing the Enemy, whom they could not come up with.

Year of
R O M E
DVIII.
M. FABIUS
BUREO, C.
ATTILIUS
BULBUS,
Consuls.

NEVERTHELESS, the Advantage their Fleet had just gained, within sight of the Island of *Ægimurus*⁶⁰, near *Africa*, was some Comfort to the *Romans*. Whether it was the same victorious Fleet, which had before gained so many Advantages over the *Carthaginians*, is not easy to determine: but it is at least certain, that the whole Sea-Forces of the *Roman* Republick was but sixty Gallies, which were ordered to defend the Coasts of *Italy*, and transport the Troops to *Sicily*. So that in all Appearance, this Fleet, which now beat the *Carthaginians*, was the same that private Persons had built the last Year, at their own Expence. The Victory these brave Privateers gained, was complete; but they did not reap all the Fruits of it, or live long to enjoy it. A violent Tempest dashed their Ships in pieces, against the Rocks of *Lybia*; and as Wrecks had before proclaimed their Victory to all the Nations along the Sea-coast, they soon after brought them the News of the Shipwreck of the Conquerors.

Florus B. 2.

§. XXX. So many Misfortunes therefore, one upon the Neck of another, would, one would have thought, have given the *Romans* a Dislike to the Siege of *Lilybæum*; but they were unaccountably steady in their Perseverance in it. The two new⁶¹ Consuls, *A. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Sempronius Blæsus*, were sent thither; and *Hamilcar* let them go on in the same way their Predecessors had done, and robbed them likewise of all their Glory. *Lilybæum* was well stored with Provisions; so that the *Carthaginian* General gave himself no farther Trouble about relieving it, or sending new Stores thither. He was bent upon a much nobler Design, which engaged all his Attention. The City of *Eryx* was then in the Power of the *Romans*; the Consul *Junius* had formerly made himself Master of it: and the *Carthaginian* was resolved to attempt to recover it. Nothing was more glorious, or of more Consequence to him, in order to preserve him in his Post at *Epirocete*; but at the same time nothing was more difficult. To undertake the Siege of *Eryx*, was like attempting to scale Heaven. The *Romans* had three Posts upon this Rock, which must all be stormed; one at the Foot of it, another in the Middle, and a third at the Top. The Temple of *Venus Ericyna*, was very well guarded at the Top of it. In the middle of the Hill stood the City of *Eryx* fortified by Art, as well as Situation; and at the Foot of it, was an Entrenchment, guarded by a strong *Roman* Garrison. But nothing could divert the Design of the brave *Hamilcar*. He set out in the Night, at the Head of his Men, and in a profound Silence, marched his Soldiers thirty *Stadia* up the Mountain: and at length, by winding round it, he, without being perceived by the Garrison that guarded the Foot, arrived unexpectedly at the Gates of the City. And in the Surprise this occasioned, it was no difficult Matter to make himself Master of it. All that resisted, or were found under Arms, were put to the Sword; the rest were made Slaves, and sent to *Drepanum*. And then the War took another Turn; and the Operations of the Campaign changed. The *Romans* now made it their whole Business to dispossess the formidable *Carthaginian* of *Eryx*; he made it his, to maintain himself in it: and accordingly, he encamped and fixed his Post there. It was indeed an odd Situation. The *Romans*, at the Foot of the Mountain, besieged him; and he at the

Year of
R O M E
DIX.
A. MANLIUS
TORQUATUS
ATTICUS, C.
SEMPRONIUS
BLÆSUS,
Consuls.

Pol. B. 1. c. 58.

Diod. Sic. in
Excerptis.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 58.

⁶⁰ The Island of *Ægimurus*, in the *African* Sea, between the Coast of the Kingdom of *Tunis* to the South, and that of *Sardinia* to the North, is now called *Galita*, or *Galata*. It is about twenty Leagues distant from the Ruins of *Carthage*; and is reckoned to be twenty five thousand geometrical Paces in Circumference. It is of an oblong Figure, and is now absolutely deserted. *Stephens* mentions two Rocks near it, which were in the middle of the Sea; and he calls them *Ægimori Æræ*, from the Name of the Island of *Ægimurus*.

the second of *Sempronius*; the latter had been Consul already, in the Year of *Rome* 500; and the former had been Censor, in the Year 506. According to *Velleius*, it was when these two Persons were Consuls, that the *Romans* sent a Colony to *Brundisium*, in the Country of the *Salentini*; probably, a second time, according to *Zonaras*. He tells us, that in the time of the War with *Tarentum*, the Republick sent a Colony of the Citizens of *Rome*, to this City, either on account of the Convenience of its Port, or to keep the *Tarentini*, who were near it, in awe.

Year of R O M E DIX. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS, C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS, Consuls.

same time besieged the *Romans*, which were posted upon the Top of it, round the Temple of *Venus*. Both Parties were equally ardent in attacking their Adversaries, and in defending themselves. *Hamilcar*, who was between two Bodies of Enemies, despised those that were below him, and made those tremble that were above him. Notwithstanding the Danger of the Post he was in, he amused the *Roman* Forces two whole Years, and made a Diversion, which was of great Service to his Cause. In the mean time the Siege of *Lilybæum* was not advanced, and that of *Drepanum* was raised. Of so great Weight in the Scale, were the Valour and Address of one single Man. *Hamilcar*, by his Constancy, suspended the Effects of the continual Efforts of the obstinate *Romans*; without hazarding a pitched Battel, but by uniformly pursuing the same Design, and continuing always fixed to the same Place, he did more Service, by the prudent Resistance he made, than any other could have done, by the most glittering Enterprises. The Great *Cæcilius Metellus* plainly saw, that there was little Glory for the *Romans* to acquire, as long as *Hamilcar* continued at the Head of the *Carthaginian* Armies; and as the virtuous *Tib. Coruncanius*, the first *Plebeian*, who had been promoted to the Dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*, was just dead, *Cæcilius*, who was also a *Plebeian*, willingly accepted the Offer which was made him of that Dignity, and readily quitted the Business of Arms, to apply himself to a more pacifick Employment.

Cicero in Cat. Majore.

Year of R O M E DX. C. FUNDANIUS, C. SULPICIUS GALLUS, Consuls.

§. XXXI. AND indeed, the new Consuls, *C. Fundanius*, and *C. Sulpicius* ⁶² *Gallus*, in vain attempted to drive *Hamilcar* out of the City of *Eryx*. The Besieged, and the Besiegers suffered, each in their Turn, all the Miseries of War and Famine. They seemed not on either side to be Men subject to the Infirmities of Nature; but Men utterly insensible of Pains and Fatigues. They fought, as if they had been invulnerable: and bore the Inconveniencies of Hunger and Watching, as if they had had no Bodies to support. Never was Fury more uninterrupted, or Battels more frequent. They were continually fighting Day and Night. Yet the Affairs of *Rome* did not at all advance. The *Carthaginians* had still Possession of *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, and she was not absolutely sure of keeping her Conquests in *Sicily*. Nevertheless, the disputed City of *Eryx*, had very like to have been put into the Hands of the Consuls. The Garrison *Hamilcar* had there, consisted chiefly of *Gauls*; who being discouraged with these continual Labours, and dissatisfied at not receiving their Pay, entered into a Plot, to deliver up the City to the *Romans*. But *Hamilcar* was too vigilant to be surpris'd. The Attempt of the *Gauls* was fruitless. However, they at least delivered up to the Consuls an advanced Post, which they guarded, and revolting to the *Romans*, entered into their Service. This was a new thing in the *Roman* Army; no Foreigners had ever received Pay from the Republick. The *Legionaries* only, who were all *Citizens*, received Pay; and the Allies of *Italy* served at their own Expence. And after all, this Revolt of the *Gauls*, did not do the *Carthaginians* any great Mischief. *Hamilcar's* Courage supported him, and the rest of his Troops continued faithful to him.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 58.

Zonar. B. 8. c. 16.

§. XXXII. BUT whilst Mount *Eryx* was the Theatre, on which numberless Battels were fought, and two powerful Republicks were disputing the Conquest of *Sicily*; the *Roman* Senate deliberated about means to put an end to a War, which had lasted twenty two Years. They considered that *Lilybæum*, *Drepanum*, and *Eryx*, the three Keys of *Sicily*, could never be forced to shake off the *Carthaginian* Yoke, till *Rome* became superior in naval Strength. All agreed, That the Dominion over *Sicily* was inseparable from the Empire of the Seas. And some added, If the Fleets, built by private Persons, and used as Privateers, committed such Ravages in the Enemy's Country, and even beat the *Carthaginian* Fleets, what may we not expect from the Experience we have lately had in Sea-affairs? Will the Gallies of the Republick be less successful than those of private Persons? The Sea has indeed swallowed up many of our Citizens, and the last Census made us lament the Loss of them. But the Gods have inspired our Consuls

Polyb. B. 1. c. 59.

⁶² In the Consulship of *Caius Fundanius*, and *Caius Sulpicius*, died *Tiberius Coruncanius*, the *Pontifex Maximus*; and was succeeded by *L. Cæcilius Metellus*. We have a Proof of this, in *Cicero's* Treatise called, *Cato Major*. I remember, says *Cato*, to have seen, when I was young, the famous *Lucius Cæcilius*, who was made *Pontifex Maximus*,

four Years after he had been Consul a second time. Now this second Consulship was in the Year of *Rome* 506; and from that time to 510. is just four Years. *Ego Lucium Metellum memini puer, qui cum quadriennio post alterum Consulatum, Pontifex Maximus factus esset, duos & viginti annos Sacerdotio præfuit.*

with a good Thought, to guard against this Misfortune for the future. They have increased Year of
their Army with foreign Troops. Let us therefore put them on board our Fleets, and then R O M E
we will scour the Seas, without Danger to our selves. DX.

THIS was a sensible Scheme; and it even seemed necessary. The only Difficulty C. FUNDANI-
was, how to put it in Execution. The Treasury was exhausted, and the Wealth of US, C. SULPI-
private Subjects did not at all help the Publick. Every one paid his regular Tribute, CIUS GALLUS,
which was so much *per Head*; and this Tribute was never increased, upon any Oc- Consuls.
casion. However, the Love of the Publick prevailed in Roman Breasts, over Self-
Interest. The People contributed liberally, of their own accord; and the Senators Polybius B. 1.
especially gave the Citizens a good Example. They undertook to build a good part 65
of a Fleet themselves. Some paid for a whole *Quinqueremis*. Others joined, and
built one among them. Sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes four, di-
vided the Expences of one single Galley, between them. In short, the Zeal of
private Persons supplied the Defects of the Exchequer. A Fleet of two hundred *Quin-*
queremes was got ready in a little time, without any other Burden on the Republick,
than this, that as soon as her Affairs were settled, she should repay these private Per-
sons what they had expended. And this Fleet was very different from those the Re-
publick had before. Though the new Gallies were larger, they were at the same
time lighter than the old ones, and easier to row. They were built after the Model
of that famous Galley, which *Hannibal the Rhodian*, had more than once carried into
the Port of *Lilybæum*, in fight of the whole Roman Fleet, and which was afterwards
taken. This magnificent Armament was *Rome's* last Refuge: if this Attempt had
failed, she must have abandoned *Sicily*, and still kept her self within the Bounds of
Italy. But Providence, which designed her to be Mistress of the World, crowned
the Enterprize with Success.

§. XXXIII. C. *Lutatius* 63 *Catulus*, and A. *Posthumius Albinus*, were just chosen Year of
Consuls; but the former only was suffered to command the Troops. The latter was R O M E
The high Priest of Mars; and therefore *Cæcilius Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, upon DXI.
I know not what Scruples, forbade him to take upon him any military 64 Function. C. LUTATIUS
It is an indecent thing, said he, *for Priests to be concerned in shedding human Blood. Men CATULUS, A.*
devoted to the Service of the Gods, ought to have nothing to do with War. The *Pontifex* POSTUMIUS
added Threatnings to his Prohibition; and as it was necessary to comply, *Posthumius* ALBINUS,
had only the Name of a Consul, in his Year. Such Force had Religion then on the Consuls.
Minds of the *Romans*! And in the same Spirit, the College of *Augurs* also made
some Regulations, with Regard to the *Auspices*. The *Lots of Præneste* 65 were pro-
scribed; and *Lutatius* was forbidden to make use of them. He was not allowed to
use any sort of Divination, in relation to publick Affairs, but such as were authorized
by

63 The Consul *Lutatius*, is called by some Latin Historians, *Luclatius*, which is the Mistake of the Copyist.

64 See our Account of Prerogatives, Duties, and Functions of the *Flamines*, or High-priests of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and *Quirinus*, Vol. 1. p. 58, 59.

65 In order to understand what kind of Divination the Ancients meant by *The Lots of Præneste*, it is necessary to know, that the Word *Sors*, was by them used to signify all sorts of Predictions in general. Thus *Tully*, *de Divin.* B. 2. calls the Answer the Oracle gave *Cræsus*, *Sors*. But it generally speaking signified, only what seemed to be the Effect of mere Chance. *What is Sors*, says *Cicero*, in the Work above quoted, *It is a kind of Chance, in which human Reason and Industry bears no part.* The *Lots of Præneste* were deemed the most famous in all *Italy*. The singular Worship the *Prænestini* paid to *Fortune*, and the Temple they erected to this false Goddess, raised the Peoples Opinion of the Custom of divining by Lots: and in explaining the Origin of this Superstition, we will make use of *Cicero's* own Words. In the ancient Archives of *Præneste*, says he, mention is made of one *Numerius Suffucius*. This Man, who was one of the most considerable and most venerable Persons in his City, both for his Probity, and noble Extinction, was admonished, in different Dreams, and at last, with

terrible Menaces, to go to a certain Place in *Præneste*, and there cut a Flint. Being terrified with these frequent Visions, he obeyed. He came to the Place appointed; and there, in the Presence of several of his fellow-Citizens, who laughed at his Attempt, tried to cut a Flint; which to the great surprise of the Spectators, gave way to the Edge of the Knife. And out of the Body of the Flint dropped several pieces of Wood neatly cut, each of which had an Inscription, in ancient Characters. The Place where this Prodigy was performed, is now walled in; because in it is very religiously kept an Image of *Fortune*, holding *Jupiter*, and *Juno*, who are represented as Children, in her Arms. According to the Tradition of the Country, at the time that *Suffucius* performed this Prodigy of the Flint, Honey dropped out of the Bark of an Olive-tree; and the *Aruspices* being asked, what this Prodigy meant, answered, that *The Lots of Præneste* would one Day be greatly esteemed all over the World. Then they immediately ordered some of this Tree to be cut, to make a Box, to hold the little Divining Pieces of Wood, the Letters on which were taken for Magic Characters. And though nothing be more trifling than this sort of Divination, yet the Reader may perhaps have a Curiosity to know, how it was performed. When any one came to consult *The Lots of Præneste*, the Priests, who presided over the
Worship

Year of by the ancient Customs, and introduced by the first Kings; such as, the Flight of Birds, *R O M E* and the Entrails of Victims. Superstitious Ceremonies indeed; but these Prohibitions shew the Regard the *Romans* had for religious Establishments. All Novelties in the Worship of the Gods were suspected. The *Romans* thought to have gained the Favour of Heaven by these Regulations; and the Publick was convinced, that all their past Misfortunes, had been owing to the Irreligion of the *Consul Claudius*.

DXI.
C. LUTATIUS
CATULUS, A.
POSTUMIUS
ALBINUS,
Consuls.

Livy in Epit.
B 19.

To these Regulations the *Romans* added another, which was merely Matter of Policy. They considered that it was dangerous, in a Republican State, to leave the Command of the Army, in the Hands of one Man: and since therefore one of the *Consuls* was interdicted military Offices, it was thought necessary to give *Lutatius* a Collegue, before he set out for *Sicily*. This Commission would naturally have fallen upon the *Prætor*, elected by the *Centuries*; it being well known, that his Office of judging in civil Causes, did not interfere with military Employments upon extraordinary Occasions. But the too long Absence of the *Prætor* from *Rome*, might prolong Law-suits, and make the Parties murmur. And therefore to prevent both Inconveniences, it was resolved to create a second *Prætor*; that one might be at the Head of the *Consular* Army, or at least be *Lutatius's* second; and the other reside in *Rome*, and administer Justice there. This was indeed a new Institution, but it was continued, even when both the *Consuls* took the Field. And *Rome* settled the Jurisdiction of the two *Prætors*. One was only to hear the Causes between Citizen and Citizen; the other only those between Citizens and Foreigners; and therefore the former was called *Prætor Urbanus*, the latter *Prætor Peregrinus* ⁶⁶. The two *Prætors* chose their Provinces by Lot, and were themselves chosen, as the *Consuls* were, in *Comitia* by *Centuries*.

§. XXXIV. THE *Prætor*, to whose Lot it now fell to go into the Army, was *Valerius Falto*. He embarked on the new Fleet, in order to go and make War in *Sicily*, with the *Consul Lutatius*. The Hopes of the *Romans* were raised, when they saw

Worship of *Fortune*, opened the Boxes. Then they made a Child first shake together these different pieces of Wood (which contained so many ænigmatical Letters, which were arbitrarily interpreted) several times; and then the first piece, which the Child accidentally took out, gave the desired Answer; which was deemed an Oracle, or Decree of the Gods themselves. If it was obscure, which almost always happened, recourse was had to a Table, which determined the Sense of the Words inscribed on the Bits of Wood. But according to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Fabius Maximus*, The Lots were all drawn out, one after another, and placed in order, upon a Table; and the Secret was, to find out in them, when so placed, such a Chain of Words, as should determine the Question. It may well be supposed, that the Priests, who were well versed in the Art of deceiving, for their own Gain, cunningly gave the pretended Oracle a forced Interpretation, or at least an equivocal one, which was capable of several Senses. By this means, it generally happened, that the Event agreed with the Prediction. *Cicero* could not help ridiculing the Credulity of the People, who gave Credit to this superstitious Practice, and prejudicing the *Romans* against the Impostors, who gave a Sanction to such Abuses. *Tota res, says he, inventa fallacis, aut ad quæstum, aut ad superstitionem.*

The Lots were generally a sort of Dies, on which were written certain Words, which, as the Priests pretended, contained Mysteries. In some Temples, this way of Divination, was nothing more than throwing Dies on a Table, with the Hand, or out of an Urn; which gave rise to the Expression, which is so common among the ancient *Greeks*, *The Lot is fallen*. What chiefly contributed to confirm the Cheat, was the Custom of performing Sacrifices, and several Acts of Religion, before the Ceremony began.

In *Cicero's* time, The Lots of *Præneste* had lost much of their ancient Reputation. Only the Vulgar had then any Regard to this old Error, or were

governed by the Prejudices, which at first prevailed concerning it. In *Greece* and *Italy*, it was customary to divine by the Works of some celebrated Poet, as *Homer*, or *Euripides*. The Passage that first presented itself to the Eye, upon opening the Book, was deemed a Decree of the Gods. *Virgil's* Works were so used; of which we have an Instance in *Alexander Severus*. This Prince, whilst yet a private Person, and become odious to the Emperor *Heliogabulus*, upon consulting the Oracle in the Temple of *Præneste*, had the following Words of the sixth *Æneid*, which seemed to foretel his future Elevation to the Imperial Throne, given him for an Answer. *Si qua fata aspera rumpas—Tu Marcellus eris.*

⁶⁶ The *Prætor Peregrinus* enjoyed the same Marks of Distinction, as the *Prætor Urbanus*; tho' the latter always had the Precedence. He alone could give Letters of Emancipation, or Freedom, ratify or disannul Contracts and Adoptions, confirm Wills and Alienations of Goods, regulate Guardianships, and judge, according to the Words of the Law. And the *Prætor*, who had the Care of foreign Affairs, seems to have been obliged to conform himself, as much as possible, to the first *Prætor's* Edict, in all the Judgments he gave. For as we have observed before, for fear the *Prætor* should become arbitrary in his Decisions, he was obliged to publish an Edict, which was to be his Rule in them. This was a System of Civil Law, founded upon the *Roman* Laws, or the Interpretations of them. When this Edict was once published, the Magistrate could not go from the Bounds he had set himself, and use other Maxims. In all other Cases, the Authority and Privileges of the two *Prætors* were equal. Nay, the *Prætor Peregrinus* might cancel some of the Decrees of the *Prætor Urbanus*. *Zonaras* is mistaken in giving the Surname of *Flaccus*, to *Quintus Valerius*, who was the first *Prætor* of the new Creation. The *Fæsti Consulares* give him the Surname of *Falto*.

them set sail, and their Expectations were answered. The *Consul* and *Prætor* began the Campaign jointly with the Siege of *Drepanum*, and left that of *Lilybæum* to be carried on slowly, as before. The *Roman* Ships found it easy to enter the Ports of both these Cities, which were in the Enemy's Hands. As it had not been expected, that the *Romans*, who had had no Fleet for five Years, should appear with a great Armament at Sea, the Enemy were not upon their Guard, and the *Carthaginian* Ships were retired to *Africa*. As for *Lutatius*, who was an active General, and whose Love of Glory roused him to make the best use of the new Forces his Republic had entrusted him with ; he battered the Walls of *Drepanum*, without Intermision. And as the Place was besieged both by Sea and Land, and *Hamilcar* was engaged on Mount *Eryx*, he soon made a Breach with his Machines. The *Romans* were already mounting it, with the *Consul* at the Head of them, when the brave General was dangerously wounded in the Thigh ; and being beloved by his Soldiers, they hastened to his Relief, and left the Breach, to come and assist him, and conduct him in a Body to his Camp. Whilst he was under Cure, he did not suffer his Troops to languish in Inaction ; neither did he indeed pursue the Siege with exceeding great Vigour. He was fully satisfied, that the taking of a City would not put an end to the War ; whereas, the gaining one Victory at Sea, would infallibly secure *Sicily* to the *Romans*. He therefore made it his whole Business to prepare for a Sea-fight, being persuaded, that the *Carthaginian* Fleet would soon return from *Africa*, and dispute with him the Conquest of the Cities, which were yet unsubdued. By the General's Orders, the Rowers were exercised every Day ; the Land-Forces, which were to serve on board, were taught how to fight at Sea ; and in short, the choicest of the *Roman* Forces, were ordered to go on board the Gallies.

Year of
R O M E
DXI.
C. LUTATIUS
CATULUS, A.
POSTUMIUS
ALBINUS,
Consuls.

THE *Consul* was not cured of his Wound, but still kept his Bed, when News was brought him, that the *Carthaginian* Fleet was sailed. All *Carthage* seemed to be embarked on board the Multitude of Ships *Hanno* commanded : they were no less than four hundred in Number, of all Sizes. The Fleet had on board new *African* Levies, Arms, Money, and Provisions ; and the *Carthaginian* General's Design was to enter the Port of *Eryx*, and there land his Troops, unlade his Provisions, and take on board the old Troops of the Garrison of *Eryx*, with *Hamilcar* their General, whose Name and Experience were enough to strike Terror into the *Romans*, who were in the Plains of *Sicily*. In short, this terrible Armament was the last Effort of the *Carthaginians*. The Rendezvous for the Fleet, was at the Islands called *Ægades* ⁶⁷, between *Lilybæum*, and *Drepanum*, but nearer the former, than the latter. And as much indisposed as *Lutatius* was, he ordered himself to be carried on board the *Prætorian* Galley, though it was no easy Matter to hoist him up into it ; and he immediately ordered the Fleet to join the rest of his Ships at *Lilybæum*, and sail directly from thence to meet the Enemy. But he had scarce got all Things in a readiness, before the *Carthaginian* Fleet appeared off *Hiera*. This exceedingly rejoiced *Lutatius*, and he communicated his Joy to his Soldiers. He made them a short Harangue, and ordered them to prepare for a Battel the next Day. The Wind was then favourable for the *Romans* ; but it changed in the Night, and blew directly in their Teeth. And the Sea run very high, so that they must fight with the Waves as well as with the Enemy.

Flor. B. 1.
Eutrop. B. 2.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 60.

ANY General, except *Lutatius*, would therefore have delayed the Battel ; but the prudent *Consul*, after he had duly considered of it, resolved not to postpone it one Moment. After all, said he, we shall have a greater Advantage in fighting with Ships that are heavy laden, than Disadvantage, in the Roughness of the Sea. If *Hanno* carries his Fleet to *Eryx*, takes *Hamilcar* on board, embarks his brave Mercenaries, and gets rid of these new Recruits, the Success will be more doubtful, and the Victory longer disputed. And it is also said, for Historians are often pleased, with mixing something of The Marvellous, in their relations of great Events, that a sort of Comet appeared to the

⁶⁷ *Ptolomy* places the *Ægades* over against *Drepanum* and *Lilybæum*. He reckons up three of them ; *Phorbania*, or *Bucinna*, according to *Pliny* ; *Ægusa*, or *Capraria* ; and *Hiera*, or *Sacra*, which is also called *Maritima*. By *Ptolomy's* Description of them, the first seems to be that which is now

called *Levenzo*. One of the two others is now called *Favignana*, the other *Maretano* ; that is, one of these three Islands is called, *The Island of Heifers* ; another *The Island of Goats* ; and the third, *The Sacred Island*.

Year of left of the *Roman* Fleet, and seemed to threaten the *Carthaginian*. But be that as it will, the *Roman* Fleet was, by the *Consul's* order, already drawn up in Line of Battel. He placed all his Gallies in one Line, thereby making a wide Front, which reached far out into the Sea. This was done to hinder the Enemy from standing off, and continuing their Voyage to *Sicily*. The *Roman* Vessels were all very light, and so governable, that they seemed like a large Body of Cavalry, whose Horses are absolutely at the Command of their skilful Riders. This Sight must doubtless have terrified the *Carthaginians*; but there was a Necessity for fighting, and they therefore entered upon Action.

DXI.

C. LUTATIUS
CATULUS, A.
POSTUMIUS
ALBINUS,
Consuls.

Zonaras B. 8.

c. 17.

Polybius B. 1.

c. 60.

ON the first Signal the Battel began. But there was no Equality between the two Fleets, unless with Respect to the Number of the Ships of War. The *Romans* had been exercised, and taught to fight, during their Inaction. The *Carthaginians*, proud of their past Victories, had taken no care to discipline their Crews; and had been negligent in the choice of their Rowers. The *Roman* Gallies were light, and not overburthened; those of the *Carthaginians* were heavy, with the great Numbers of Men, and the Cargoes they had on board. The Combatants on the one hand, were invincible *Legionaries*; on the other, raw Soldiers, not inured, either to the Sea, or to Battels: So that these Inequalities, made the Victory the more easy for the *Romans*. Their Crews, by their Strength and Skill, conquered the Opposition of the Winds and Waves; and upon the first Onset, the *Consular* Fleet sunk fifty of the Enemy's Gallies. The *Consul* *Lutatius*, who could not stand upon his Feet, gave his Orders from a Bier, on which he lay. The *Prætor* *Valerius* had the chief care of the Execution of them, and shared the Labours and Glory of the *Consul*.

WHEN the *Romans* were sure of their Victory, and weary of destroying so many Ships and Men, they invested the Enemy's Gallies, to take them, and make Prisoners; and they indeed seized seventy Ships⁶⁸, and put the rest to flight. But then, by an uncommon Instance of good Fortune, the Wind, which had hitherto been favourable to the *Carthaginians*, in their Voyage to *Sicily*, changed all on a sudden, in the midst of the Battel, and favoured their escape. So that the *Romans* owed their Success wholly to their Valour and Skill, which made them victorious, though the Accidents of Weather were against them. *Hanno*⁶⁹ took Refuge under the Island of *Hiera*, and the *Consul* entered the Port of *Lilybæum*. Such was the Battel of the *Ægades* Islands, which determined the Fate of *Sicily*. *Lutatius* took Booty enough to have discouraged *Carthage*. The Money, Arms, and Provisions, she sent to her Troops, were partly sunk, and partly taken by the *Romans*. The *Consul* had taken at least ten thousand Men in the Battel: And in short, the Victory was so complete, that the Enemy had no resource left, but in a Peace.

§. XXXV. *HAMILCAR* was the first who felt the ill Effects of the Losses of his Republick. He had depended on *Hanno's* Arrival with the Supply of Provisions, Men, and Money, which was sent him from *Carthage*. That was the only means, whereby he could possibly maintain himself in his Post, on Mount *Eryx*, where he had so long amused the Enemy. As soon then as *Lutatius* had disposed of his Captives, and was perfectly cured of his Wound, he marched against *Hamilcar*; and in several Battels that he fought with him, he killed him about two thousand Men. The City of *Eryx* was besieged; and there the brave *Carthaginian*, who both wanted Forces, and despaired of having any, was obliged to surrender by Capitulation. The *Romans* would have forced him, and all his Garrison, to have thrown down their Arms, and to have passed under the Yoke. But the brave General protested, he would rather perish, than leave a Place with Disgrace, which he had defended with Honour. And whilst he was treating, he received full Powers from his Republick, to do whatever he thought adviseable for the publick Good. His long Services made him worthy of a Commission, whereby he was made, as it were, the Arbiter between his Country and the *Romans*; and his good Understanding made him incline to a Peace. He considered, that in the exceeding low Condition to which *Carthage* was at present reduced, it would be much better to treat with the Enemy, than to expose *Africa* to

Orosius B. 4.
c. 11.
and *Emilius*
Probus.

⁶⁸ *Orosius* says, the *Romans* took seventy three Ships from the *Carthaginians*, sunk a hundred and twenty five, and made twenty five thousand Prisoners.

⁶⁹ *Zonaras* says, That *Hanno*, the *Carthaginian*

Admiral, was the first Man that fled; That he did so, as soon as the Battel was begun, and escaped to *Africa*; and That a little time after, he was condemned to be crucified, for his Cowardice.

the Ravages of the victorious Fleet. He knew, that it was less shameful to give up *Sicily*, than to be driven out of it. Besides, his Honour was not affected by the decisive Battel, which another General had lost. All the Valour, and good Conduct, which could be expected from any General, had been shewn by him for the Honour of his Country. So that nothing now remained for him to do, but to shew as much of the Patriot, as he had done of the Great Soldier. Since, said he, *the Carthaginians can no longer maintain the Empire of the Seas, which has been so long contested, let us at least take care, that this Loss turn as little to their Disadvantage as possible.* These were prudent Considerations: and *Hamilcar* did not let slip the critical Minute, when he was most likely to succeed.

THE *Consul Lutatius* loved Glory; his *Consulship* was near expiring; and he was afraid, lest a Successor should conclude a Work, which had cost him so much Blood, and Labour. The artful *Carthaginian* therefore resolved to negotiate a Peace with him, from a Persuasion that he should be able to obtain better Terms of him, than of new *Consuls*. He sent a Deputation to him, which *Lutatius* received with Joy. He looked on the Conclusion of a Peace, with a formidable Enemy, after the taking of a City, and the gaining two Battels, one by Sea, and the other by Land, as the highest Pitch of Glory, to which he could possibly arrive: So that he lost no time in drawing up the Articles of it, and facilitating it. *Rome herself*, said he, *wants rest. Who knows whether, if we deny Carthage her Request, this Refusal may not be followed by as great a Languor in all Parts of the Republick, as that which has prevailed among us, ever since Regulus re-embarked us in the Dangers of War?*

IN short, both Parties were entirely disposed to pursue the same end. So that, after some slight Difficulties, which the *Consul* removed, he drew up these Articles, (whilst he lay before *Eryx*, in *Sicily*) as the Terms of a Peace. *Friendship shall be restored between Rome and Carthage, upon the following Conditions, provided the Roman People ratify them.* 1. *The Carthaginians shall entirely abandon Sicily, and evacuate all the Places they yet detain in it.* 2. *They shall pay the Romans the Sum of two thousand two hundred Talents of Silver* ⁷⁰, *in the Space of twenty Years, in annual and equal Payments.* 3. *Carthage shall restore all the Roman Captives, and Deserters, without Ran-* ⁷¹ *som; but shall pay a certain Sum agreed on for the Redemption of the Carthaginian Pri-* ⁷² *soners.* 4. *The Carthaginians shall not make War on King Hiero, the Syracusans, or their Allies.* As soon as these Articles were agreed to, *Hamilcar* surrendered *Eryx*, on Condition that all his Soldiers should march out with him, upon his paying the Sum of eighteen *Roman Denarii*, for each of them. Securities were given on both Sides, and this long War concluded with a Truce.

ALL that now remained to put the finishing Hand to this great Work, was to obtain the Consent of the *Roman People* assembled in *Comitia*. They were the sole Arbiters of Peace, or War. The *Consul* therefore sent his Deputies, and the *Carthaginians* their Ambassadors, to *Rome*. The Republick was much pleased to hear of *Lutatius's* Victories; but did not so well like his Indulgences to the Vanquished. She would have had harder Conditions imposed upon them; and wanted to fill her exhausted Treasury a little more. So that the People did not consent to all the Articles, but appointed ten Commissioners, to go and treat personally with *Hamilcar*, and demand greater Advantages of him. They made some Alterations in the first Treaty, especially as to Money-matters; and insisted, that *Carthage* should immediately pay a thousand *Talents*, and in ten Years, pay two thousand two hundred *Talents* more, in ten equal Payments. They added, That the *Carthaginians* should yield to the *Romans*, all the Islands between *Italy*, and *Sicily*; and That they should never

⁷⁰ We have already spoken of the different Sorts of *Talents*, and their Value, B. 4. p. 169. of Vol. 1. Note 67. According to *Pollux's* Calculation, the *Talent* of Silver here spoken of was worth sixty *Minae*, and consequently was the same as the *Attick Talent*. This way of reckoning was in use among the *Greeks*, and with them, passed into *Sicily*, and *Great Greece*. The *Mina* was worth an hundred *Drachmae*. A *Drachma* was equal in weight to a *French Gros* of Silver; which is generally worth ten *Sols*. The Value of the *Drachma* being once fixed, it is easy to reduce the *Mina* and *Talent*, to *French Money*. Each *Mina* contained

an hundred *Drachmae*, that is, fifty *French Livres*. The sixty *Minae*, which each *Talent* contained, amounted therefore to the Sum of a thousand *Crowns French*. So that the two thousand two hundred *Talents*, which the *Romans* demanded of the Republick of *Carthage*, made the Sum of six Millions six hundred thousand *French Livres*. Add to this, that by the Terms of the Treaty, these *Talents* were to be of the same Value, as those used in *Enboea*: Now, as *Snell* has very well observed, The *Talent* of *Enboea*, and the *Attick Talent* were the same.

Year of
R O M E
DXI.
C. LUTATIUS
CATULUS, A.
POSTUMIUS
ALBINUS,
Consuls.
Polyb. B. 1.
c. 62.

Zonaras B. 8.
c. 17.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 62.

Appian. in
Excerpt. apud
Valej.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 62.

Zonar. B. 8.
c. 17.
Polybius B. 1.
c. 63.

* 437250 l.
Sterling.
Arbuthnot.

Year of bring any Ships of War there, or be suffered to raise any Mercenaries in those Places. And these new Conditions were also accepted by the *Carthaginian* Plenipotentiary. Neceſſity alone extorted that Conſent from him, which he could not deny his ſinking Country. He at laſt acquieſced ; but with great Rage at the *Romans*, which Hated he carried with him into *Africa*, and retained all his Days. He ſet out for *Libæum*, and from thence ſailed to *Carthage*, without tarrying to be a Witneſs of the ſolemn Oath, which was the laſt Ratification of the Peace. It may juſtly be ſaid of *Hamilcar*, That his Country had never yet produced a General equal to him, in Valour and Prudence ; and which is more, That in the whole Space of twenty three Years, which this War laſted, *Rome* had not ſent into *Sicily* a greater Officer. He always conquered, as long as his Republick could ſupport him ; and only ſunk, in the common Miſfortunes of his Country. And at laſt, he only returned into *Africa*, to be the Defender, or rather the Deliverer of *Carthage*, in the cruel War ſhe was to maintain with the revolted Mercenaries. He was great in War, and great in Peace ; and had never had an Equal, if he had not been the Father of *Hannibal*, who equalled, or even ſurpaſſed him. As for *Rome* ſhe faithfully obſerved the Treaty ſhe had made with *Hamilcar*, and cultivated, as much as poſſible, a Friendſhip with the *Carthaginians*. She lent them Succours when they wanted them ; and in order to aſſiſt them in their War with the Mercenaries, ſent back the *Carthaginian* Priſoners gratis, furniſhed them with Proviſions, and gave them leave to raiſe Troops in the Countries in Alliance with the *Roman* Republick. An uncommon Generoſity, eſpecially to a Nation, which had been ſo long her Enemy ! But it was always the Character of *Roman* Virtue, to ſhine out in generous Actions, while it ſteadily purſued the Interests of *Rome*.

DXI.
C. LUTATIUS
CATULUS, A.
POSTUMIUS
ALBINUS,
Conſuls.

Zonar. B. 8.
c. 17.

Year of
R O M E
DXII.
Q. LUTATIUS
CERCO, A.
MANLIUS
ATTICUS,
Conſuls.
Plut. in Grac-
chis.

Zonaras, B. 8.
c. 18.

Val. Max. B.
6. c. 5. §. 1.
Non poteſtati,
ſed fidei Ro-
manorum, ſe
commiſerunt
[Falſci.]

§. XXXVI. AND now the Republick owed *Lutatius*, and the *Prætor Valerius*, who acted as his Collegue, and had merited it, a Triumph ; but ſhe did not judge it proper to recall the Conquerors of the *Carthaginians* ſo ſoon from *Sicily*. She continued them in their Province, the next Year, one with the Title of *Proconſul*, the other with that of *Proprætor*. In the *Comitia by Centuries*, Q. *Lutatius*, furnamed *Cerco*⁷¹, the Brother of the *Conſul Lutatius Catulus*, and A. *Manlius Atticus*, who was now raiſed to this Dignity a ſecond time, were choſen *Conſuls* : and as ſtrange as it may appear, the Republick found Enemies in her own Boſom, in the time of her greateſt Proſperity. The *Falſci*, an *Hetrurian* Nation, long ſince ſubdued, and which had continued peaceable, during the whole *Carthaginian* War, revolted, when *Rome* had nothing more to fear from Abroad. Their Revolt is ſaid to have begun with an Affront they offered a *Tribune of the People*, named *Genucius*. *Rome*, without doubt, demanded Satisfaction ; and the *Falſci* reſuſed it. This gave Riſe to the Inſurrection, which was not to be quelled, but by Force. Their Capital was ſtrongly ſituated ; and the Boldneſs and Confidence of the *Falſci*, increaſed in Proportion to their Strength. And indeed, they raiſed ſo large an Army, that the Preſence of both the new *Conſuls* was neceſſary to reduce them. *Cerco*⁷² and *Manlius* therefore marched againſt the Rebels with a *Roman* Army. But the *Falſci* were not confined to the Defence of their Cities ; they ventured to take the Field ; meet their Sovereigns, and engage them. Nay, the Infantry of the *Falſci* was ſuperior to that of the *Conſuls*, who could not have ſuſtained their Attack, without the help of their Cavalry : So that this firſt Battel was doubtful ; and the Diſpute could not be determined, without a ſecond. They were both fought in ſix Days ; and the laſt turned ſo much to the Diſadvantage of the Rebels, that they were forced to lay down their Arms, and ſurrender to the *Romans*, after they had loſt fifteen thouſand Men. Nevertheleſs, the Revenge of the *Roman* People was not equal to the Crime. The firſt Scheme was to reduce them all to Slavery ; but Humanity prevailed over Reſentment. *Papyrius*, who drew up the Articles of their Surrendry, declared, that the *Falſci* had not ſurrendered themſelves at Diſcretion, but had thrown themſelves upon the Honour of the Republick : and this ſingle Word *Honour* [or Good Faith] had ſuch an Effect on their Minds, that it leſſened the Punishment of the Rebels. The *Romans* only razed their Capital,

⁷¹ *Cassiodorus*, *Oroſius*, and the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, have confounded the two Brothers, by giving one the *Prænomen* and Surname which belonged to the other.

⁷² *Oroſius* depending on ſome unfaithful Me-

moirs, has miſtaken the Names of the *Conſuls*, who led the *Roman* Legions, againſt the *Falſci*. He calls one *Tiberius Gracchus*, and the other *Valerius*.

which was situated on an inaccessible Mountain, and gave them Leave to build a new one in the Plain; and confiscated their Arms, Horses, a part of their Movables, and half their Lands. As for the *Consuls*, their Victory was deemed considerable enough to merit the Honours of a Triumph, which was reserved for them, till the end of their Year.

Year of
R O M E
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ATTICUS,
Consuls.

§. XXXVII. IN the mean time, they set out for *Sicily*, where there were yet the last Ceremonies to be performed, for the Consummation of the Treaty of Peace, between the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*. The Oaths taken by the two Nations were preceded by the solemn 73 Sacrifice of a Sow. Thus, in reality, the first *Punic War* did not end, till the Year of *Rome* 512, after it had lasted twenty four Years, without Interruption. A memorable War, and one of the most obstinate that had then been seen: and which is very surprising, the Losses of the Conquerors were more considerable than those of the Conquered. In this War, the *Romans* lost seven hundred *Quinqueremes*; whereas, the *Carthaginians* did not at most lose above five hundred. Fortune often was pleased to hold an even Balance between the two Parties, and thereby to prolong the War. The *Carthaginians* taught the *Romans* how to conquer at Sea, and the *Romans* the *Carthaginians* how to fight by Land. They reciprocally instructed each other, to their mutual Disadvantage. *Rome* and *Carthage* became almost equal in the Knowledge of military Affairs; but the *Romans* always prevailed by Constancy. And we shall see this single Virtue, which they never communicated to their Enemies, always render *Rome* superior in the Wars, that Ambition and Emulation shall hereafter raise between the two Republicks.

§. XXXVIII. THUS every thing was settled, and ended in *Sicily*, between *Rome* and *Carthage*; but still the Fate of the *Sicilians* remained undetermined. So that the two *Lutatii*, the *Consul Manlius*, the *Proprætor Valerius*, and probably, the ten Commissioners sent from *Rome* to conclude the Peace, made it their Business to settle the Government of the new Conquest. *Sicily* was the first Region *Rome* had absolutely subdued, out of *Italy*: and it was therefore necessary to determine, with Prudence, upon what Foot the *Sicilians* should stand, for the future, with Respect to their Conquerors; and what Advantages the Republick should draw from these new Subjects. The Statutes that were then made, served in a great Measure, for a Rule, for all the vast Countries, the *Romans* afterwards subdued. And we therefore cannot be too exact in enquiring into the Nature of the Government they established in *Sicily*. All the Island, except the little Kingdom of *Syracuse*, which the faithful *Hiero* was suffered to enjoy, was declared *A Roman Province*: and by the Word *Province*, the *Romans* ever after meant a large Country, brought under the Jurisdiction of the *Romans* by Arms, or some other lawful Means. But these *Provinces* were not put upon the same Foot, as the People *Rome* subdued in *Italy*; the latter enjoyed many more Advantages. The *Latins*, for instance, were scarce any thing more than Allies to the *Romans*. They were perfectly free; were exempted from all Tributes; preserved their ancient Laws; were governed only by their own Magistrates; and were subject to *Rome*, in nothing, but the Obligation to furnish their Contingent of Troops in the Wars, for the common Safety. The other *Italians* indeed were Tributaries to the Republick; but, generally speaking, were governed by their own Laws, and chose their own Magistrates, who administered Justice among them. But the Case of the *Provinces* was different. Their old Customs were abolished, and their old Magistrates deprived of all Authority. The *Romans* only governed there. The Republick sent a *Prætor* to each *Province* every Year, to govern it, and administer Justice in it; and a *Quæstor*, to collect the Tributes it was to pay. They also settled *Publicans* in each *Province*, who were Men of Substance, well enough born, and generally chosen out of the Body of the *Roman Knights*; and it was their Business to raise the Subsidies of the Republick, throughout the *Province*. These Subsidies were either fixed, or casual. The fixed were called *Tributes*, and consisted of a determinate Sum, which the *Province* payed every Year into the *Roman Treasury*. The casual Subsidies were raised either by Taxes on Lands, which all paid the tenth part of their Product in Specie, or by Customs upon imported and exported Merchandizes. But it was chiefly these *Tenths*, and *Customs*, that the *Publicans* farmed, at a certain annual

73 See our Account of the Forms and Ceremonies used in the Ratification of Treaties, Book 2. p. 82. of Volume 1; and B. 7. p. 286, of Volume 1. Note 40.

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Rent, which they constantly paid the Republick, at all Events. Nevertheless, these fixed Revenues did not hinder the *Romans* from often demanding of the *Provinces*, extraordinary Supplies of Men, Ships, and Corn, as there was Occasion. Add to this, that all the Cities, and all the Cantons of the same *Province*, were not treated alike. Some were exempted from Tributes, others paid more than their Share of them. Some Cities were free, and preserved their old Laws, and the Right of choosing their Magistrates; others were subject to the *Roman* Laws, and had no Judges, but the *Prætors*. These different Constitutions were founded in the different Treaties, these Cities had made, when they surrendered; or on the Services they had done the Republick.

Solin.

THIS, in general, was the State of the *Roman Provinces*; and these were the Regulations the Commissioners settled in *Sicily*, the first *Province* the *Romans* established out of *Italy*. *Sicily* now become *Roman*, was deprived of its Laws, and consequently, of the best part of its Liberty. It obeyed the *Prætors* the Republick sent thither annually, and the first of these *Roman* Magistrates was *C. Flaminius*. Though History does not mention it, it is probable, that a *Quæstor* attended the *Prætor*, and that under them, *Publicus* farmed the Tenth and Customs there. By this means all the old Troubles in *Sicily* were appeased. This great Island became less free, and yet more happy. It had been a Scene of War, between three Nations, which disputed for it, for time immemorial. The *Carthaginians*, the *Mamertini*, and the *Syracusans*, by endeavouring to get the Dominion of it, laid it waste. The *Romans*, who came after them, first increased the Calamity, but afterwards secured its Tranquillity. There were now but two Sovereigns in it, *Hiero*, and the *Romans*. A perfect Union reigned between the King and the Republick; and the latter had very lately discharged the former, from all the Tributes, that were at first laid upon him. So that *Sicily* had quite another Face. It enjoyed the Blessings of very great Plenty, in Peace; without diminishing itself very considerably, by what it paid the *Romans*. The *Sicilians* were exceeding happy, if they could have known it. The *Consuls*, and their Assistants, delivered them from those *Gauls*, who had been hired into their Service, and had settled in the Cities and Lands formerly belonging to the *Carthaginians*. The Pretence *Rome* made use of to drive them out of the Island, was, their having formerly plundered the Temple of *Venus Erycina*. They were transported out of the *Roman* Dominions.

Polybius B. 1. c. 67, &c.

Val. Max. B. 2. c. 8. §. 2.

AFTER these good Orders were given, and carefully put in execution, thereby to settle *Sicily* in perfect Tranquillity, the *Roman* Generals had nothing more to do, but to return Home with their Troops. The two *Lutatii*, the *Consul Manlius*, and the *Proprætor Valerius*, repassed the *Streights*, in order to receive at *Rome* the honourable Reward of their Labours. In this *Consular* Year, triumphal Processions, which the Inactivity of the *Roman* Generals had long interrupted, were renewed several times. The *Proconsul Lutatius* was the first who triumphed 74, and he would fain have triumphed alone. It is an Innovation, said he, for a Man, who is only a *Proprætor*, to receive the Honours of a Triumph. Ought Men, whose Offices are different, to receive the same Reward? On the other hand, *Valerius* pretended, that having had the greatest Share in the Labours and Dangers of the Battel of the *Ægades*, he ought to share the Glory of it: and the Dispute was referred to the Arbitration of *Attilius Calatinus*. When the Parties were preparing to maintain each his own Pretensions; the Arbitrator, before they had spoken, addressed himself to the *Proprætor* thus. What would you have done, if when you came to deliberate about the Battel, you had been against fighting, and the *Consul* had been for it? Would not you have submitted to his superior Authority? If your Auspices had been contrary to those of the *Consul*, would you not have been governed by his? I grant I should, replied *Valerius*; and this Answer determined the Arbitrator, to declare for *Lutatius* against *Valerius*. But the People did him Justice. They were too much rejoiced at the Victory of the *Ægades*, not to recompence both the Authors of it. They decreed both the *Proconsul* and the *Proprætor* a Triumph,

74 *Pighius* says, he saw some ancient Medals, which perpetuated the Memory of *Caius Lutatius Catulus's* Triumph. He mentions one among the rest, the reverse of which was a triumphal Chariot, and a winged *Victory* crowning the Victor: and

Goltzius has inserted this Medal in his *Fasti*. But as this Monument is not allowed to be authentick by any modern Antiquary; we did not think it proper to give it a Place in this History, till clearer Proofs are brought of its not being fictitious.

without

without regarding the Novelty of the thing. So that *C. Lutatius Catulus*, and *C. Valerius Falto* ⁷⁵, entered *Rome* in Triumph; the one four Days before *The Nones of October*, the other *The Eve of the Nones*; and the Joy of the People added great Life to the Proceſſion.

§. XXXIX. BUT these Rejoicings of the People were interrupted by two fatal Accidents, which immediately followed one another. The Water and the Fire seem to have conspired together against a City, which was scarce ever free from some War, or domestick Calamity. The *Tyber* overflowed all on a sudden, with such Violence, that it beat down many Houses in the Plain; and it went so far, that the Water, which found no Vent, stagnated a great while in the *Forum Romanum*, and damaged the Foundations of the most solid Buildings. After the Inundation, immediately followed an almost general Fire; which the *Pontifex Cæcilius* is said to have been forewarned of, by a Prodigy. As he was going to his Country-house, near *Tusculum*, a Raven attacked him, and forced him to return back, in a manner, whether he would or not. But if there be some Truth in the Story, doubtless, Accident and Superstition, were what hastened the return of the *Pontifex*. All the Mystery was, that *Cæcilius Metellus* saw a Bird, which was reputed inauspicious, and immediately returned. But be that as it will, he came to the City soon enough, to prevent his Country's having a Loss, with regard to Religion, which would have been thought irreparable. The Fire began in the Upper City; and the Author of it could not be discovered. From thence it spread far, into all Quarters of the City, and reached the *Forum*, where it did very great Damages. *Rome*, says one Historian, lost more Wealth in one Day, than she got by several Victories. The Temple of *Vesta* was not exempted from the common Misfortune; it took Fire, which made the *Vestals* fly from it to save themselves; and the most ancient Monuments of Religion had been burnt, if the *Pontifex* had not ventured his Life to save his Gods. He rushed through the Flames; went into the Sanctuary, where the *Palladium* ⁷⁶ was kept, and brought it out of the middle of the Fire. An Action of greater Bravery, than his having conquered the *Carthaginians*, when at the Head of Armies; and more celebrated in Story, than the magnificent Triumph, in which he led in Proceſſion, a vast Number of Elephants, which he had taken from the Enemy! But he did not get out of the Fire, without some Marks of his Piety. One of his Arms was much hurt in the Fire; and which was much worse, he entirely lost his Sight. This heroical Action therefore procured him a Mark of Distinction ⁷⁷, which had never been granted to any other; which was, that he might be carried to the Senate-House in a Chariot.

AT the same time that these Misfortunes happened, there was a new *Census* of the People made by the *Censors*, *Aurelius Cotta*, and ⁷⁸ *Fabius Buteo*; and unless there be

⁷⁵ Though *Attilius Calatinus* determined in favour of *Caius Lutatius*, against *Quintus Valerius Falto*; yet the *Faſti Capitolini* are of Authority enough with us, to convince us, that the latter received the Honours of the Triumph. Which gives us Reason to believe, that *Valerius* appealed from *Calatinus's* Decision, to the Tribunal of the People; who probably favoured the *Proprætor*.

⁷⁶ The *Palladium* was thought the tutelary God of *Rome*, and the surest Pledge of the perpetual Duration of the *Roman* Government. See what we have said of it, *B. 2. p. 62. of Vol. 1. Note 25*; *B. 12. p. 582. of Vol. 1. Note 57*; and in our Historical Dissertation on *Devotements*, and *Evocations*, *p. 164. of this Vol. Note 52*.

⁷⁷ *Dion. Hal. B. 2.* tells us, that the Republick erected a Statue to the Honour of *Lucius Cæcilius*, in the *Capitol*, for a perpetual Monument of her Gratitude; and adds, that in his time, there was a legible Inscription on the Pedestal of the Pillar, in praise of this *Pontifex*. Mention was there made of the Prerogatives which were given him, out of regard to his Virtue; and *Græter* has given us the Words of this *Elogium*. If indeed, the Inscription itself be not forged from the Text of *Pliny the Naturalist*, *B. 7. c. 43*. But however that be, the Reader will find it in that Author. It tells us no-

thing more than we have said in the Text, of the Exploits of this great Man, and the Titles of Honour which were granted him; unless it be, that he was promoted to the Office of *Decemvir*, for the Distribution of the conquered Lands, among the new *Colonies*, that the Republick planted in them. And to this it adds, that this *Pontifex* had the Reputation of being a very excellent Orator, and left his Children a great Estate.

⁷⁸ In the *Capitoline Marbles* we find the Name of *Aurelius Cotta*; but not that of his Collegue. Nevertheless, the Authorities of *Plutarch* and *Livy*, make us conclude, that *Marcus Fabius Buteo* was the second *Censor* for the Year 512. The former, in his *Life of Quintus Fabius Maximus*, and the latter in his 23^d Book, says, that *Fabius Buteo*, had been honoured with the *Consulship*, and *Censorship*, before he was promoted to the *Dictatorship*, in a very advanced Age, after the unfortunate Battel of *Cannæ*. Now this seems to be the only Year, in which he could have been *Censor*. Both the *Capitoline Tables*, and *Livy*, name other *Censors* for all the following Years, quite down to the Battel of *Cannæ*. Some think this was the same *Fabius*, of whom *Orosius* speaks, *B. 4. c. 13*; and who killed his own Son *Fabius Buteo*, who was accused of having been guilty of Robbery.

Year of
R O M E
DXII.

Q. LUTATIUS
CERCO, A.
MANLIUS
ARTICUS,
Consuls.

*Orosius B. 4.
c. 11.
D. Aug. de
Civ. Dei, B. 3.
c. 18.*

*Val. Max. B.
1. c. 4. §. 4.*

*Livy in Epit.
B. 19.*

*Pliny B. 7. c.
43.*

Year of
R O M E
DXII.

Q. LUTATIUS
CERCO, A.
MANLIUS
ATTICUS,
Consuls.

Year of
R O M E
DXIII.

C. CLAUDIUS
CENTHO, M.
SEMPRONIUS
TUDITANUS,
Consuls.
Cicer. in
Bruto, and
A Gel. B. 17.
c. 21.

some Mistake in the Cyphers in *Eusebius*, and the Number of the Citizens be thereby lessened, a prodigious Multitude of them must have perished, in the Inundation and Fire. He reckons up but one hundred and sixty thousand Citizens. And may it not be conjectured, that the two new Tribes, *Velina* 79, and *Quirina* 80, were instituted this Year, only to supply the Loss *Rome* had had? At least it is certain, that from this time the Number of the Tribes was reckoned 81 to be thirty five, and was never after increased. And now, nothing remained but to conclude the Year with the Triumph of the two Consuls, *Lutatius Cerco*, and *Manlius Atticus*. The one entered *Rome* in Procession on the first of *March*, the other on *The fourth of the Nones* of that Month; for having conquered the *Falisci*, and reduced them to Obedience to the Republick, after they had revolted from her.

§. XL. AMONG the many Advantages *Rome* gained by her Wars in *Sicily*, one was the Taste she got for polite Learning. In a Country, which produced so many great Poets, a few Years after the Death of *Theocritus*, the *Romans* learnt juster Notions of Poetry. *Livius Andronicus* 82, the Reformer of the *Roman* Stage, appeared at *Rome*, the first Year after the *Romans* were in peaceable Possession of *Sicily*, when *C. Claudius Centho*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* were Consuls. Till his time, only *Satyrs* appeared on the *Roman* Stage, who, by ridiculous Gestures, incoherent Discourses, and unpremeditated Jest, amused a People, whose Tastes were yet very low. But *Andronicus* introduced regular, well-connected Fables, much like those used in *Greece*. His Versification indeed was by no means in that Perfection, to which it was brought by his Successors. His Verses were probably only *Saturnian* 83 Verses, that

79 The Tribe *Velina* was settled in the Country of the *Sabines*, fifty Miles from *Rome*, near the Lake *Velinus*, from which it took its Name, and not from a City of *Lucania*, called *Velia*, as some have falsely supposed. We have already observed, that the Republick established no new Tribe beyond *Campania*.

80 The Tribe *Quirina* was so called from the City of *Cures* in *Sabinia*, according to *Festus*. *Quirina Tribus a Curenſibus Sabinis videtur appellat-ionem traxisse*. *Manius Curius* had several Years since prepared the Way for creating these two new Tribes, when he forced the *Sabines*, that revolted from the Republick, to surrender up themselves, and their Territory to the *Romans*, at Discretion.

81 Indeed, the Censors, *Publius Licinius Crassus*, and *Lucius Julius Caesar*, added ten new Tribes, to the thirty five old ones, in the Year of *Rome* 674, after the Republick had, by the *Julian* Law, granted the right of *Roman* Citizenship, to the *Hetrurians*, *Umbri*, *Gauls*, and the Inhabitants of *Gallia Cispadana*. But these ten Tribes had not *The Prerogative Rights*; and consequently, no recourse was had to their Suffrages, unless in case of an Equality of Votes. This was an odious Exception to these People, who complained bitterly of it; and made such Advantage of the Want the Republick was in of their Assistance, that these ten Tribes were abolished some Years after. The Members of them were incorporated in the old Tribes, in which they afterwards voted.

All that remains, is to learn, what were the Boundaries of each of these Tribes. As to the *City-Tribes*, it is manifest, that they extended their Limits, as fast as the City of *Rome* grew larger. And the *Country Tribes*, created by King *Servius Tullius*, will appear not to have contained above two Leagues each, to any one, who considers, that they were all included in *The Roman Territory*. And as for the others of later Date, which the Consuls erected from time to time, it is almost impossible to discover their Limits exactly. Besides that they were very far distant from one another, and in different *Provinces*, they all had near them, *Colonies*, *Municipia*, and *Præfectures*, which divided them from one another. Only it may be observed in ge-

neral, That they were all bounded by the *Tyber*, the *Nar*, and the *Anio*, on one side; and on the other, by the *Vulturnus*, to the East; the Sea, to the South; the *Arno*, to the West; and the *Apennines*, to the North. In After-times, the Limits of these Tribes were enlarged, by adding the adjacent *Municipal* Towns, and *Colonies* to them, which were not included in them before.

82 *St. Jerom*, in his *Chronicle*, gives *Livius Andronicus* the *Prænomen* of *Titus*; and *Scaliger* gives him that of *Marcus*, in his Notes on that Work. But we chose to follow *Aulus Gellius*, and *Cassiodorus*, who give this Poet the *Prænomen* of *Livius*. *Coelius Rhodiginus* *Simber*, *La Popelinicre*, and *Glandorp*, falsely suppose, that *Andronicus* wrote eighteen Books of *Roman* History, in Verse. It is plain, as *Vossius* observes, in his first Book of *The Latin Historians*, that these three Writers were imposed on by an incorrect Passage of the third Book of *Diomedes*. This Passage, as related by *John Casarius*, makes *Livy* the Author of the History, which belonged of right to *Ennius*; as we learn from *Varro*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, B. 17. c. 21. This Poet was *The Freedman* of *Marcus Livius Salinator*, whose Children he had educated. His Poetry was grown obsolete in *Cicero's* time, and, in the Judgment of that Orator, would not bear a second reading. *Terentianus Maurus* affirms, that *Andronicus* wrote a Piece in Heroic Verse: and *Festus* quotes two *Hexameters*, which he says were this Poet's, though they were really taken from *Ennius's Annals*. The *Fasti Capitolini* were our Guides, in fixing the Origin of the Drama among the *Romans* to the 513th Year of *Rome*. Though *Cicero* in his *Brutus*, places it in the Year of *Rome* 514, that is, in the first Year of the 135th Olympiad, a Year after the first *Punic* War, above a hundred and sixty Years after the Death of *Euripides*, and *Sophocles*, and fifty two Years after that of *Menander*. See what we have said of *Livius Andronicus*, and the old Comedy, B. 15. p. 84, 85. of this Volume.

83 *Fortunatian* makes the *Greeks* the Authors of the *Saturnian* Verses. Others give that Honour to the *Latins*; and pretend, that they took their Name from the City of *Saturnia*, in *Tuscany*. Some Moderns make no Difference between the *Saturnian* and

that is, a sort of *Iambicks*, whose Numbers were irregular, and their Cadence neither uniform, nor agreeable to the Ear. Poets were then Historians; and History began with Poetry, among the *Romans*.

IN the mean time, the new *Consuls* having no particular Employment, and not being called abroad by any Wars, made it their whole Business to establish good Order in *Italy*; to run over the Regions threatened by the *Gauls*, and *Ligures*, and to plant new *Colonies* there. At least, it is certain, that one was settled at *Spoletum*, a considerable City in *Umbria*, on the Banks of *Tessin*. This was to keep those *Gauls* in awe, who had been already conquered, as well as those in *Insubria*, who might perhaps take up Arms. This was a necessary Precaution on one side; whilst on the other, *Rome* proposed to make her self Friends, who were at a great Distance.

*Ptolomy*⁸⁴ *Euergetes*, the King of *Egypt*, was within reach of *Carthage*, and might incommode *Sicily* with his Fleets. In order therefore to obtain his Friendship, the Republick, which was already famous in all the Ports in the *Mediterranean*, sent an Embassy to him, and offered him Succours against *Antiochus*⁸⁵, King of *Syria*. The Embassadors were well received; but *Ptolomy* was rid of his Enemy. So that he only returned the *Romans* thanks for their Concern for him; and was perhaps glad that he was not under a Necessity of introducing the Armies of the ambitious Republick into *Asia*. And indeed, *Rome* in reality only fought for Means to interrupt her own Tranquillity; the least Pretences would have made her embark in any Quarrels, from which she always gained some Advantage. But being forced to continue in Peace, whether she would or no, she made it her Business to invent new Games. Those which had been celebrated in the Month of *April*, in honour to *Flora*, ever since King *Ancus Marcius*'s time⁸⁶, are said to have been now transferred to⁸⁷ *May*: And this Novelty made the Festival the more famous, without lessening its Obscenity. We have already ob-

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and *Fescennine* Verses; and the Obscenity of the latter, and the Nearness of the two Cities of *Saturnia* and *Fescennia*, to one another, confirms this Conjecture. Some say, the *Saturnian* Verses were very early in use, and that for this Reason, they were called by that Name, as if they had been first invented, as early as *Saturn*'s time. *Ennius* seems to intend to shew the Antiquity of this gross Way of making Verses, in the following Lines.

*Scripsere alii rem
Versibus, quos olim Fauni vatesque canebunt,
Cum neque Musarum Scopulos quisquam superarat
Nec dicti studiosius erat.*

Such, says *Ennius*, were the Verses, the Fauni and old Poets sung. The Sanctuary of the Muses was not yet opened; nor the Beauties of Language known.

Terentianus Maurus mentions two sorts of *Saturnian* Verses. The first were, according to him, a confused Jumble of all sorts of Verses, according to the Poet's Fancy, and the Nature of his Subject. Afterwards, this Licentiousness was reduced to *Anachreonticks*, of three Feet and an half, and *Choraeics* of three Feet; which alternately followed one another.

⁸⁴ This *Ptolomy*, the third of the Name, was he who succeeded his Father *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who died in the Year of *Rome* 507. He declared War with *Antiochus*, and carried his Ravages into the Center of his Dominions. He subdued *Cilicia*, and some other Countries beyond the *Euphrates*; but his rapid Conquests were interrupted by a Revolt of his Subjects, which soon recalled him back to *Egypt*, when he was preparing to subdue the rest of *Asia*. However, he brought with him incredible Riches from all these Conquests, and among the rest two thousand five hundred Statues of false Gods. In this Number, were the Images, which *Cambyses* King of *Persia* had taken from the *Egyptians*, in the time of *Psammetichus*; and these superstitious People were so delighted with recovering the Possession of their Gods again, that they,

in Gratitude for it, gave *Ptolomy* the Name of *Euergetes*, or *Benefactor*. The Murder of his Sister *Berenice*, who had married *Antiochus*, was the Cause of this War. See *Justin*, *Strabo*, and *Apian* in *Syriacis*.

⁸⁵ This is that *Antiochus*, whom the *Milesians* styled *The God*, for having delivered them from the Tyranny of *Timarchus*.

⁸⁶ According to *Lactantius*, *Instit. B. 1. Ancus Marcius*, the fourth King of the *Romans*, erected a Statue to this debauched Woman, in that part of *Rome*, which was called *Velabrum*, instituted solemn Sacrifices to her Honour, and committed the care of her Worship to a Priest, whom *Varro* calls *Flamen Floralis*, in his sixth Book Of the *Latin Tongue*.

⁸⁷ They who think the *Floralia* were transferred from *April* to *May*, found their Opinion upon this Verse of *Ovid*, where speaking of the Festival instituted in honour to *Flora*, he expresses himself thus,

Incipis Aprilis, transis in tempora Maii.

But this Interpretation, which *Rosinus* warrants, is disputed by many Authors; they don't think it the Poet's Sense. *Ovid*, say they, only means, that the *Floralia* began *The fourth of the Calends of May*, that is, the twenty eighth Day of *April*, and did not end till after the beginning of the next Month. During this licentious Solemnity, the People were entertained with Deer-hunting, and Hare-hunting, in the *Circus of Flora*. *Ovid* proves this Practice.

*Cur tibi pro Libycis clauduntur rete Leenis,
Imbelles Capra, sollicitusque Lepus.* Fast. B. 5.

Nardini thinks these Verses a sufficient Authority for distinguishing two sorts of *Floralia*; one, in which impudent Women appeared naked in the Theatre, and broke through all the Laws of Modesty, by their lascivious Gestures, and obscene Songs. And as if they had been sorry, that the Night cast a kind of Veil over their Nakedness, they ran about the Streets of *Rome* all Night long, in the same lascivious manner, with Trumpets

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Consuls.

Macrob. Sat.

B. 1.

D. Aug. de

Civit. Dei.

B. 1.

Plut. in

Quest. Rom.

Ovid Fast.

B. 8.

served, that this *Flora* was a famous Courtisan, who, by her Beauty, became ⁸⁸ first the Mistress, and afterwards the Wife, and Heiress of one *Tarutius*. By her Prostitutions, and the Liberality of her Husband, she heaped up great Riches, and left them all to the *Roman* People, upon Condition, that they would annually celebrate her Birth-day with *Games*. But *Games* were religious Ceremonies, and *Rome* did not think it decent, to commemorate a Prostitute, with Ceremonies appropriated to the Worship of the Gods. In order therefore to save the Benefaction, and at the same time perform, in Appearance at least, the Conditions of it, the *Romans* gave the Name of *Flora*, which was the Name of the Courtisan, to the Goddess, who presided over the Fruits of Trees, when they are in Flower. And if the Festival was at this time removed from *April* to *May*, it was under Pretence of obtaining from the Goddess, a happy ripening of the Corn and Grapes, which were then in Blossom. However, not to abolish entirely the Memory of the Institutress, and her Profession, the most infamous Licentiousness was allowed to be practised, at these *Games*. The Persons chiefly concerned in them, were publick Prostitutes, who celebrated the Birth-day of *Flora*, by appearing naked, and using the most impure Gestures; and in the Night, which was made as light as the Day with Illuminations, they gave themselves up to the most abominable Impurities. A copious Subject to exercise the Zeal of *The Fathers* of the Church! How judicious are their Reflections, both on the Institution of a Festival, in honour to a Strumpet, on the Goddess, who was substituted in her room, and on the Brutalities of her Worship! These *Games*, say they, were too bad, for even the Prophane themselves to see, who had not lost all Sense



Silver.

sounding, and Flambeauxs. In the other *Floralia*, according to him, Deer and Hares were hunted in the *Circus*. The former, says he, were celebrated in *April*; the latter in the beginning of *May*. But in this *Nardini* is contradicted by most Commentators, who with Reason think, that these two Shews were both presented in the same Festival, and were parts of the same *Games*.

⁸⁸ It must be owned, that this Account of *Lactantius* does not well agree with that of *Varro*, B. 4. de *Ling. Latina*. The latter sufficiently shews, that the Worship of *Flora* was much older than *Rome* itself, when he declares, that it was introduced there by *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*. So that she must have been worshiped in *Sabinia*, before the beginning of the *Roman* Monarchy. Besides, *Pliny* B. 38. commends a famous Statue, which the *Greeks* had erected in honour to the Goddess *Flora*; and which was made by *Praxiteles*. This Statue, which had been brought to *Rome*, was to be seen there in *Pliny's* time: and this has made some believe, that the Worship of this strange Goddess was brought into *Italy* from *Greece*. *Ovid* goes up to the fabulous Times for her Origin. He says, that she was a Nymph, whose Name at first was *Chloris*, and that afterwards she married *Zephyrus*, who, for her Dowry, gave her the Sovereignty over the Flowers in the Spring. Some Moderns are greatly mistaken, when they say, upon *Plutarch's* Authority, that in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, there was an Image of the Goddess *Flora*, in a *Tunick*, and holding Bean, and Pease-Flowers, in her right Hand. It is plain, they misunderstood *Plutarch*. He only says, that when

Cacilius Metellus adorned the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* with the most valuable Paintings, and finest Statues, he put there a Picture of *Flora*, *Pompey the Great's* Mistress, who was one of the greatest Beauties in *Rome*. Nor is another modern Writer less in Fault; who pretends, that during the Solemnization of the *Floralia*, the *Aediles* distributed Beans, and Pease, and other Pulse, among the People. He quotes *Val. Maximus*, B. 2. c. 2. in proof of this; but the Misfortune is, that we find no Foundations of this Custom there. *Tiraqueau*, in his Commentary on *Alexander ab Alexandro*, falls into the same Mistake. Among other ancient Monuments, a Silver Medal of the *Servilias* Family, has transmitted down to us the Head of *A Flora*, as she used to be represented. The Inscription, *FLORALIA PRIMVS*, seems to shew, that one *Caius Servilius*, whose Name the Medal bears, was the first who ordered the *Floralia* to be celebrated. But in order to reconcile the Medals and the Historians, we shall observe, That these *Games* had been interrupted for several Years; and That after this long Interruption, *Caius Servilius* was the first, who renewed this Solemnity. It ought also to be remarked here, that from the Year of *Rome* 513, to the Year of *Rome* 580, the *Floralia* were not regularly celebrated every Year. The *Sybilline* Books, and the Irregularity, and Inclemency of the Seasons, were what determined the Celebration of these *Games*. But the Coiner might intend no more by the Word *PRIMVS*, than either to signify the Surname of *Servilius*, or else to shew that he was the Chief of the *Curule Aediles*, who presided in the Festival of *Flora*.

of

of Modesty. *Marcus * Portius Cato* 89 left the Place where they were celebrated, lest his Eyes should be polluted, with the Sight of such infamous Abominations.

90 Two Brothers, named *Publicii*, who were now *Plebeian Aediles*, had the care of celebrating the *Floralia* this 91 Year; and they defrayed the Expences of the Games, out of the Fines they laid upon all those, who had fed their Flocks, in the Pastures belonging to the Publick. A strict Enquiry was made after them, and upon being prosecuted by the *Aediles*, the Delinquents were obliged to pay great Sums. With these Fines, the *Publicii* were ordered to build a Temple in 92 honour to *Flora*, to defray the Expences of the Games dedicated to her, and to pave the rough and uneven Way 93, from *Rome*, to the Hill *Aventinus*, with fine Stones. The levelling of this Hill, made it very commodious for Carriages to pass; and the Memory of this useful piece of Service, which the two Brothers did the Republick, is preserved, by an ancient 94 Medal.

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Consuls.
*Val. Max. l. 2.
c. 10. § 2.

89 The Fact, as it is related by *Valerius Maximus*, and *Seneca the Philosopher*, is this. *Cato* was present at the Celebration of the *Floralia*; and his Presence kept the People in awe. Whilst so severe a Man was present, the Assembly durst not call for the debauched Women to appear, as usual. *Cato* was informed of the great Regard and Honour the People payed him, by his Friend *Favorinus*, who fate by him; and he chose to withdraw, rather than either interrupt the Celebration of the Festival, or pollute his Eyes with the Sight of these infamous naked Women. Then the Spectators, charmed with *Cato's* Complaisance, gave him many Acclamations. Nevertheless, *Martial* ridicules this Proceeding of this Roman, in one of his Epigrams. *Why*, says he, addressing himself to him, *did you appear at these Games, since you knew the Licentiousness of them? Did you go into the Theatre, only to come out again?*

*Cur in Theatrum Cato severe venisti?
An ideo tantum veneras ut exires?*

90 *Festus* calls these two Brothers by the Names of *Lucius Publicius Malleolus*, and *Marcus Publicius Malleolus*. They were both *Plebeian Aediles*, and not *Curule Aediles*, as he pretends. He is contradicted in this, by *Ovid* and *Varro*.

91 In the old Editions of *Pliny the Naturalist*, the Institution of the *Floralia* is postponed three Years, that is, to the Year 516. *Floralia, quarto Kalendas Maii, instituerunt, Urbis anno 516, ex oraculis Sybillæ, ut omnia bene deflorescerent.* But the Mistake has not escaped the Criticks. Some have put 513 instead of 516, in order to reconcile the Passage with the *Fasti Capitolini*. Others have

thought, that it ought to be read 514, still preserving the Difference of one Year, which there is between *Pliny's* Chronology, and the *Fasti Capitolini*. What is certain, is, that the Ancients, and particularly *Valleius Paternulus*, agree, that these Games were first celebrated in the Consulship of *Caius Claudius Centho*, and *Marcus Sempromius Tuditanus*, who were Consuls in the Year of *Rome* 513. The Testimony of so many Writers, who fix the Rise of the *Floralia* to this time, is therefore a pretty decisive Proof against *Lactantius's* Account of it. His Opinion is, That they were first instituted in the earliest Ages of *Rome*; and That the *Floralia* were celebrated at that time, in Compliance with the Terms required of the *Roman* People, by the Will of a Strumpet.

92 This Temple was built, according to *Tacitus*, in the second Book of his *Annals*, near *The Great Circus*: and, according to him, *Tiberius* repaired it.

93 This Way reached, say some, from the Ox-Market, or, according to *Festus*, from that part of the Hill *Palatinus*, which was called *Velia*, to the Hill *Aventinus*. The Street was called *Clivas Publicius*. *Pighius* thinks, the Word *Velia* may have crept into the Text of *Festus*, instead of *Vehia*, a Term borrowed from the *Usci*, which signified a Carriage, or Waggon.

94 This Medal, according to many Authors, who refer to it, was stamped on one side, with The Genius of the *Roman* People; and on the other, with a Sheep, the Symbol of pecuniary Fines; either because Fines were, in the first Ages of *Rome* payed in Cattle, or because the first Money was stamped with the Figure of this Animal.



The End of the Second Volume.

THE

F A S T I C O N S U L A R E S,

OR

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

CONTINUED.



31. Military Tribuneship. Year 362.	L. LUCRETIVS FLAVVS. SER. SVPITIVS CAMERINVS. M. ÆMILIVS MAMERCINVS. L. FURIVS MEDULLINVS, a seventh time. AGRIPPA FURIVS FVSVS. C. ÆMILIVS MAMERCINVS, a second time.	second time. He triumphs over the Gauls.
Tribunes of the People.	C. TREBONIVS ASPER. L. HORTENSIVS. C. ACVTIVS. Q. ROMVLEIVS. M. TERENTIVS. L. APPVLEIVS. SP. OPPIVS CORNICEN. Q. MANLIVS. L. RABVLEIVS. N. OTACILIVS.	Gen. of Horse. L. VALERIVS POTITVS. Tribunes of the People. L. MARCIVS RUTILVS. L. ICILIVS RUGA. L. ÆLIVS POETVS. M. DECIVS MVS. M' OTACILIVS. K. DVILIVS. L. PVPIVS. M. APPVLEIVS. M. ALBINIVS. C. OPPIVS.
Ædiles.	T. SICINIVS DENTATVS. L. MAMILIVS VITVLVS.	Ædiles. C. LICINIVS CALVVS. M. TITINIVS.
Quæstors of Rome.	L. SICINIVS DENTATVS. L. LVCRETIVS TRICIPITINVS.	Quæstors of Rome. L. MENENIVS LANATVS. C. CORNELIVS COSSVS.
Military Quæstors.	SER. SVPITIVS RVFVS. C. SERGIVS FIDENAS.	Military Quæstors. L. QVINCTIVS CINCINNATVS. L. ANTISTIVS.
32. Military Tribuneship. Year 363.	Q. FABIVS AMBUSTVS. K. FABIVS AMBUSTVS. C. FABIVS AMBUSTVS. Q. SVPICIVS LONGVS. Q. SERVILIVS PRISCVS FIDENAS, a fourth time. SERVIVS CORNELIVS MALUGINENSIS.	Year 364. Dictator. M. FURIVS CAMILLVS.
Dictator.	M. FURIVS CAMILLVS, a	Gen. of Horse. L. VALERIVS POTITVS. Tribunes of the People. C. MARCIVS RUTILVS. L. HORTENSIVS. C. CLAVDIVS CICERO. L. FVLVIVS CVRVVS. L. MARCIVS. C. APPVLEIVS. C. SEXTILIVS. M' POMPONIVS. C. JUNIVS BVBVLCVS BRVTVS. Q. PETILIVS.
	Ædiles.	L. APPVLEIVS. L. VIRGINIVS.
	A	Quæstors

<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS. T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. HORTENSIVS. C. OPPIUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS. L. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. M. POETELIUS LIBO.
33. <i>Military Tribuneship. Year 365.</i>	L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time. L. VIRGINIVS TRICOSTUS. P. CORNELIVS COSSUS. A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. L. POSTHUMIVS ALBINUS REGILLEN SIS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	SP. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. M. MÆNIUS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a third time. He triumphs over the <i>Volsci</i> , <i>Æqui</i> , and <i>Hetrurians</i> .	35. <i>Military Tribuneship. Year 367.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. C. SERGIUS FIDENAS. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time. L. MENENIVS LANATUS. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a third time. C. CORNELIVS COSSUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	C. SERVILIUS AHALA.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. SICINIUS DENTATUS. C. TREBONIUS ASPER. Q. HORTENSIVS. L. MARCIUS RUTILUS. M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS. L. ANTISTIUS. C. ACUTIUS. L. ALBINIUS. SP. MÆCILIUS. M. APPULEIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. TREBONIUS ASPER. L. ÆLIUS POETUS. C. OTACILIUS. M. APPULEIUS. LUCIUS ALBINIUS. Q. CONSIDIVS. Q. HORTENSIVS. N. OTACILIUS. L. ALLIENIVS. C. ACUTIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. ALBINIUS. L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. FABIVS DORSO. C. APPRONIVS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS. CN. APRONIUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.	36. <i>Military Tribuneship. Year 368.</i>	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fourth time. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a sixth time. L. QUINCTIVS CINCINNATUS. L. HORATIUS PULVILLUS. P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA.
34. <i>Military Tribuneship. Year 366.</i>	T. QUINCTIVS CINCINNATUS. L. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a fifth time. L. JULIVS IULUS. L. AQUILIUS CORVUS. L. LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINUS. SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. LICINIUS CALVUS. SP. METILIUS. A. SELLIVS. C. VOLUMNIVS FLAMMA. M. POMPILIUS. SEX. TEMPANIUS. P. SCAPTIVS. P. SILIVS. C. MAMILIVS VITULUS. TI. PONTIFICIVS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. TITINIUS. CN. APPULEIUS. L. SEXTIVS. L. NUMITORIUS. C. APPULEIUS. C. LICINIUS CALVUS. C. SEXTILIUS. M. JUVENTIUS. L. FULCINIUS. T. ROSCIUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. SEXTILIUS. C. APPULEIUS.

Quæstors

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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Quæstors of Rome. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Military Quæstors. M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.
P. MÆNIUS.

37. *Military Tribuneship.*
Year 369. A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a second time.
P. CORNELIVS COSSUS, a second time.
T. QUINCTIVS CAPITOLINUS.
L. QUINCTIVS CAPITOLINUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a second time.
C. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a second time.

Dictator. A. CORNELIVS COSSUS.
He triumphs over the *Volsi*.

Gen. of Horse. T. QUINCTIVS CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. HORTENSIUS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
C. ANTISTIVS.
C. APRONIUS.
L. APRONIUS.
L. SEXTIVS.
C. ANTISTIVS.
M. ALBINIVS.
A. LUCERIVS.
L. CÆDICIVS.

Ædiles. M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
L. NUMITORIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
C. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Military Quæstors. C. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

38. *Military Tribuneship.*
Year 370. SER. CORNELIVS MALUGINENSIS, a third time.
P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fifth time.
SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS, a second time.
C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
T. QUINCTIVS CINCINNATUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People. M. MÆNIUS.
SP. MECILIUS.
Q. HORTENSIUS.
C. FURIUS.
T. ROMULEIVS.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
P. MÆNIUS.

Ædiles. L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
L. ALBINIVS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CLOELIVS SICULUS.
Q. DECIVS MUS.

Military Quæstors. SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.

39. *Military Tribuneship.*
Year 371. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a fourth time.
A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a third time.
SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS, a third time.
L. LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINUS, a third time.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time.
M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
M. ALBINIVS.
L. OPPIUS.
Q. CÆCILIVS METELLUS.
M. CLAUDIVS.
C. SEXTILIUS.
T. JUVENTIUS.
C. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
M. DUILIVS.

Ædiles. C. APRONIUS.
C. MAMILIVS VITULUS.

Quæstors of Rome. L. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
SP. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.

Military Quæstors. Q. CLAUDIVS SICULUS.
Q. MUCIVS SÆVOLA.

40. *Military Tribuneship.*
Year 372. SP. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
SER. CORNELIVS MALUGINENSIS, a fourth time.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a fourth time.

Tribunes of the People. L. SICILIUS DENTATUS.
L. ALBINIVS.
L. JUNIVS BVBVLIVS BRVTUS.
L. PETILIUS.
C. CANULEIVS.
C. ICILIUS

	C. ICILIUS RUGA. P. MÆNIUS. L. PUBLILIUS PHILO VOLSCUS. L. CANULEIUS. L. RABULEIUS.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i> A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. MÆNIUS. L. SEXTIUS.	<i>Censors.</i> C. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS. SP. POSTUMIUS ALBUS REGIL- LENSIS. The latter dies in his Office, and the former abdicates on account of the Death of his Collegue.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS. C. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICU- RINUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> M. MÆNIUS. Q. DECIUS MUS. M. POMPILIUS. C. MAMILIUS. SEX. TITINIUS. CN. APRONIUS. C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS. C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. C. TITIUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	P. PUPIUS. L. MÆCILIUS.	
41. <i>Military Tribuneship.</i> <i>Year 373.</i>	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a sixth time. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS RE- GILLENSIS. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS. L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, a third time. M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i> M. DUILIUS. C. ICILIUS RUGA.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. ANTISTIUS. A. LUCERIUS. A. TEMPANIUS. CN. SELLIVS. C. APRONIUS. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. L. MARCIUS RUTILUS. SP. METILIUS. L. TEMPANIUS. C. SELLIVS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> Q. SILIVS. M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.
		<i>Military Quæstors.</i> C. TITINIUS. Q. ANTONIVS MERENDA.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	Q. HORTENSIUS. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.	43. <i>Military Tribuneship.</i> <i>Year 375.</i> P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS. C. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS. C. JULIVS IVLVS, a second time. C. SEXTILIUS. M. ALBINUS. L. ANTISTIVS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. LICINIUS CALVUS. L. SEXTIVS SEXTINVS LATE- RANVS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> C. APRONIUS. L. SEXTIVS. C. CANULEIVS. M. TITIVS. L. RABULEIVS. L. MARCIUS RUTILUS. P. DECIUS MUS. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. Q. CANULEIVS. Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	SER. SULPICIUS LONGVS. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.	<i>Ædiles.</i> P. MÆNIUS. L. CANULEIVS.
42. <i>Military Tribuneship.</i> <i>Year 374.</i>	L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a fifth time. P. VALERIUS POTITVS POPLI- COLA, a fifth time. L. MENENIVS LANATVS, a se- cond time. C. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a third time. SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. SER. CORNELIVS MALUGINEN- SIS, a fifth time.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. P. SEXTIVS CAPITOLINVS.
		<i>Military Quæstors.</i> M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. L. VIRGINIVS TRICOSTVS COE- LIMONTANVS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	T. QUINCTIVS CINCIN- NATVS. He triumphs o- ver the <i>Prænestini</i> .	44. <i>Military Tribuneship.</i> <i>Year 376.</i> SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCVS FIDE- NAS, a second time. C. LICINIUS CALVVS

P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.
M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
L. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

Censors.

SP. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
Q. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

THE NINETEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.

L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
L. PETILLIUS.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. DUILIUS.

Ædiles.

A. TEMPANIUS.
C. SELLII.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS.

Military Quæstors.

A. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.

45. *Military Tribuneship.*
Year 377.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a fifth time.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS, a second time.
P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA, a fourth time.
L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, a second time.
C. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
C. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
CN. PUPIUS.
VOLER. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
L. ATINIUS LONGUS.
M. FULCINIUS.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
C. POPILLIUS.
L. VILLIUS.
A. TREBONIUS.

Ædiles.

Q. DECIUS MUS.
C. TITII.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.

Anarchy.
Year 378.

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L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
M. MÆNIUS.
CN. LUCRETII.
C. METILIUS.
C. SELLII.
Q. MÆCILIUS.
A. ACUTIUS.
A. TEMPANIUS.
L. VOLUMNIIUS FLAMMA.

Ædiles.

Q. CANULEIUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Anarchy.

Year 379.

Tribunes of the People.

L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
Q. DECIUS MUS.
C. ATINIUS LONGUS.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
L. VILLIUS.
P. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
Q. MAMILIUS.

Ædiles.

P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Anarchy.

Year 380.

Tribunes of the People.

L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
CN. PUPIUS.
Q. SILIUS.
CN. SICILIUS BELLUTUS.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
P. PUPIUS.
L. VOLUMNIIUS FLAMMA.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Ædiles.

M. FULCINIUS.
A. TREBIUS.

Anarchy.

Year 381.

Tribunes of the People.

L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
L. ATINIUS LONGUS.
C. TITINIUS.
VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO.
K. ATINIUS.
Q. DECIUS MUS.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Ædiles.

C. METILIUS.
A. ACUTIUS.

46. *Military Tribuneship.*

B

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time.

P. VA-

<i>Year 382.</i>	P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA, a fifth time. A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a fourth time. SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS, a fifth time. C. VALERIUS POTITUS. SERV. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a sixth time.	<i>Military Quaestors.</i>	SP. FURIUS CAMILLUS. Q. POMPONIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS. C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS, the Son of <i>Publius</i> . P. CURATIUS. L. FURIUS. P. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. C. ATINIUS LONGUS. CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.	<i>48. Military Tribuneship. Year 384.</i>	L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS. SP. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS. SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a seventh time. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS, a fourth time. L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	M. ATILIUS REGULUS. L. VILLIUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS. C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. JUVENTIUS THALNA. CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. P. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. C. DUILIUS. CN. FULVIUS PÆTINUS. C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS. L. ATINIUS LONGUS.
<i>Quaestors of Rome.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.	<i>Ædiles.</i>	K. ATINIUS LONGUS. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
<i>Military Quaestors.</i>	M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS. M. POPILIUS.	<i>Quaestors of Rome.</i>	L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPER. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.
<i>47. Military Tribuneship. Year 383.</i>	Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a third time. M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS. C. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS, a second time. Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a second time.	<i>Military Quaestors.</i>	M. AULIUS CERRETANUS. CN. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS. C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. P. LICINIUS. M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS. M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. M. DECIVS MUS.	<i>Year 385. Dictator.</i>	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fifth time.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.	<i>Gen. of Horse. Dictator.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
<i>Quaestors of Rome.</i>	C. SULPICIUS PETICUS. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
		<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS. C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. M' MARCIUS. M. CONSIDIUS. C. PETILLIUS. L. ALLIENIUS. P. PUBLILIUS PHILO. M. PLÆTORIUS.
		<i>Ædiles.</i>	VOLER. PUBLILIUS PHILO. CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
		<i>Quaestors of Rome.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
		<i>Military Quaestors.</i>	C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. Q. DECIVS MUS.

49. <i>Military Tribuneship.</i> <i>Year 386.</i>	A. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time. L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS, a second time. M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a second time. P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA, a sixth time. M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS. P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a second time.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> <i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. MÆCILIUS. C. LUCERIUS. L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. CN. MANLIUS CAPITO. TORQUATUS. Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS. P. LICINIUS CALVUS. C. TERENTIUS ARSA.
<i>Dictator.</i>	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fifth time. He triumphs over the <i>Gauls</i> .	90. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 388.</i>	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS CAPITOLINUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS. C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO. M. POPILIUS. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. C. RACILIUS. C. TREBONIUS ASPER. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. C. PLÆTORIUS. L. FULCINIUS. T. STATIUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i> <i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	JUVENTIUS THALNA. C. LICINIUS CALVUS. Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. L. LUCERIUS. C. TREBONIUS. C. VOLSCIUS. M. POPILIUS. T. METILIUS. M. SELLIUS. T. STATIUS. C. RACILIUS.
<i>Ædiles.</i>	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. POPILIUS LÆNAS. C. MARTIUS RUTILUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS. L. HORTENSIVS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. PINARIUS NATTA. M. POMPONIUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA. L. FULVIUS CURVUS.
89. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 387.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS. He was the first <i>Plebeian</i> who was made <i>Consul</i> .	91. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 389.</i>	C. SULPICIUS PETICUS. C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	SP. FURIUS CAMILLUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	CN. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	CN. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS SABINUS REGILLENIS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. PLÆTORIUS. C. NUMITORIUS. C. ANTIUS. M. ACUTIUS. M. PONTIFICIUS. L. STATIUS. M. ANTIUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. M. CONSIDIUS. L. APPULEIUS. C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS. L. RACILIUS. C. PLÆTORIUS. M. ALLIENIUS. M. MARCIUS. C. FULVIUS CURVUS.
			<i>Plebeian</i>

<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	L. FULCINIUS. L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS. C. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. ÆBUTIVS ELVA. L. ICILIUS RUGA.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. POMPONIUS. Q. DECIUS MUS. C. OPPIUS. C. TERENTIUS ARSA. Q. ROMULEIUS. C. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN. N. OTACILIUS. M. TERENTIUS. L. RABULEIUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	CN. CORNELIVS LENTULUS. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.		
<i>92. Consulship. Year 390.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time. CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.		
<i>Dictator.</i>	L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	L. LUCRETIUS. C. VOLSCIUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	L. PINARIUS NATTA.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. CORNELIVS SCIPIO. C. PETELLIUS.
<i>Censors.</i>	M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS, the Son of <i>Cæso</i> . L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. MÆNIUS. L. AQUILIUS CORVUS.
THE TWENTIETH LUSTRUM.			
<i>Prætor.</i>	M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS, the Son of <i>Numerius</i> .	<i>94. Consulship. Year 392.</i>	C. LICINIUS CALVUS, a second time. C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, a second time. He triumphs over the <i>Hernici</i> .
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	C. POPILLIVS LÆNAS. L. STATIUS.	<i>Dictator.</i>	T. QUINCTIVS PENNUS CAPITOLINUS CRISPINUS. He triumphs over the <i>Gauls</i> .
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. POETELIVS LIBO VISOLUS. C. ANTIUS.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	SERV. CORNELIVS MALUGINENSIS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. ANTIUS. C. NUMITORIUS. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS. Q. POETELIVS LIBO VISOLUS. L. PUPIUS. Q. AULIVS CERRETANUS. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. A. ALLIENIVS. L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA. C. JULIVS IULUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. PLOETORIUS. M. CONSIDIVS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	Q. HORTENSIVS. M' CURIVS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. PLÆTORIVS. L. ALLIENIVS.
<i>93. Consulship. Year 391.</i>	Q. SERVILIUS AHALA, a second time. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS, a second time.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. PLAUTIVS HYPSEUS. M. MARCIUS. M' OTACILIUS. C. LÆTORIVS, the Son of <i>Cains</i> . P. FURIUS. L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. P. LICINIUS CALVUS. Q. MÆLIUS. C. LÆTORIVS, the Son of <i>Publius</i> . L. VIRGINIVS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	APPIUS CLAUDIVS CRASSUS SABINUS REGILENSIS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	A. CORNELIVS COSSUS ARVINNA. M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS. <i>Military</i>
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	P. CORNELIVS SCAPULA.		
<i>Prætor.</i>	P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.		

<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. DUILIUS. C. DUILIUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA. L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
95. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 393.</i>	M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS. C. PETILIUS LIBO VISOLUS. The latter triumphs over the <i>Gauls</i> , and the <i>Tiburtini</i> . The former, after having defeated the <i>Hernici</i> , obtains the Honours of an <i>Ovation</i> .	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR. C. SERVIUS FIDENAS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	SPURIUS FURIUS CAMILLUS, a second time.	97. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 395.</i>	C. FABIVS AMBUSTUS. C. PLAUTIVS PROCULUS, who triumphs over the <i>Privernates</i> .
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA. C. JULIVS IULIVS.	<i>Dictator.</i>	C. SULPICIVS PETICUS. He triumphs over the <i>Gauls</i> .
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	Q. AULIVS CERRETANUS. C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	M. VALERIUS POPPICOLA.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	K. DUILIVS. M. CÆDICIVS. C. APRONIUS. T. SICINIUS DENTATUS. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS L. HORTENSIUS. C. CURATIVS. L. SEXTIVS. C. TITIVS. M. TITINIUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	T. QUINCTIVS PENNUS CAPITOLINUS CRISPINUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. A. CORNELIVS COSSUS ARVINNA.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	T. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS TORQUATUS. C. LIVIVS DENTER.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	K. DUILIVS. L. VIRGINIVS.
96. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 394.</i>	M. POPILIUS LÆNAS. CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. PETILIUS. L. PLAUTIVS VENNO. L. HORTENSIUS. Q. HORTENSIUS. C. SEXTILIUS. M. CÆDICIVS. P. FURIUS. P. LICINIUS. C. LÆTORIVS. M. MÆNIUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	SER. CORNELIVS MALUGINENSIS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. FURIUS CAMILLUS. P. MÆNIUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. POMPONIUS. L. RABULEIVS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. POETELIVS LIBO VISOLUS. SP. NAUTIVS RUTILUS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. C. TERENTIUS ARSA.	98. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 396.</i>	C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. He triumphs over the <i>Privernates</i> . CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS, a second time.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. MARCIUS. SEX. MANILIUS. P. SILIVS. C. APRONIUS. M. TERENTIUS. L. ICILIUS RUGA. C. PLAUTIVS HYPSEUS, SEX. POMPILIUS. P. VILLIVS. C. SEXTIVS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
		<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	C. DUILIVS. L. SEXTIVS.
		<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. CURATIVS. C. TITIVS.
		<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. DUILIVS. L. MÆNIUS. M. POMPONIUS. M. TITINIUS.

	C. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. C. CLAUDIUS CICERO. C. APRONIUS. T. SICINIUS. C. OTACILIUS. M' CURIUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. HORTENSIVS. C. ANTISTIVS. C. DUILIVS. CN. APPVLEIVS. C. APPVLEIVS. L. ALBINIVS. L. FVLGINIVS. L. ALBINIVS. C. CONSIDIIVS. L. NUMITORIIVS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. PAPIRIVS MUGILLANVS. TI. CORUNCANIIVS.		
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	SP. PAPIRIVS CURSOR. M' POMPONIIVS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	SER. SVPICIIVS CAMERINVS. Q. SERVILIIVS AHALA.
<i>99. Consulship. Year 397.</i>	M. FABIIVS AMBUSTIVS, a second time. M. POPILIIVS LÆNAS, a second time.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	TI. ÆMILIIVS MAMERCINVS. C. CLAVDIIVS CRASSVS REGILLENSIS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	C. MARCIIVS RUTILIVS. He triumphs over the <i>Hetrurians</i> .	<i>101. Consulship. Year 399.</i>	M. FABIIVS AMBUSTIVS, a third time. He triumphs over the <i>Tiburtini</i> . T. QVINCTIVS PENNVS CAPITOLINVS CRISPINVS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	C. PLAUTIIVS PROCVLVS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	C. IVLIVS IVLVS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	T. MANLIIVS TORQUATVS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. FURIIVS CAMILLVS. M. PAPIRIIVS MUGILLANVS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. CORNELIIVS SCIPIO. SP. NAUTIIVS RUTILVS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. LIVIIVS DENTER. Q. HORTENSIVS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. PLAUTIIVS HYPSEIVS. C. SEXTIVS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. POETELIIVS LIBO VISOLVS. SP. MÆCILIIVS. L. MARCIIVS RUTILVS. SP. MÆTILIIVS. A. SELLIVS. K. DUILIVS. T. ROSCIIVS. SEX. TEMPANIIVS. L. VILLIIVS.
	C. LIVIIVS DENTER. P. LICINIIVS CALVVS. Q. HORTENSIVS. C. JUNIIVS BVBVLCVS. M. MARCIIVS. P. MÆNIIVS. K. DUILIVS. L. ICILIIVS RUGA. L. ANTISTIVS. C. PETILLIIVS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	Q. FABIIVS AMBUSTIVS. A. LVCERIIVS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	SEX. TULLIIVS. M. PÆTILIIVS LIBO.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. JUNIIVS BVBVLCVS BRVTVS. C. PAPIRIIVS CRASSVS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. FABIIVS DORSO. SER. SVPICIIVS PRÆTEXTATVS.	<i>102. Consulship. Year 400.</i>	C. SVPICIIVS PETICVS, a fourth time. M. VALERIIVS POPLICOLA, a second time.
<i>100. Consulship. Year 398.</i>	C. SVPICIIVS PETICVS, a third time. M. VALERIIVS POPLICOLA.	<i>Dictator.</i>	T. MANLIIVS IMPERIOSVS TORQUATVS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	P. VALERIIVS POPLICOLA.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	A. CORNELIIVS COSSVS ARVINNA.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. DUILIVS. L. MÆNIIVS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	L. CORNELIIVS SCIPIO.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. MÆNIIVS. P. FURIIVS.		<i>Curule</i>

Curule Æ- L. HORTENSIVS.
diles. M. MARCIUS.

Plebeian Æ- L. ANTISTIVS.
diles. C. JUNIVS BVBVLVS BRVTVS.

Quæstors of Q. PVBILIVS PHILO.
Rome. P. DECIVS MVS.

Military Quæ- C. MÆNIVS.
stors. CN. CORNELIVS COSSVS.

Tribunes of the C. PLAATIVS HYPSEVS.
People. L. MÆNIVS.
C. SICINIVS BELLVTVS.
C. TITIVS.
C. SENTIVS.
M. DVILIVS.
C. MAMILIVS VITVLVS.
T. SICINIVS DENTATVS.
C. APRONIVS.
L. SENTILIVS.

103. *Consulship.* P. VALERIVS POPLICOLA.
Year 401. C. MARCIUS RUTILVS, a
second time.

Dictator. C. JULIVS IVLVS.

Gen. of Horse. L. ÆMILIVS MAMERCINVS.

Prætor. AP. CLAVDIVS CRASSVS RE-
GILLEN SIS.

Curule Æ- P. VALERIVS POPLICOLA.
diles. L. PINARIVS NATTA.

Plebeian Æ- CN. APPVLEIVS.
diles. L. ALBINVS.

Tribunes of the SEX. TULLIVS.
People. K. DVILIVS.
M' POMPONIVS.
L. CÆDICIVS.
P. MÆLIVS.
P. MÆNIVS.
Q. HORTENSIVS.
M. MÆNIVS.
C. FVRIVS.
C. CANVLEIVS.

Quæstors of L. ÆMILIVS MAMERCINVS.
Rome. L. ÆMILIVS BARBVL.

Military Quæ- C. VOLUMNIVS FLAMMA.
stors. Q. ÆMILIVS BARBVL.

104. *Consulship.* C. SVPICIVS PETICVS, a
Year 402. fifth time.
T. QVINCTIVS CINCIN-
NATVS CAPITOLINVS.

Dictator. M. FABIVS AMBUSTVS.

Gen. of Horse. Q. SERVILIVS AHALA.

Censurs. CN. MANLIVS CAPITOLINVS.
IMPERIOSVS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILVS. The
first *Plebeian* who was made
Censor.

THE TWENTY FIRST LUSTRUM.

Prætor. M. PAPIRIVS MUGILLANVS.

Curule Æ- C. POETELIVS LIBO VISOLVS.
diles. C. ANTISTIVS.

Plebeian Æ- C. ANTISTIVS.
diles. L. VILLIVS.

Tribunes of the M. OVINIVS.
People. C. DVILIVS.
L. CANVLEIVS.
L. RABVLEIVS.
T. ROMVLEIVS.
M. CLAVDIVS CICCRO.
CN. POETELIVS LIBO.
P. MÆNIVS CAPITOLINVS.
Q. TERENTIIVS.

Quæstors of SER. SVPICIVS LONGVS.
Rome. SP. FVRIVS MEDVLLINVS.

Military Quæ- P. LVCRETIVS TRICIPITINVS.
stors. Q. CÆDICIVS.

105. *Consulship.* M. POPILIVS LÆNAS, a
Year 403. third time. He triumphs o-
ver the *Gauls*.
L. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.

Dictator. L. FVRIVS CAMILLVS.

Gen. of Horse. P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.

Prætor. P. VALERIVS POPLICOLA.

Curule Æ- M. FABIVS DORSO.
diles. SER. SVPICIVS CAMERINVS.

Plebeian Æ- L. SENTILIVS.
diles. C. MAMILIVS.

Tribunes of the P. MÆNIVS.
People. K. DVILIVS.
T. JVENTIVS.
L. OPPIVS.
P. DECIVS MVS.
C. OPPIVS CORNICEN.
C. LICINIVS CALVVS.
C. LIVIVS DENTER.
Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.
C. ÆLIVS POETVS.

Quæstors

<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS. L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	A. TEMPANIUS. CN. SELLIIUS. P. DECIUS MUS. C. APPULEIUS. Q. MÆCILIUS. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS REGILLENSIS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. L. PETILIUS. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS. M. FULCINIUS.
106. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 404.</i>	L. FURIUS CAMILLUS. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS. He died in his Office.	108. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 406.</i>	C. PLAUTIUS HYPSPÆUS. T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a second time.	<i>Prætor.</i>	SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	A. CORNELIUS ARVINA.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO. P. DECIUS MUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	L. PINARIUS NATTA.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. T. JUVENTIUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M' POMPONIUS. L. CÆDICIIUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	SEX. TULLIUS. C. MÆNIUS. L. ANTISTIUS. M' POMPONIUS. C. DUILIUS. VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO VOLSCUS. L. ATINIUS LONGUS. P. MÆNIUS. P. PUPIUS. C. ANTISTIUS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	SEX. TULLIUS. C. FURIUS.		
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. C. ICILIUS RUGA. M. CLAUDIUS CICERO. CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. L. ANTISTIUS. PUPIUS. L. PUBLILIUS PHILO VOLSCIUS.		
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. Q. ANTONIUS MÆRENDÆ.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS. L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. SULPICIUS LONGUS. SER. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
107. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 405.</i>	M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a fourth time. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.	109. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 407.</i>	M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a second time. He triumphs over the <i>Antiates</i> , <i>Volsci</i> , and <i>Satricani</i> . C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLENSIS.		
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	C. LIVIUS DENTER.		SECULAR GAMES.
<i>Prætor.</i>	M. FABIUS DORSO.	<i>Prætor.</i>	A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS. SP. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. POETELIUS LIBO. P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. ICILIUS RUGA. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	K. DUILIUS. A. TREBIUS. CN. LUCERIUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	P. DECIUS MUS. M. CLAUDIUS CICERO. C. ÆLIUS

C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
P. LICINIUS STOLO.
SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Q. CÆDICIIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
C. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

Military Quæstors. A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
Q. CANULEIUS.

110. *Consulship.* M. FABIUS DORSO.
Year 408. SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Dictator. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a second time.

Gen. of Horse. CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.

Prætor. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.

Curule Ædiles. C. MÆNIUS.
Q. MÆCILIUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. A. TREBIUS.
CN. LUCERIUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR.
Q. PUBLIUS PHILO.
L. CÆDICIIUS.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATÉRANUS.
M. TITINIUS.
C. DUILIUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
SEX. TITIUS.
CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.

Quæstors of Rome. T. VETURIUS CALVINUS.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

Military Quæstors. CN. PUPIUS.
M. SERGIUS FIDENAS.

111. *Consulship.* C. MARTIUS RUTILUS, a third time.
Year 409. T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a second time.

Dictator. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Gen. of Horse. C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
VOL. II.

Prætor. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.
TI. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. DECIUS MUS.
L. ATINIUS LONGUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. MÆNIUS.
Q. MANILIUS.
C. POMPILIUS.
C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
C. TITINIUS.
L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
Q. SILIUS.
L. VILLIUS.
L. TITIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. CN. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Military Quæstors. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
CN. FULVIUS POETINUS.

112. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a third time. He triumphs over the *Samnites*.
Year 410. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA. He triumphs over the *Samnites*.

Censors. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

THE TWENTY SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætor. SER. SULPICIUS LONGUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. CÆDICIIUS.
P. LICINIUS STOLO.

Plebeian Ædiles. SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. ANTONIUS.
SEX. TITIUS.
C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATÉRANUS.
L. COEDICIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Military Quæstors. C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.

113. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year</i> 411.	C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, a fourth time. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.	115. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year</i> 413.	T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a third time. He triumphs over the <i>Latins</i> , <i>Campani</i> , <i>Sidicini</i> , and <i>Aurunci</i> . P. DECIUS MUS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	M. VALERIUS CORVUS.	<i>Dictator.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. PRIVERNAS.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
<i>Prætor.</i>	L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, who was created <i>Dictator</i> .
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. VALERIUS CORVUS. C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGIL- LENSIS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. TITINIUS. CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. ANTONIUS. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. C. MÆNIUS. L. FURIUS. P. CURATIUS. Q. CANULEIUS. M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. M. DECIUS MUS. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. ALLIENIUS. M. PLÆTORIUS. M' MARCIUS. C. POPILIUS. C. PETILLIUS. C. MÆCILLIUS. P. PUBLILIUS PHILO. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. M. CONSIDIUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	P. SALLONIUS SARRA. L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS. M. AULIUS CORRETANUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. L. PINARIUS NATTA.
114. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year</i> 412.	C. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS, a second time. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.	116. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year</i> 414.	T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. He triumphs over the <i>Latins</i> .
<i>Prætor.</i>	T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.	<i>Dictator.</i>	Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	C. TITINIUS. Q. MANILIUS.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. POMPILIUS. L. VILLIUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. M. ATILIUS REGULUS. K. ATINIUS LONGUS. C. DUILIUS. K. ATINIUS LONGUS. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS. CN. PUPIUS. C. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. L. ATINIUS LONGUS. C. ATINIUS LONGUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. ATILIUS REGULUS. P. CURATIUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS. SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS. L. FURIUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA. L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. LUCERIUS. M. PONTIFICIUS. L. VILLIUS. C. POMPILIUS. M. ACUTIUS. CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.

T. VETURIUS CALVINUS.
Q. MAMILIUS.
P. SILIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
M. GEGANIUS MAMERCINUS.

Military Quæstors. M. DUILIUS.
M. MÆCILIUS.

117. *Consulship.* L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
Year 415. He triumphs over the *Pedani* and *Tiburtini*.
C. MÆNIUS. He triumphs over the *Antiates*, *Lavinians*, and *Velitrani*.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles. T. VETURIUS CRASSUS.
CN. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. ATINIUS LONGUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
P. SALLONIUS SARRA.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
C. TERENTIUS ARSA.
M. DECIUS MUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
C. TITINIUS.
Q. CANULEIUS.
M^r JUVENTIUS THALNA.

Quæstors of Rome. C. SULPICIUS PETICUS.
L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

Military Quæstors. P. FURIUS.
C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

118. *Consulship.* C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
Year 416. P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Dictator. C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLENIS.

Gen. of Horse. C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR.

Prætor. T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.
M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. PETILIUS.
L. ALLIENIUS.

Tribunes of the People. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLIUS.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
Q. POMPONIUS.
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
L. ATTILIUS REGULUS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.
L. JULIUS IULUS.

Military Quæstors. Q. DECIUS MUS.
C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.

119. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
Year 417. K. DUILIUS.

Prætor. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. The first *Plebeian* who was raised to this Office.

Curule Ædiles. SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. SALLONIUS SARRA.
P. SILIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. L. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M^r MARCIUS NEPOS.
C. POPILLIUS NEPOS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
L. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.

Military Quæstors. L. FULVIUS CURVUS.
M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

120. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a fourth time. He triumphed over the Inhabitants of the Territory of *Cales*.
Year 418. M. ATTILIUS REGULUS.

Dictator. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.

Gen. of Horse. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Prætor. CN. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.
L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
M. JU-

<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. JUVENTIUS THALNA. Q. CANULEIUS NEPOS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. VALERIUS CORVUS. L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICCURINUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. PLAUTIUS VENNO. L. PLÆTORIUS. L. FULCINIUS. C. NUMITORIUS. M. MÆCILIUS. C. PLÆTORIUS. C. RACILIUS. T. STATIUS. C. ANTIUS RESTIO. C. LUCERIUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	L. PLAUTIUS VENNO. C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINNA.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. C. POPILIUS LÆNAS. C. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. C. CANULEIUS NEPOS. Q. HORTENSIVS. C. LÆTORIUS. C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. M. TERENTIUS. M' JUVENTIUS THALNA.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. JULIUS LIBO. M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS RULLIANUS. Q. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.
121. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 419.	T. VETURIUS CALVINUS. SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR. Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.	123. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 421.	A. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	M. ANTONIUS.	<i>Dictator.</i>	M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.	<i>Censors.</i>	Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.	THE TWENTY THIRD LUSTRUM.	
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	P. SALLONIUS SARRA. T. METILIUS. M. SCAPTIVS. M. MAMILIUS. C. MEMMIUS. L. RACILIUS. M. SELLIVS. P. SILIVS. Q. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA. P. FURIUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASS. SABIN. REGILLENSIS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. PLÆTORIUS. C. PLÆTORIUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. ACUTIUS NEPOS. T. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. RACILIUS. L. FULCINIUS.
122. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 420.	L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. C. POETELIUS LIBO VI-SOLUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. FULVIUS CURVUS. L. HORTENSIVS. A. OGULNIUS GALLUS. Q. DECIUS MUS. L. ÆLIUS POETUS. M. LÆTORIUS. M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS. SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN. C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. M' CURIUS DENTATUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. FLAVIUS. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.
		<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS. C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

124. *Consulship.* M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
Year 422.

C. VALERIUS POTITUS.

Dictator. CN. QUINTILIUS VARUS.

Gen. of Horse. L. VALERIUS POTITUS.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule C. E- Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLI-
diles. ANUS.

M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

Plebeian C. E- L. RACILIUS NEPOS.
diles. M. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Tribunes of the Q. AULUS CERRETANUS.
People. L. PUPIUS NEPOS.

C. LIVIUS DENTER.

C. FULVIUS CURVUS.

M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

SP. ICILIUS RUGA.

M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.

M. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.

M. MARCIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
Rome. Q. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.

Military Quæ- M. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.
stors. L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.

125. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, a
Year 423. second time.
L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.

Prætor. P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.

Curule C. E- C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.
diles. C. LÆTORIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian C. E- C. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
diles. C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Tribunes of the M. LIVIUS DENTER.
People. L. FULVIUS CURVUS.
A. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.
M. RACILIUS NEPOS.
A. TREBONIUS ASPER.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
L. APULEIUS NEPOS.
L. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
L. FULCINIUS NEPOS.
P. NUMITORIUS PULLUS.

Quæstors of C. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.
Rome. C. PETILLIUS NEPOS.

Military Quæ- L. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
stors. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

126. *Consulship.* L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS, a second time.

C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
Both triumph over the *Priver-nates*.

Prætor. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Curule C. E- L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
diles. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Plebeian C. E- M. CURIUS DENTATUS.
diles. Q. DECIUS MUS.

Tribunes of the C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
People. C. FESCENNIUS NEPOS.
T. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS.
SEX. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
SP. ANTIUS RESTIO.
C. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
P. SILIUS NEPOS.
SEX. MANLIUS NEPOS.
M. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Quæstors of M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
Rome. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Military Quæ- M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
stors. P. VILLIUS NEPOS.

127. *Consulship.* C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
Year 425. LUS.
P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.

Prætor. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.

Curule C. E- M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
diles. C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.

Plebeian C. E- C. FULVIUS CURVUS.
diles. Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.

Tribunes of the M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
People. M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
CN. APRONIUS NEPOS.
C. SEXTILIUS NEPOS.
L. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
T. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
SEX. TITIUS NEPOS.
C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.
C. CURATIUS NEPOS.
A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
Rome. Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Military Quæ- P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
stors. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.

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128. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
Year 426.

Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a second time.

Dictator. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Gen. of Horse. SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. FULVIUS CURVUS.
M. LIVIUS DENTER.

Tribunes of the People. M. FLAVIUS NEPOS.
C. LÆTORIUS NEPOS.
C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
C. AQUILLIUS FLORUS.
C. OTACILIUS NEPOS.
C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
C. RABULEIUS NEPOS.
L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.
Q. DECIUS MUS.

Quæstors of Rome. M. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.

Military Quæstors. C. JULIUS IULUS.
L. ROMULEIUS NEPOS.

129. *Consulship.* C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS, a second time.
Year 427. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

Prætor. C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINNA.

Plebeian Ædiles. SEX. MANILIUS NEPOS.
SEX. POMPILIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. C. PETILLIUS NEPOS.
M. CURIUS DENTATUS.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
TI. CORUNCANIUS.
L. ICILIUS RUGA.
C. FULVIUS CURVUS.
C. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.
SEX. TULLIUS NEPOS.
T. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. MÆLIUS NEPOS.
L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Military Quæstors. P. MANLIUS VULSO.
TI. CLAUDIUS CICERO.

Proconsul. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Palæopolitani*.

Pro-Quæstor. L. ROMULEIUS.

130. *Consulship.* L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a second time.
Year 428. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCAVA.

Dictator. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Gen. of Horse. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, who abdicates; and L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS is chosen in his room.

Prætor. L. FULVIUS CURVUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
M. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. FLAVIUS NEPOS.
A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
C. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.
C. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.
L. NUMITORIUS NEPOS.
SP. MÆCILIUS NEPOS.
C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
L. ALBINIUS NEPOS.
L. FULCINIUS TRIO.
T. ROSCIUS NEPOS.
A. LUCERIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
M. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.

Military Quæstors. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
P. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.

Dictator. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. He triumphs over the *Samnites*.
Year 429.

Gen. of Horse. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Censors. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

THE TWENTY FOURTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Plebeian Æ- C. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.
diles. L. HORTENSIVS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the P. ÆLIVS PÆTVS.
People. C. FVLVIVS CVRVVS.
 SEX. TEMPANIVS NEPOS.
 L. APRONIVS LIMO.
 C. MÆNIVS NEPOS.
 C. JUNIVS BVBVLCVS BRVTVS.
 SP. METILIVS NEPOS.
 L. VILLIVS NEPOS.
 L. SEXTILIVS.
 P. VIRGINIVS.

Quæstors of SP. NAVTIVS RVTILVS.
Rome. C. FABIVS AMBUSTVS.

Military Quæ- P. DECIVS MVS.
stors. T. PONTIFICIVS NEPOS.

131. *Consulship.* C. SVPICIIVS LONGVS.
Year 430. Q. AVLIVS CERRETANVS.

Prætor. Q. FABIVS AMBUSTVS.

Curule Æ- M. FOSLIVS FLACCINATOR.
diles. Q. ÆMILIVS BARBULA.

Plebeian Æ- L. MARCIVS RVTILVS.
diles. T. SEMPRONIVS BLÆSVS.

Tribunes of the M. FLAVIVS NEPOS.
People. M. POETELIVS LIBO.
 C. CANULEIVS NEPOS.
 M. AVLIVS CERRETANVS.
 M' CVRIVS DENTATVS.
 L. ICILIVS RUGA.
 M. POPILLIVS LÆNAS.
 C. AVRELIVS COTTA.
 Q. ÆLIVS PÆTVS.
 TI. CORUNCANIVS NEPOS.

Quæstors of L. COMINIVS NEPOS.
Rome. C. MARCIVS RVTILVS.

Military Quæ- M. VALERIVS MAXIMVS.
stors. A. VIRGINIVS TRICOSTVS RVTILVS.

132. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
Year 431. RULLIANVS. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Apulians*.

L. FVLVIVS CVRVVS. He triumphs over the *Samnites*.

Dictator. A. CORNELIVS COSSVS ARVINA.

Gen. of Horse. M. FABIVS AMBUSTVS.

Prætor. L. PLAVTIVS.

Curule Æ- C. PLAVTIVS HYPSEVS.
diles. A. LVCERIVS NEPOS.

Plebeian Æ- SP. MÆCILIVS NEPOS.
diles. L. ALBINIVS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the C. JUNIVS BVBVLCVS BRVTVS.
People. SEX. TULLIVS NEPOS.
 C. PETILLIVS NEPOS.
 C. CONSIDIVS NEPOS.
 M. TREBONIVS FLAVVS.
 A. ATILIVS BVLBVS.
 L. ALBINIVS NEPOS.
 L. FVLGINIVS TRIO.
 L. NUMITORIVS NEPOS.
 C. VOLUMNIVS FLAMMA.

Quæstors of P. SESTIVS CAPITOLINVS
Rome. Q. PUBLILIVS PHILO.

Military Quæ- M' SERGIVS FIDENAS.
stors. C. APVLEIVS PANSAS.

133. *Consulship.* T. VETVRIVS CALVINVS, a se-
Year 432. cond time.
 SP. POSTVMIVS ALBINVS,
 a second time.

Dictators. Q. FABIVS AMBUSTVS.
 M. ÆMILIVS PAPVS.

Generals of P. ÆLIVS PÆTVS.
Horse. L. VALERIVS FLACCVS.

Prætor. M. VALERIVS CORVVS.

Curule Æ- M. POPILLIVS LÆNAS.
diles. SP. METILIVS NEPOS.

Plebeian Æ- SEX. TEMPANIVS NEPOS.
diles. L. VILLIVS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the M. POETELIVS LIBO.
People. C. MAMILIVS VITVLVS.
 L. SEXTILIVS NEPOS.
 C. MÆNIVS NEPOS.
 P. MÆLIVS CAPITOLINVS.
 T. ROSCIVS NEPOS.
 L. APRONIVS NEPOS.
 L. CÆDICIVS NEPOS.
 C. FURIVS NEPOS.
 L. CANULEIVS NEPOS.

Quæstors of CN. FURIVS PACILVS.
Rome. P. LVCRETIVS TRICIPITINVS.

Military Quæ- SP. PAPIRIVS CRASSVS.
stors. CN. LVCERIVS NEPOS.

134. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIVS CVRSOR, a
Year 433. second time.
 Q. PUBLILIVS PHILO, a
 third time.

Dictators.

<i>Dictators.</i>	C. MÆNIUS NEPOS. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS.		C. MÆNIUS NEPOS. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. L. SENTILIUS NEPOS. L. CÆDICIIUS NEPOS. C. FURIUS NEPOS.
<i>Generals of Horse.</i>	M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS. L. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	Q. CLOELIUS SICULUS. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS. SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.	<i>136. Consulship. Year 435.</i>	L. PLAUTIUS VENNO. M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS. C. CANULEIUS NEPOS.	<i>Censors.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. C. MÆNIUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. LIVIUS DENTER. Q. MÆLIUS NEPOS. T. NUMICIUS NEPOS. These were all three obliged to abdicate, in order to go to <i>Caudium</i> , as Hostages for the Performance of the Treaty concluded at <i>The Caudian Forks</i> P. DECIUS MUS. L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS. P. MÆNIUS NEPOS. C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. M. CÆDICIIUS NEPOS. P. VIRGINIUS NEPOS. T. ROMULEIUS NEPOS. C. OPPIUS CORNICEN. T. JUVENTIUS NEPOS. C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.	THE TWENTY FIFTH LUSTRUM.	
		<i>Prætor.</i>	L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
		<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. VALERIUS CORVUS. M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.
		<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	P. DECIUS MUS. T. ROSCIUS NEPOS.
		<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. MÆLIUS NEPOS. C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. P. PUPIUS NEPOS. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. C. ICILIUS RUGA. SEX. TULLIUS NEPOS. C. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.
<i>135. Consulship. Year 434.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a third time. He triumphs over the <i>Samnites</i> . Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS, a second time.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.
<i>Censors.</i>	C. SULPICIUS LONGUS. C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS. They both abdicate.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS. T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	M. POPILIUS LENAS.	<i>137. Consulship. Year 436.</i>	Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS. C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA. M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. POETELIUS LIBO. L. LIVIUS DENTER.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. ANTISTIUS NEPOS. M. POETELIUS LIBO. L. APRONIUS NEPOS. L. COMINIUS NEPOS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	T. NUMICIUS NEPOS. M. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.
		<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. COMINIUS NEPOS. C. APPULEIUS PANSA. M. TRE-

M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
Q. MÆCILIUS NEPOS.
CN. SELLIVS NEPOS.
A. TREBIUS NEPOS.
CN. LUCERIUS NEPOS.
SP. METILIUS NEPOS.
L. VILLIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.
L. PAPIRIUS MASO.

Military Quæstors. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
M. FULCINIUS NEPOS.

138. *Consulship.* SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
Year 437. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Dictator. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.

Gen. of Horse. L. FULVIUS CURVUS.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. MÆLIUS NEPOS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. APRONIUS LIMO.
L. SEXTILIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. P. DECIUS MUS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
SEX. TITIVS NEPOS.
L. CÆDICIVS NEPOS.
P. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
Q. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. CÆDICIVS NEPOS.
C. FURIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. TI. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Military Quæstors. L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

139. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a
Year 438. fourth time.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a
fourth time.

Dictator. Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.

Gen. of Horse. Q. AULIVS CERRETANUS, who
was kill'd in a Battle, and
C. FABIVS AMBUSTUS chosen
in his room.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles. AP. CLAVDIUS CÆCUS.
M. FABIVS DORSO.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. COMINIUS NEPOS.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Tribunes of the People. L. LIVIVS DENTER.
M. ANTISTIVS NEPOS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.

Q. CANULEIVS NEPOS.
Q. CÆCILIVS METELLUS.
T. NUMICIUS NEPOS.
Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
P. LICINIUS NEPOS STOLO.
L. DOMITIVS ÆNOBARBUS.

Quæstors of Rome. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
M. DECIUS MUS.

Military Quæstors. M. LIVIVS DENTER.
L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

140. *Consulship.* M. POETELIVS LIBO.
Year 439. C. SULPICIUS LONGUS,
a third time. He triumphs
over the *Sammites*.

Dictator. C. MÆNIUS.

Gen. of Horse. M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
Q. CLOELIVS SICULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. APPULEIVS PANSA.
A. TREBIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. MÆLIUS NEPOS.
TI. MINUCIVS AUGURINUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
C. CLAVDIUS HORTATOR.
P. MUCIVS SCÆVOLA.
M. TREBIUS.
M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS.
M. DOMITIVS CALVINUS.
M. CLAVDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. FABRICIVS LUSCINUS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS.
SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Military Quæstors. L. DOMITIVS ÆNOBARBUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

141. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a
Year 440. fifth time.

C. JU-

	C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS, a second time.	M. FULCINIUS NEPOS. A. ACUTIUS NEPOS. L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA. C. POMPILIUS NEPOS. CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	C. POETELIUS LIBO VISO- LUS.	
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	M. POETELIUS LIBO.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. CN. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.	
<i>Curule Æ- diles.</i>	P. CORNELIUS ARVINA. AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.	<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i> CN. SEMPRONIUS GRACCUS. Q. APPULEIUS PANSA.
<i>Plebeian Æ- diles.</i>	M. TITINIUS NEPOS. SEX. TITIUS NEPOS.	143. <i>Consulship.</i> C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS Year 442. BRUTUS, a third time. He triumphs over the <i>Samnites</i> .
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. COMINIUS NEPOS. M. MARCIUS TREMULUS. CN. PUPIUS NEPOS. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. Q. PETILIUS NEPOS. L. LIVIUS DENTER. SP. ICILIUS RUGA. L. ATINIUS LONGUS. C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.	Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, a second time. He triumphs over the <i>Hetrurians</i> .
		<i>Prætor.</i> M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
		<i>Curule Æ- diles.</i> SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. TI. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
		<i>Plebeian Æ- diles.</i> C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS. L. FURIUS NEPOS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> L. ATILIUS REGULUS. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. M. DECIUS MUS. T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. M. TREBIUS NEPOS. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS. CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. M. LIVIUS DENTER. L. TITIUS NEPOS. N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.
<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i>	P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO. M. TITINIUS NEPOS.	
142. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 441.	M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS. He triumphs over the <i>Sam- nites</i> and <i>Sorani</i> . P. DECIUS MUS.	
<i>Dictator.</i>	C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> L. OGULNIUS GALLUS. M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.	<i>Military Quæ- stors.</i> CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
<i>Censors.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS. C. PLAUTIUS VENOX.	
THE TWENTY SIXTH LUSTRUM.		
<i>Prætor.</i>	M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.	144. <i>Consulship.</i> Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS Year 443. RULLIANUS, a second time.
<i>Curule Æ- diles.</i>	M. VALERIUS CORVUS. L. PAPIRIUS MASO.	C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, who was afterwards called CENSORINUS.
<i>Plebeian Æ- diles.</i>	M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTI- NUS. L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIO- LENS.	<i>Prætor.</i> P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.
		<i>Curule Æ- diles.</i> P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO BARBA- TUS. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. A. TREBIUS NEPOS. L. VILLIUS NEPOS. Q. SILIUS NEPOS. Q. MANILIUS NEPOS.	<i>Plebeian Æ- diles.</i> C. LUTATIUS CATULUS. Q. PETILLIUS NEPOS.
		<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. M. FUL-

M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS.
P. CURATIUS NEPOS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
Q. POMPONIUS NEPOS.
CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
SP. ICILIUS RUCA.
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS.
M. MINUCIUS FESSUS.

Military Quæstors.

T. POPILLIUS NEPOS.
CN. FULVIUS MAX. CENTUMALUS.

Dictator. Year 444.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. He triumphs over the *Samnites*.

Gen. of Horse.

C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.

Proconsuls.

Q. FABIUS MAX. RULLIANUS. He triumphs over the *Hetrurians*.
P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
L. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles.

T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
Q. MANILIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People.

C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
C. ATINIUS LABEO.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
M. LIVIUS DENTER.
C. ATINIUS LONGUS.
M' MARCIUS NEPOS.
C. POPILIUS NEPOS.
L. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome.

P. VALERIUS FALTO.
L. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Military Quæstors.

P. LICINIUS VARUS.
M. DUILIUS NEPOS.

145. Consulship. Year 445.

P. DECIUS MUS, a second time.
C. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, a third time.

Prætor.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.
P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. DECIUS MUS.
M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. FURIUS NEPOS.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
Q. APPULEIUS PANSA.
M. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
M. TREBIUS NEPOS.
M. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.
M. FULCINIUS NEPOS.
M. MÆCILIUS TULLUS.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Military Quæstors.

Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

146. Consulship. Year 446.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.

Censors.

M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS

THE TWENTY SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Proconsul.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.

Prætor.

T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Curule Ædiles.

C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
Q. POMPONIUS NEPOS

Tribunes of the People.

C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
M. LIVIUS DENTER.
L. LUCERIUS NEPOS.
L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
P. SILIUS NEPOS.
Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS.
CN. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
M. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
P. VILLIUS NEPOS.
Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.

Quæstors of Rome.

SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Military Quæstors.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.

147. Consulship. Year 447.

Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS. He triumphs over the *Samnites*, and the Inhabitants of *Anagnia*.

Dictator.

<i>Dictator.</i>	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. SERGIUS FIDENAS. M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	P. DECIUS MUS.	149. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 449.</i>	C. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. He triumphs over the <i>Æqui</i> .
<i>Prætor.</i>	SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.		P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO. He triumphs over the <i>Samnites</i> .
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. CORNELIUS CORVUS. P. VALERIUS FALTO.	<i>Censors.</i>	Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS. P. DECIUS MUS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.	THE TWENTY EIGHTH LUSTRUM.	
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	CN. FLAVIUS NEPOS. M. DECIUS MUS. M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS. CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. P. FURIUS NEPOS. L. FURIUS NEPOS. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS. P. CURATIUS NEPOS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	P. VALERIUS FALTO.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. L. JULIUS LIBO.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	CN. FLAVIUS NEPOS. Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS. L. JULIUS IULUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. L. FURIUS NEPOS.
148. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 448.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS MEGEL- LUS. TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, who is killed fighting with the <i>Samnites</i> ; and M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS chosen in his room. The latter triumphs over the <i>Samnites</i> .	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	CN. FLAVIUS NEPOS. Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS. D. JUNIUS PERA. M' POMPONIUS MATHO. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. T. POPILIUS NEPOS. Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS. M. ATILIUS REGULUS. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. M' CURIUS DENTATUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS. L. CORNELIUS BLASIO.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. P. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. LIVIUS DENTER. Q. APPULEIUS PANSA.	150. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 450.</i>	SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. L. OGULNIUS GALLUS. Q. DECIUS MUS. M. DUILIUS NEPOS. M. MINUCIUS FESSUS. M' JUVENTIUS THALNA. P. LICINIUS VARUS. Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS. Q. POMPONIUS NEPOS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	CN. OGULNIUS GALLUS. M. MAMILIUS VITULUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.
		<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. P. FURIUS NEPOS.
		<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. L. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. M. ALLIENIUS NEPOS. L. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS. L. RACILIUS NEPOS. SEX. STATIUS NEPOS. L. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.

	C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS. C. APUSTIUS FULLO. C. NUMITORIUS NEPOS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS. Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS. M. MINUCIUS FESSUS. C. MEMMIUS NEPOS. P. FURIUS NEPOS. C. LÆTORIUS NEPOS. C. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS. M. TERENTIUS NEPOS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. C. FULVIUS CURVUS.		
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. VALERIUS FLACCUS. Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.		
151. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 451.</i>	M. LIVIUS DENTER. M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M' SERGIUS FIDENAS. Q. HORTENSIIUS NEPOS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS. He triumphs over the <i>Æqui</i> .	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. CÆDICIIUS NOCTUA. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	M. TITINIUS NEPOS.	152. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 453.</i>	Q. APULEIUS PANSA. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a fifth time.
<i>Prætor.</i>	Q. APULEIUS PANSA.	<i>Prætor.</i>	CN. FULVIUS MAXIMUS CENTUMALUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. JULIUS IULUS. L. JULIUS LIBO.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS. C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. FURIUS NEPOS. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. M. ATILIUS REGULUS. C. METILIUS NEPOS A. SELLIIUS NEPOS. Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS. CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. TI. PONTIFICIUS. M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. L. ANTONIUS NEPOS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS. CN. OGULNIUS GALLUS. M. MAMILIUS VITULUS. T. JUVENTIUS THALNA. C. OTACILIUS CRASSUS. C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. Q. TERENTIUS ARSA. M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS. SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN. Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	Q. CÆDICIIUS NOCTUA. C. ACUTIUS NEPOS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	Q. FABIIUS GURGES. M. AQUILIUS FLORUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR. Q. FABIIUS AMBUSTUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
<i>Dictators.</i> <i>Year 452.</i>	Q. FABIIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS. M. VALERIUS CORVUS. He triumphs over the <i>Hetrurians</i> .	153. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 454.</i>	M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS. He triumphs over the <i>Samnites</i> and <i>Nequimates</i> . T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, who dies in his Office. And to supply his room, M. VALERIUS CORVUS is chosen <i>Consul</i> a sixth time.
<i>Generals of Horse.</i>	M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS. P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.		
<i>Prætor.</i>	L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.		
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. D. JUNIUS PERA.		
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. ATILIUS REGULUS. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.	<i>Censors.</i>	P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.

THE TWENTY NINTH LUSTRUM.

P. DECIUS MUS, a second time.

Prætor. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.
Curule Æ- Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS RULLIA-
diles. nus.
 L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Plebeian Æ- L. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
diles. C. METILIUS NEPOS

Tribunes of the L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
People. M. ATILIUS REGVLVS.
 D. JUNIUS BRVTVS SCÆVA.
 M. AULIUS CERRETANVS.
 D. JUNIUS PERA.
 C. FVLVIUS CVRVVS.
 C. CÆCILIUS METELLVS.
 L. PVPPIVS NEPOS.
 M. VOLCIUS FICTOR.
 C. JUNIUS BRVTVS BVBVLCVS.

Quæstors of P. CORNELIUS RUFINVS.
Rome. M. VALERIUS MAXIMVS COR-
 VINVS.

Military Quæ- M. LIVIUS DENTER.
stors. C. CLAVDIUS CANINA.

154. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
Year 455. CN. FVLVIUS CENTUMA-
 LVS. He triumphs over the
Samnites and Hetrurians.

Prætor. M. LIVIUS DENTER.

Curule Æ- L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
diles. L. VALERIUS FLACCVS.

Plebeian Æ- M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANVS.
diles. C. LÆTORIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the M' CURIUS DENTATVS.
People. Q. PAPIRIUS TURDV.
 Q. FVLVIUS FLACCVS.
 A. ATILIUS CALATINVS.
 M. MARCIUS NEPOS.
 C. PLAVTIUS PROCVLVS.
 M. FLAVIUS NEPOS.
 M. ATILIUS REGVLVS.
 M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
 L. PLAVTIUS VENNO.

Quæstors of C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
Rome. M. SCANTIUS NEPOS.

Military Quæ- L. CÆCILIUS METELLVS.
stors. A. MANLIUS VVLSO LONGVS.

155. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
Year 456. RULLIANVS, a fourth
 time.

Prætor. L. JULIUS IVLVS.

Curule Æ- Q. FABIVS AMBUSTVS.
diles. M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.

Plebeian Æ- M. ATILIUS REGVLVS.
diles. D. JUNIUS BRVTVS SCÆVA.

Tribunes of the Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.
People. Q. CÆDICIVS NOCTVA.
 C. PLAVTIUS HYPSEVS.
 C. PETILLIUS NEPOS.
 A. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.
 C. CÆDICIVS NOCTVA.
 M. ÆMILIUS REGVLVS SER-
 RANVS.
 M. POETELIUS LIBO.
 L. APVLEIUS SATVRNINVS.
 C. PONTIFICIVS NEPOS.

Quæstors of M. FVLVIUS PÆTINVS.
Rome. TI. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSVS.

Military Quæ- L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINVS.
stors. SER. CORNELIUS RUFINVS.

156. *Consulship.* AP. CLAVDIUS CÆCVS,
Year 457. a second time.
 L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA
 VIOLENS, a second time.

Prætor. P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHV.

Curule Æ- Q. OCVLNIUS GALLVS.
diles. CN. OGVLNIUS GALLVS.

Plebeian Æ- L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
diles. C. FVLVIUS CVRVVS.

Tribunes of the C. JUNIUS BRVTVS BVBVLCVS.
People. Q. PAPIRIUS TURDV.
 P. NUMITORIUS PVLVS.
 Q. SALLONIUS SARRA.
 M' CURIUS DENTATVS.
 M. CLAVDIUS MARCELLVS.
 M. RACILIUS NEPOS.
 SP. ANTIUS RESTIO.
 M. ACVTIUS NEPOS.
 M. METILIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of C. NAVTIUS RUTILVS.
Rome. M. VALERIUS MAXIMVS PO-
 TITVS.

Military Quæ- L. FLAMINIUS CHILO.
stors. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINVS.

Proconsuls in Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS RULLI-
Samnium. ANVS.
 P. DECIUS MUS.

157. *Con-*

157. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
Year 458. RULLIANVS, a fifth time.

He triumphs over the *Samnites*, the *Hetrurians*, and the *Gauls*.

P. DECIVS MUS, a third time.

Prætor. AP. CLAVDIVS CÆCVS.

Curule *Æ-* Q. FABIVS GVRGES.
diles. L. VETVRIVS CRASSVS CICVRINVS.

Plebeian *Æ-* Q. HORTENSIVS NEPOS.
diles. L. PLAVTIVS VENNO.

Tribunes of the Q. CÆDICIVS NOCTVA.
People. P. VILLIVS NEPOS.
SEX. POMPIIVS NEPOS.
L. SICINIVS DENTATVS.
SEX. TITIVS NEPOS.
C. ÆLIVS PÆTVS.
P. SILIVS NEPOS.
C. MANILIVS NEPOS.
Q. TITINIVS NEPOS.
CN. APRONIVS NEPOS.

Quæstors of SP. NAVTIVS RUTILVS.
Rome. CN. ÆMILIVS PAPVS.

Military Quæ- C. ÆLIVS PÆTVS.
stors. C. FABRICIVS LUSCINVS.

Proconsuls. L. VOLUMNIVS FLAMMA VIOLENS.
L. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.
CN. FVLVIVS MAXIMVS CENTUMALVS.
L. POSTVMIVS MEGELLVS.
M. LIVIVS DENTER.

158. *Consulship.* L. POSTVMIVS MEGEL-
Year 459. LVS, a second time. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*.

M. ATILIVS REGULVS.
He triumphs over the *Volscinienses* and the *Samnites*.

Censors. P. CORNELIVS ARVINA.
C. MARCIVS RUTILVS.

THE THIRTIETH LSTRUM.

Prætor. D. JUNIVS BRVTVS SCÆVA.

Curule *Æ-* M. VALERIVS MAXIMVS COR-
diles. VINVS.
P. CORNELIVS RUFINVS.

Plebeian *Æ-* M' CURIVS DENTATVS.
diles. M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.

Tribunes of the C. TREBONIVS ASPER.
People. M. LIVIVS DENTER.
C. CLAVDIVS CANINA.
C. SEXTILIVS NEPOS.
L. MÆNIVS NEPOS.
A. VIRGINIVS NEPOS.
C. SEXTIVS CALVINVS.
C. CURATIVS NEPOS.
T. MEMMIVS NEPOS.
M. LÆTORIVS PLANCIANVS.

Quæstors of L. OPIMIVS PANSÀ.
Rome. Q. MARCIVS PHILIPPVS.

Military Quæ- M. ÆMILIVS LEPIDVS.
stors. C. SERVILIVS TVCCA.

159. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIVS CURSOR.
Year 460. SP. CARVILIVS MAXIMVS.
They both triumph over the *Samnites*.

Prætor. M. ATILIVS REGULVS.

Curule *Æ-* C. JUNIVS BVBVLVS BRVTVS.
diles. Q. CÆDICIVS NOCTVA.

Plebeian *Æ-* P. NUMITORIVS PULLVS.
diles. SP. ANTIVS RESTIO.

Tribunes of the M. SCANTIVS NEPOS.
People. Q. HORTENSIVS NEPOS.
C. CANULEIVS NEPOS.
C. AQUILIVS FLORVS.
Q. OGVLNIVS GALLIVS.
TI. CLAVDIVS CICERO.
L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.
L. ROMVLEIVS NEPOS.
C. OGVLNIVS GALLVS.
C. AURELIVS COTTA.

Quæstors of TI. CORVNCANIVS.
Rome. L. FVRIVS CAMILLVS.

Military Quæ- Q. MÆLIVS NEPOS.
stors. C. FVRIVS PACILVS.

160. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
Year 461. GVRGES.
D. JUNIVS BRVTVS CÆVA.

Dictator. APPIVS CLAVDIVS CÆCVS.

Gen. of Horse. C. MARCIVS RUTILVS.

Prætor. L. PAPIRIVS CURSOR.

Curule

<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.	C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. L. NUMITORIUS PULLUS. CN. LUCERIUS NEPOS. C. SCAPTIUS NEPOS.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	C. APRONIUS NEPOS. P. SILIUS NEPOS.	
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	C. RABULEIUS NEPOS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. M. PUPIUS NEPOS. M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR. L. FLAMINIUS CHILO. L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS. L. ICILIUS RUGA. SEX. TULLIUS NEPOS. C. FLAVIUS NEPOS. M. ATILIUS NEPOS.	<i>Quæstors of</i> <i>Rome.</i> P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA MAXIMUS. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA. <i>Military Quæ-</i> <i>stors.</i> L. ANTIUS RESTIO. SP. MÆLIUS NEPOS. <i>Proconsul in</i> <i>Samnium.</i> Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS GURGES. He triumphs over the <i>Sam-</i> <i>nites.</i> <i>Pro-Quæstor.</i> L. AURELIUS COTTA.
	These ten abdicated, because their Election was deemed de- fective; and in their room were chosen L. TULLIUS NEPOS. M. ANTISTIUS NEPOS. L. ALBINIUS NEPOS. C. CONSIDIUS NEPOS. M. RACILIUS NEPOS. C. JUNIUS PULLUS. P. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS. L. ALLIENIUS NEPOS. M. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS. L. FULCINIUS TRIO.	<i>162. Consulship.</i> <i>Year 463.</i> P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS. M' CURIUS DENTATUS. The latter triumphs over the <i>Samnites</i> and <i>Sabines</i> at two different times.
		<i>Prætor.</i> M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
		<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i> SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS. CN. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.
		<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i> L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. C. AURELIUS COTTA.
		<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i> C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. C. MAMILIUS VITULUS. L. APRONIUS NEPOS. L. COMINIUS NEPOS. A. ATILIUS BULBUS. C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA. CN. APRONIUS NEPOS. C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS. M. CÆDICICIUS NEPOS.
<i>Quæstors of</i> <i>Rome.</i>	Q. AURELIUS PAPUS. L. AURELIUS COTTA.	
<i>Military Quæ-</i> <i>stors.</i>	C. CORNELIUS SCAPULA. P. DECIUS MUS.	
<i>161. Consulship.</i> <i>Year 462.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS MEGEL- LUS, a third time. C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BU- BULCUS.	<i>Quæstors of</i> <i>Rome.</i> P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS. L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIO- LENS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS COR- VINUS.	<i>Military Quæ-</i> <i>stors.</i> C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA. Q. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS PO- TITUS.	<i>163. Consulship.</i> <i>Year 464.</i> M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS CORVINUS. Q. CÆDICICIUS NOCTUA.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	M. LIVIUS DENTER. C. TREBONIUS ASPER.	<i>Censors.</i> M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS. L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIO- LENS.
<i>Tribunes of the</i> <i>People.</i>	Q. CÆDICICIUS NOCTUA. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS. M. TREBONIUS FLAVIUS. T. ROSCIUS NEPOS. SEX. TEMPANIUS. Q. HORTENSIUS.	THE THIRTY FIRST LUSTRUM. <i>Prætor.</i> C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Curule Æ- M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
diles. C. SERVILIUS TUCCA.

Plebeian Æ- CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
diles. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.

Tribunes of the L. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
People C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
Ti. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
P. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. CANULEIUS NEPOS.
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.
P. CURATIUS NEPOS.
C. FURIUS ACULEO.
T. NUMICIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
Rome. SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Military Quæ- L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
stors. C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.

Proconsul in M. CURIUS DENTATUS. He
Lucania. enjoys the Honours of an
Ovation, after having sub-
dued the *Lucani*.

Pro-Quæstor. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

164. *Consulship.* Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
Year 465. P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.
Both the second time.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS PO-
TITUS.

Curule Æ- L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
diles. C. FURIUS PACILUS.

Plebeian Æ- Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
diles. M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.

Tribunes of the L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
People. Q. ROMULEIUS NEPOS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
P. DECIUS MUS.
M. OPIIUS CORNICEN.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.

Quæstors of M. LICINIUS CALVUS.
Rome. M. FABIVS DORSO.

Military Quæ- L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
stors. T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.

165. *Consulship.* M. CLADIUS MARCEL-
Year 466. LUS.

C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Dictator. Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.
He dies in his Office.

Gen. of Horse. M. LIVIUS DENTER, who di-
cated, after the Death of
Hortensius.

Dictator. Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
RULLIANUS.

Gen. of Horse. L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIO-
LENS.

Prætor. C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.

Curule Æ- Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.
diles. C. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.

Plebeian Æ- Ti. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
diles. P. DECIUS MUS.

Tribunes of the P. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
People. P. PUPIVS NEPOS.
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
L. LIVIUS DENTER.
Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
L. ANTISTIVS NEPOS.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.
L. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Quæstors of M. FULVIUS CURVUS.
Rome. L. ATILIVS REGULVS.

Military Quæ- CN. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
stors. P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.

166. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS
Year 467. POTITUS.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Prætor. C. SERVILIUS TUCCA.

Curule Æ- P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA
diles. MAXIMUS.
L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Plebeian Æ- L. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
diles. C. FURIUS ACULEO.

Tribunes of the L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
People. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
M. PLÆTORIVS NEPOS.
A. TREBIUS NEPOS.
SP. MÆCILIUS NEPOS.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
M. ALBINIVS NEPOS.
C. ANTIUS NEPOS RESTIO.
M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
M. MÆCILIUS TULLUS.

Quæstors

<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. M. METILIUS NEPOS.	169. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 470.</i>	P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA MAXIMUS. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR. C. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. He was killed in a Battel with the <i>Hetrurians</i> ; and M' CURIUS DENTATUS, was chosen in his room.
167. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 468.</i>	C. CLAUDIUS CANINA. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.		
<i>Prætor.</i>	CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.		
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS. T. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. M. FABIVS DORSO.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. OPPIUS CORNICEN. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. ALBINIUS NEPOS. M. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. P. DECIUS MUS. M. TITINIUS NEPOS. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. C. MÆNIUS NEPOS. T. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS. C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR. P. CURATIUS NEPOS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS. C. JUNIUS PULLUS. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. L. ATINIUS LONGUS. Q. PETILLIUS NEPOS. P. DECIUS MUS. M. FULVIUS CURVUS. L. ATILIUS REGULUS. C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS. M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. L. PAPIRIUS MASO.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	SP. FURIUS PURPUREO. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. SEXTIUS LATERANUS. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
168. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 469.</i>	C. SERVILIUS TUCCA. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.	170. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 471.</i>	C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. He triumphs over the <i>Samnites, Lucani, and Brutii.</i> Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	C. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	M. LIVIUS DENTER DRUSUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO. SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	CN. QUINCTILIUS VARUS. P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA. L. AURELIUS COTTA.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. Q. CANULEIUS NEPOS. M. LICINIUS CALVUS. L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. P. LICINIUS STOLO. C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. C. ICILIUS RUGA.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA. L. TREBIUS NEPOS. L. VILLIUS NEPOS. Q. SILIUS NERVA. CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS. M. TREBIUS NEPOS. C. ACUTIUS NEPOS. L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS. C. POMPILIUS NEPOS. M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA. C. FABIVS DORSO LICINUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS. Q. VALERIUS FALTO.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA. M. DECIUS MUS.		<i>Military</i>

Military Quæ- TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.
stors. P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

171. *Consulship.* L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
Year 472. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
He triumphs over the *He-*
trurians.

Prætor. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.

Curule Æ- M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
diles. C. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.

Plebeian Æ- T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
diles. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Tribunes of the L. TITIVS NEPOS.
People. P. LICINIUS VARUS.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
CN. PUPIUS NEPOS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
T. POPILLIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of C. QUINCTIUS CLAUDUS.
Rome. P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.

Military Quæ- Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
stors. C. VALBRIUS POTITUS FLAC-
CUS.

172. *Consulship.* P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
Year 473. TI. CORUNCANIUS NE-
POS. He triumphs over the
Volfinienses, and Volcientes.

Censors. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS GURGES.

THE THIRTY SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætor. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Curule Æ- L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
diles. L. PAPIRIUS MASO.

Plebeian Æ- M. FULVIUS CURVUS.
diles. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Tribunes of the C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
People. C. ATINIUS LONGUS.
Q. PETILIUS NEPOS.
Q. APULEIUS PANSÀ.
M. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
M. ALBINIUS NEPOS.
Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS.

Quæstors of CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
Rome. SP. CARVILIUS RUGA.

Military Quæ- M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
stors. L. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.

Proconsul against L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA. He
the Samnites, triumphs over the *Tarentini,*
Tarentini, and *Samnites, and Salentini.*
Salentini.

Pro-Quæstor. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

173. *Consulship.* P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
Year 474. P. DECIUS MUS.

Prætor. TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.

Curule Æ- SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
diles. C. FABIVS DORSO LICINUS.

Plebeian Æ- M. TREBIUS NEPOS.
diles. Q. SILIUS NERVA.

Tribunes of the L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
People. P. SALLONIUS SARRA.
L. VILLIUS NEPOS.
Q. SILIUS NERVA.
Q. MÀNILIUS NEPOS.
L. TREBIUS NEPOS.
A. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIO-
LENS.
C. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.

Quæstors of C. FABIVS PICTOR.
Rome. D. JUNIUS PERA.

Military Quæ- Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
stors. CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

174. *Consulship.* C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS,
Year 475. a second time. He triumphs
over the *Lucani, Brutii,*
Tarentini, and Samnites.
Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, a se-
cond time.

Prætor. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

Curule Æ- L. TITIVS NEPOS.
diles. T. POPILLIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Æ- P. LICINIUS VARO.
diles. C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Tribunes of the M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
People. N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.
L. FURIUS NEPOS.
T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
M. TITIVS RUFUS.

C. Cu-

	C. CURTIUS NEPOS. T. VETURIUS CALVINUS. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS. C. ICILIUS RUGA.		T. POPILIUS NEPOS. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS. CN. APULEIUS PANSA. M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS. M' MARCIUS NEPOS. Q. PETILLIUS NEPOS. Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS. L. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.		<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> M. FULVIUS FLACCUS. N. FABIUS PICTOR.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. MAMILIUS VITULUS. T. CLOELIUS SICULUS.		<i>Military Quæstors.</i> L. JULIUS LIBO. CN. APRONIUS LIMO.
<i>175. Consulship. Year 476.</i>	P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS, a second time. C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BULCUS, a second time. He triumphs over the <i>Lucani</i> and <i>Brutii</i> .		<i>177. Consulship. Year 478.</i> M' CURIUS DENTATUS, a second time. He triumphs over the <i>Samnites</i> and King <i>Pyrrhus</i> .
<i>Prætor.</i>	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.		L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, who has the Surname of CAUDINUS given him. He triumphs over the <i>Samnites</i> and <i>Lucani</i> .
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	P. CLOELIUS SICULUS. Q. VALERIUS FALTO.		
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	Q. APULEIUS PANSA. C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.		
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS. SP. ICILIUS RUGA. Q. POMPONIUS NEPOS. M. FULVIUS CURVUS. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. CN. PUPPIUS NEPOS. M. LIVIUS DENTER. CN. FULVIUS PÆTINUS. C. ATINIUS LABEO.	<i>Censors.</i>	C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.
		THE THIRTY THIRD LUSTRUM.	
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. PAPIRIUS MASO. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	C. FABIUS DORSO LICINUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	CN. FULVIUS MAXIMUS CENTUMALUS. M. DUILIUS NEPOS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
<i>176. Consulship. Year 477.</i>	Q. FABIUS MAX. GURGES, a second time. He triumphs over the <i>Lucani</i> and <i>Brutii</i> .	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. TITIUS RUFUS. N. SEXTIUS LATERANUS.
<i>Dictator.</i>	P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. ATILIUS REGULUS. Q. CONSIDIUS NEPOS. L. TREBIUS NEPOS. L. LUCERIUS NEPOS. L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. L. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. L. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS. M. TREBIUS NEPOS. M. ACUTIUS NEPOS. TI. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. OTACILIUS CRASSUS. M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	C. QUINCTIUS CLAUDIUS. C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.	<i>178. Consulship. Year 479.</i>	M' CURIUS DENTATUS, a third time. SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA. P. SALLONIUS SARRA.	<i>Prætor.</i>	L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. C. ATINIUS LONGUS.		<i>Curule</i>

Curule & *Æ-* C. FABIVS PICTOR.
diles. CN. CORNELIVS BLASIO.

Plebeian & *Æ-* Q. OGVLNIVS GALLVS.
diles. P. SEMPRONIVS SOPHVS.

Tribunes of the D. JUNIVS PERA.
People. M. MINVCIVS FESSVS.
 C. CVRATIVS NEPOS.
 Q. PAPIRIVS TVRDVS.
 C. MINVCIVS AVGVRIIVS.
 Q. MAMILIIVS TVRINVS.
 M. TITINIVS NEPOS.
 P. FVRIVS NEPOS.
 T. VETVRIVS CALVINVS.
 C. MINVCIVS RVFVS.

Quæstors of AP. CLAVDIVS CAVDX.
Rome. Q. MAMILIIVS VITVLVS.

Military Quæ- L. SEMPRONIVS ATRATINVS.
stors. L. FLAMINIVS CHILO.

179. *Consulship.* C. FABIVS DORSO LICIVS.
Year 480. C. CLAVDIVS CANINA,
 a second time. He triumphs
 over the *Lucani*, *Samnites*,
 and *Brutii*.

Prætor. C. QVINCTIVS CLAVDVS.

Curule & *Æ-* T. CLOELIVS SICVLVS.
diles. AP. CLAVDIVS CRASSVS.

Plebeian & *Æ-* M. FVLVIVS PETINVS.
diles. Q. LVTATIVS CATVLVS.

Tribunes of the L. MAMILIIVS VITVLVS.
People. M' IYVENTIVS THALNA.
 Q. AVLIIVS CERRETANVS.
 L. POMPONIVS NEPOS.
 CN. FLAVIVS NEPOS.
 M. AQVILIIVS FLORVS.
 SP. CARVILIIVS MAX. RVGA.
 L. ÆLIIVS PÆTVS.
 M. POMPONIVS MATHO.
 CN. FVLVIVS PÆTINVS.

Quæstors of M' CORNELIVS CETHEGVS.
Rome. T. MANLIIVS TORQVATVS.

Military Quæ- T. OTACILIIVS CRASSVS.
stors. Q. OGVLNIVS GALLVS.

180. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIVS CVRSOR, a
Year 481. second time. He triumphs
 over the *Tarentini*, *Samnites*,
Lucani, and *Brutii*.

SP. CVRVILIIVS MAXI-
 MUS, a second time. He

triumphs over the *Lucani*,
Brutu, *Samnites*, and *Ta-*
rentini.

Censors. M. CVRIIVS DENTATVS.
 L. PAPIRIVS CVRSOR.

THE THIRTY FOURTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. CN. CORNELIVS BLASIO.

Curule & *Æ-* L. PVBLCIVS MALLEOLVS.
diles. Q. CONSIDIVS NEPOS.

Plebeian & *Æ-* M. ATILIIVS REGVLVS.
diles. D. JUNIVS PERA.

Tribunes of the Q. OGVLNIVS GALLVS.
People. T. SEMPRONIVS GRACCHVS.
 C. ATILIIVS REGVLVS.
 C. PLAVTIVS PROCVLVS.
 M. ALIENIVS NEPOS.
 M. DVILIIVS NEPOS.
 CN. FVLVIVS MAX. CENTUMA-
 LVS.
 M' MARCIIVS NEPOS.
 Q. POETELIVS LIBO VISOLVS.
 L. CONSIDIVS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Q. FABIVS AMBUSTVS.
Rome. M' VALERIVS MAXIMVS.

Military Quæ- CN. MINVCIVS FESSVS.
stors. C. DVILIIVS NEPOS.

181. *Consulship.* C. QVINCTIVS CLAV-
Year 482. DVS.
 L. GENVCIIVS CLEPSINA.

Prætor. C. FABIVS PICTOR.

Curule & *Æ-* L. IYLIIVS LIBO.
diles. N. FABIVS PICTOR.

Plebeian & *Æ-* Q. MAMILIIVS TVRINVS.
diles. M. MINVCIVS FESSVS.

Tribunes of the M. FVLVIVS FLACCVS.
People. P. SEMPRONIVS SOPHVS.
 C. OTACILIIVS CRASSVS.
 C. RACILIIVS NEPOS.
 SEX. STATIVS NEPOS.
 L. FLAMINIVS CHILO.
 CN. APRONIIVS LIMO.
 C. PLÆTORIVS NEPOS.
 C. APVSTIVS FVLLO.
 C. NVMITORIVS NEPOS.

Quæstors of L. POSTVMIVS MEGELLVS.
Rome. L. VALERIVS FLACCVS.

<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA. C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. L. PINARIUS NATTA.
182. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 483.</i>	C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA, a second time. CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO. He triumphs over the <i>Sar-</i> <i>sinates.</i>	184. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 485.</i>	P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. He triumphs over the People of <i>Picenum.</i> APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRAS- SUS. He triumphs over the same Nation.
<i>Prætor.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	N. FABIUS PICTOR.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. FULVIUS FLACCUS. C. APUSTIUS FULLO.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	L. MAMILIUS VITULUS. M. AQUILIUS FLORUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. OTACILIUS CRASSUS. C. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	D. JUNIUS PERA. A. ACUTIUS NEPOS. C. VOLSCIUS FICTOR. A. SILIUS NEPOS. Q. RACILIUS NEPOS. M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS. TI. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS. C. METILIUS NEPOS. C. SALLONIUS SARRA. C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS. M' POMPONIUS MATHO. M' CURIUS DENTATUS. C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. M. AULIUS CERRETANUS. M. FLAVIUS NEPOS. L. ACILIUS GLABRIO. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. C. LÆLIUS NEPOS. L. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. JUNIUS BRUTUS. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASI- NA.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. ATILIUS CALATINUS. Q. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS. Q. CÆDICUS NEPOS.
183. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 484.</i>	Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS. C. FABIUS PICTOR. Silver first coined at <i>Rome.</i>	185. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 486.</i>	M. ATILIUS REGULUS. L. JULIUS LIBO. They both triumph over the <i>Salentini.</i>
<i>Prætor.</i>	M. ATILIUS REGULUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	AP. CLAUDIUS CADEX. L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M' VALERIUS MAXIMUS. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. DUILIUS NEPOS. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. OTACILIUS CRASSUS. C. SALLONIUS SARRA.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS. Q. CONSIDIUS NEPOS. M. ALLIENIUS NEPOS. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. C. ATILIUS REGULUS. C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS. L. CONSIDIUS NEPOS. L. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. M' MARCIUS NEPOS. C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS. C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN. Q. TERENTIUS ARSA. C. ÆBUTIUS CARUS. C. DUILIUS NEPOS. CN. OGULNIUS GALLUS. T. JUVENTIUS THALNA. M. MINUCIUS FESSUS. P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. APUSTIUS FULLO. C. ATILIUS REGULUS SERRA- NUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	TI. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NO- BILIOR. Q. HOR-

Military Quæ- Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.
stors. A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

186. *Consulship.* N. FABIVS PICTOR. He
Year 487. triumphs twice. 1st. Over
the *Sassimates*. 2dly. Over
the *Salentini*, and *Messapii*.
D. JUNIVS PERA. He tri-
umphs twice. 1st. Over the
Sassimates. 2dly. Over the
Salentini and *Messapii*.

Prætor. AP. CLAVDIVS CAVDEN.

Curule Æ- L. VALERIVS FLACCUS.
diles. Q. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.

Plebeian Æ- Q. MAMILIVS VITVLVS.
diles. CN. APRONIVS LIMO.

Tribunes of the M. FVLVIVS FLACCUS.
People. D. JUNIVS BRVTVS SCÆVA.
C. CÆDICIVS NOCTVA.
C. MANILIVS NEPOS
C. ANTONIVS NEPOS.
C. AQVILIVS FLORVS.
L. MEMMIVS NEPOS.
M. ANTONIVS NEPOS.
L. MAMILIVS NEPOS.
M. AQVILIVS FLORVS.

Quæstors of L. MANLIVS VVLSO LONGVS.
Rome. C. SEMPRONIVS BLÆSVS.

Military Quæ- A. MANLIVS VVLSO LONGVS.
stors. Q. MARCIVS PHILIPPVS.

187. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
Year 488. GVRGES, a third time.
L. MAMILIVS VITVLVS.

Censors. CN. CORNELIVS BLASIO.
C. MARCIVS RVTILVS, who
was then surnamed CENSO-
RINVS.

THE THIRTY FIFTH LSTRVM.

Prætor. M' OTACILIVS CRASSVS.

Curule Æ- CN. CORNELIVS SCIPIO ASINA.
diles. Q. SVLPICIVS PATERCVLVS.

Plebeian Æ- T. OTACILIVS CRASSVS.
diles. C. ATILIVS CALATINVS.

Tribunes of the C. TITIVS NEPOS.
People. M. JUNIVS BRVTVS.
CN. OGVLNIVS GALLVS.
L. CARVILIVS MAXIMVS.
C. ÆLIVS PÆTVS.
M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.

A. ATILIVS CALATINVS.
C. OPPIVS CORNICEN.
C. LÆLIVS NEPOS.
CN. DOMITIVS CALVINVS.

Quæstors of C. AURELIVS COTTA.
Rome. Q. ÆMILIVS PAPVS.

Military Quæ- C. CLAVDIVS CANINA.
stors. M. HORATIVS PVLVILLVS.

Four new *Quæstors* created, for
the Provinces in *Italy* which
were become subject to the
Republick.

188. *Consulship.* AP. CLAVDIVS CAVDEN.
Year 489. M. FVLVIVS FLACCVS.
He triumphs over the *Tol-*
sinenses.

Prætor. Q. MAMILIVS VITVLVS.

Curule Æ- L. PINARIVS NATTA.
diles. L. MANLIVS TORQVATVS.

Plebeian Æ- C. DVILIVS NEPOS.
diles. CN. MINVCIVS FESSVS.

Tribunes of the C. ATILIVS REGVLVS SERRA-
People. NVS.
C. ÆLIVS CARVS.
M. POPILIVS LÆNAS.
L. ACILIVS GLABRIO.
M. POETELIVS LIBO.
Q. TERENTIVS ARSA.
M. MARCIVS NEPOS.
T. JVENTIVS THALNA.
C. PLAVTIVS HVPSÆVS.
M. RACILIVS NEPOS.

Quæstors of M. ÆMILIVS PAVLVS.
Rome. M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.

Military Quæ- L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.
stors. SP. FVRIVS PHILVS.

Provincial C. MARCIVS CENSORINVS.
Quæstors. P. MINVCIVS RVFVS.
T. ÆBVTIVS ELVA.
L. HORTENSIVS NEPOS.

189. *Consulship.* M' VALERIVS FLACCVS,
Year 490. who was then surnamed
MESSALA. He triumphs
over the *Carthaginians*, and
King *Hiero*.
M' OTACILIVS CRASSVS.

Dictator. CN. FVLVIVS MAX. CEN-
TUMALVS.

Q. MAR-

<i>Gen. of Horse.</i>	Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	CN. APRONIUS NEPOS. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS. SEX. TITIVS NEPOS. C. JULIUS IULUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.		
<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.	<i>191. Consulship.</i> <i>Year 492.</i>	L. VALFRIUS FLACCUS. T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	C. AQUILIUS FLORUS. CN. OGULNIUS GALLUS.	<i>Prætor.</i>	CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	CN. ATILIUS CALATINUS. M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS. L. APUSTIUS FULLO. L. FESCENNIUS NEPOS. M. ACUTIUS NEPOS. Q. SELLIVS NEPOS. Q. CÆDITIUS NEPOS. SP. ANTIUS RESTIO. C. SALLONIUS SARRA. C. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	L. MANLIUS VULSO. A. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS.
		<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	C. ATILIUS REGULUS. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
		<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	C. AQUILIUS FLORUS. C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. L. LÆTORIUS MERGUS. A. OGULNIUS GALLUS. L. ACILIUS GLABRIO. C. CANULEIUS NEPOS. L. AURELIUS COTTA. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. TI. CLAUDIUS CICERO. M. PUPPIUS NEPOS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	Q. SERVILIUS GEMINUS. M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.		
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS. L. JUNIUS PULLUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	Q. FABIVS MAX. GURGES. L. MINUCIUS THERMUS.
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	L. OPIMIUS PANSÀ. A. TREBONIUS ASPER. Q. SALLONIUS SARRA. SEX. POMPILIUS NEPOS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
<i>190. Consulship.</i> <i>Year 491.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS MEGEL- LUS. Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	C. FURIUS PACILUS. C. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS. SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS. C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASI- NA.	<i>192. Consulship.</i> <i>Year 493.</i>	CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA. C. DUILIUS. He was the first who obtained the Ho- nour of a Naval Triumph, for having destroyed the Car- thaginian Fleet.
<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	M. JUNIUS BRUTUS. C. OPPIUS CORNICEN.	<i>Prætor.</i>	C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	A. ATILIUS CALATINUS. CN. DOMICIUS CALVINUS.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	TI. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. Q. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	TI. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. Q. TITINIUS NEPOS. L. SEXTILIUS RUFUS. Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS. A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NO- BILIOR. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS. C. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA. L. MEMMIUS NEPOS. T. ÆBUTIVS CARUS.	<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	L. APUSTIUS FULLO. M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.
		<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	A. ATILIUS CALATINUS. C. AURELIUS COTTA. C. FLAVIUS NEPOS. C. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS. P. APULEIUS SATURNINUS. L. TULLIUS NEPOS. C. CLAUDIUS CANINA. M' MARCIUS NEPOS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO. P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.		
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. SERGIUS FIDENAS. L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.		

L. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.
L. TREBONIUS FLAVIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Military Quæstors. P. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.
Q. PETILLIUS NEPOS.

Provincial Quæstors. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.
P. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.
C. FULCINIUS TRIO.
L. VETURIUS PHILO.

193. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
Year 494. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians, Sardinians, and Corsicans.*
C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

Prætor. C. ATILIUS REGULUS SERRANUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
SP. FURIUS PHILUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.
SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.

Tribunes of the People. C. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
L. HORTENSIIUS NEPOS.
Q. SALLONIUS SARRA.
M. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
SP. ANTIUS RESTIO.
C. LUCERIUS NEPOS.
P. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Quæstors of Rome. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS.
SER. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.

Military Quæstors. C. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.
L. NUMITORIUS PULLUS.

Provincial Quæstors. C. ANTIUS RESTIO.
L. ROSCIUS NEPOS.
A. ATTILIUS BULBUS.
P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

194. *Consulship.* A. ATILIUS CALATINUS.
Year 495. C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians and Sardinians.*

Censors. C. DUILIUS NEPOS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX.

THE THIRTY SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. L. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. AURELIUS COTTA.
L. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. A. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. CÆDICIIUS NEPOS.
A. TREBONIUS ASPER.
SEX. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
L. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.
L. JUNIUS PULLUS.
P. SILIUS NEPOS.
Q. TITINIUS NEPOS.
C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

Quæstors of Rome. N. FABIUS BITEO.
C. ATILIUS BULBUS.

Military Quæstors. L. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.

Provincial Quæstors. C. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
Q. ANTONIUS MERENDA.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.
Q. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.

Pro-Consul. C. AQUILIUS FLORUS. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians.*

Pro-Quæstor. L. ROSCIUS NEPOS.

195. *Consulship.* C. ATILIUS REGULUS SERRANUS. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*, whom he had beaten at Sea.
Year 496. CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Dictator. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

Gen. of Horse. M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.

Prætor. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.

Curule Ædiles. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. AURELIUS COTTA.
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.

Tribunes of the People. L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
L. COMINIUS NEPOS.
P. CURATIUS NEPOS.
P. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
Q. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.

CN. APRO-

	CN. APRONIUS NEPOS. M. CÆDICIVS NEPOS. C. MÆNIUS NEPOS. L. PAPIRIUS TURDUS. T. ÆBUTIVS CARUS.	197. <i>Consulship</i> . SER. FULVIUS PÆTIVS Year 498. NOBILIOR. M. ÆMILIVS PAVLVS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	T. GEGANIVS MACERINVS. C. COMINIUS NEPOS.	<i>Prætor.</i> T. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSVS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	SP. NAUTIUS RUTILVS. M' ÆMILIVS LEPIDVS.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> C. FURIUS PACILVS. <i>diles.</i> P. CLAVDIVS PVLCHER.
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	C. SVPICIIVS LONGVS. L. ÆMILIVS BARBVLÀ. P. SVPICIIVS SAVERRIO. P. FURIUS ACULEO.	<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> L. JUNIVS PULLVS. <i>diles.</i> L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.
<i>Pro-Consul.</i>	A. ATILIVS CALATINVS. He triumphs over the <i>Carthaginians</i> .	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> C. AURELIUS COTTA. C. CLAVDIVS HORTATOR. CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILVS. P. PLAUTIUS HYPSEVS. M. ANTISTIVS NEPOS C. RABVLEIVS NEPOS. TI. CORVNCANIUS NEPOS. P. POPILIVS LÆNAS. Q. PETILLIVS NEPOS. C. FVLGINIVS TRIO.
196. <i>Consulship</i> . Year 497.	A. MANLIUS VVLSO LONGVS. He triumphs over the <i>Carthaginians</i> , whom he had beaten at Sea. Q. CÆDICIVS, who died in his Office; and in his room M. ATILIVS REGULVS, was chosen <i>Consul</i> a second time.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> M. FABIUS LICINVS. M. CORNELIVS CETHEGVS.
<i>Prætor.</i>	M. LÆTORIVS PLANCIANVS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i> CN. CORNELIVS DOLABELLA. P. QVINCTILIVS VARVS.
<i>Curule Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	Q. FABIUS MAXIMVS GVRGES. SP. VETVRIUS CRASSVS.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i> P. MUCIVS SCÆVOLÀ. L. PAPIRIUS MASO. Q. ÆMILIVS BARBVLÀ. L. LIVIVS DENTER.
<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> <i>diles.</i>	Q. MARCIUS CENSORINVS. M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.	<i>Pro-Consul.</i> M. ATILIVS REGULVS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. MINVCIUS THERMVS. T. NUMICIUS NEPOS. Q. ROMVLEIVS NEPOS. L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS. L. AURELIUS COTTA. C. CLAVDIVS CICERO. L. CANVLEIVS NEPOS. M. OPIIVS CORNICEN. P. ÆLIIVS PÆTVS. C. FABRICIVS LVCINVS.	<i>Pro-Quæstor.</i> M. CANVLEIVS NEPOS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	C. FABIUS DORSO LICINVS. C. FVNDANIUS FVNDVLVS.	198. <i>Consulship</i> . CN. CORNELIVS SCIPIO Year 499. ASINÀ, a second time. A. ATILIVS CALATINVS, a second time.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. VETVRIUS CRASSVS. M. CANVLEIVS NEPOS.	<i>Prætor.</i> P. SERVILIUS GEMINVS.
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	CN. QVINCTILIVS VARVS. P. DECIIVS MVS. L. DOMITIVS ÆNOBARBVVS. M. LICINIUS CALVVS.	<i>Curule Æ-</i> A. MANLIUS TORQVATVS. <i>diles.</i> P. CORNELIVS DOLABELLA.
		<i>Plebeian Æ-</i> L. PAPIRIUS TURDVS. <i>diles.</i> C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
		<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> C. MARCIUS CENSORINVS. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS. C. ATILIVS BVLBVVS. C. ANTIIVS RESTIO. M. TULLIVS NEPOS. L. MARCIUS PHILIPPVS. L. NUMITORIUS PULLVS. L. ROSCIIVS NEPOS. L. ANTISTIVS NEPOS. M. ALBINIVS NEPOS.

Quæstor

Quæstors of Rome. M. FABIVS BÜTEO.
M. CALPURNIVS FLAMMA.

Military Quæstors. C. SÜLPICIÜS GALLÜS.
C. LUTATIÜS CATÜLÜS.

Provincial Quæstors. M. SEMPRONIÜS TUDITANÜS.
SP. PAPIRIÜS CURSOR.
L. PAPIRIÜS CURSOR.
C. JUNIÜS BÜBÜLCÜS BRÜTÜS.

Pro-Consuls. SER. FÜLVIÜS PÆTINIÜS NOBILIÖR. He triumphs over the *Cocyræans* and *Carthaginians*, whom he had beaten at Sea.
M. ÆMILIÜS PAULÜS. He triumphs over the same Nations.

199. Consulship. Year 500. CN. SERVILIÜS CÆPIÖ.
C. SEMPRONIÜS BLÆSÜS. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*.

Censors. D. JUNIÜS PERA.
L. POSTUMIÜS MEGELLÜS. He died in his Office, and after his Death, his Collegue abdicated, according to Custom.

Prætor. L. POSTUMIÜS MEGELLÜS, who was *Censor* at the same time.

Curule Ædiles. N. FABIVS BÜTEO.
T. ANTONIÜS MERENDA.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. FABRICIÜS LÜSCINIÜS.
L. MINUCIÜS THERMÜS.

Tribunes of the People. L. CÆCILIÜS METELLÜS.
C. ATILIÜS BÜLBÜS.
L. FLAMINIÜS NEPOS.
C. POMPILIÜS NEPOS.
L. GENUCIÜS AVENTINENSIS.
L. MÆNIÜS NEPOS.
Q. FUNDANIÜS FUNDÜLÜS.
L. VOLUMNIÜS FLAMMA VIÖLENS.
L. CÆDICIÜS NEPOS.
A. VIRGINIÜS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. T. SEMPRONIÜS GRACCHÜS.
Q. LUTATIÜS CERCO.

Military Quæstors. P. VALERIÜS LÆVINÜS.
SER. SÜLPICIÜS LONGÜS.

Provincial Quæstors. L. SEXTIÜS LATERANÜS.
L. GEGANIÜS MACERINIÜS.

SEX. JULIÜS CÆSAR.
A. VIRGINIÜS RÜTILÜS.

Pro-Consul. CN. CORNELIÜS SCIPIO ASI-
NA. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*.

Pro-Quæstor. SP. PAPIRIÜS CURSOR.

200. Consulship. Year 501. C. AURELIÜS CÖTTA. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians* and *Sicilians*.
P. SERVILIÜS GEMINIÜS.

Censors. M. VALERIÜS MAX. MESSALLA.
P. SEMPRONIÜS SÖPHÜS.

THE THIRTY SEVENTH LÜSTRUM.

Prætor. P. CLAUDIÜS PÜLCHER.

Curule Ædiles. L. ÆMILIÜS BARBÜLA.
M. ÆMILIÜS LEPIDÜS.

Plebeian Ædiles. CN. BÆBIÜS TAMPHILÜS.
P. POPILIÜS LÆNAS.

Tribunes of the People. L. JUNIÜS PÜLLÜS.
L. COMINIÜS NEPOS.
C. FÜLCINIÜS TRIÖ.
L. NUMITORIÜS PÜLLÜS.
C. ANTIÜS RESTIÖ.
P. FURIÜS ACÜLEÖ.
M. ALBINIÜS NEPOS.
M. TREBIÜS GALLÜS.
L. ROSCIÜS NEPOS.
L. MÆCILIÜS TÜLLÜS.

Quæstors of Rome. M. SEMPRONIÜS TUDITANÜS.
L. GENUCIÜS CLEPSINA.

Military Quæstors. SER. SÜLPICIÜS SAVERRIÖ.
L. ÆMILIÜS LEPIDÜS.

Provincial Quæstors. Q. MAMILIÜS TÜRINIÜS.
L. QUINCTIÜS FLAMINIÜS.
C. VALERIÜS POTITÜS FLAG-
CUS.
L. ALBINIÜS NEPOS.

201. Consulship. Year 502. L. CÆCILIÜS METELLÜS.
C. FURIÜS PACILÜS.

Prætor. A. MANLIÜS TORQUATUS AT-
TICÜS.

Curule Ædiles. A. ATILIÜS BÜLBÜS.
C. FLAMINIÜS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. TÜLLIÜS NEPOS.
L. MARCIÜS PHILIPPÜS.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
M. LICINIUS CALVUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
Q. SILIUS NERVA.
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
M. CANULEIUS NEPOS.
P. DECIUS MUS.
M. METILIUS NEPOS.
C. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
Q. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.

Quæstors of Rome. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.

Military Quæstors. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

Provincial Quæstors. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.
C. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
L. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
SP. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

202. *Consulship.* C. ATILIUS REGULUS, a
Year 503. second time.
L. MANLIUS VULSO, a second time.

Prætor. N. FABIUS BUTEO.

Curule Ædiles. M. FABIUS LICINUS.
M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. ATILIUS BULBUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Tribunes of the People. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
N. SEXTIUS LATERANUS.
L. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M. DECIUS MUS.
L. LIVIUS DENTER.
L. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.
A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
C. LICINIUS STOLO.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. VALERIUS FALTO.
C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.

Military Quæstors. C. QUINCTIUS CLAUDUS.
SP. FURIUS PURPUREO.

Provincial Quæstors. C. LICINIUS VARUS.
M' ÆMILIUS NUMIDA.
C. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Pro-Consul. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. He triumphs over the Carthaginians.

Pro-Quæstor. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.

203. *Consulship.* P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
Year 504. L. JUNIUS PULLUS.

Dictator. M. CLAUDIUS GLICIA. He was forced to abdicate, and A. ATILIUS CALATINUS, chosen in his room.

Gen. of Horse. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS

Prætor. C. FURIUS PACILUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. FABIUS BUTEO.
C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. FURIUS ACULEO.
L. MÆCILIUS TULLUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
M. CALPURNIUS FLAMMA.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
M. TULLIUS NEPOS.
PAPIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Military Quæstors. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.

Provincial Quæstors. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
C. ATILIUS LONGUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
L. QUINCTIUS CLAUDIUS.

Pro-Consul. L. MANLIUS VULSO.

Pro-Quæstor. SP. FURIUS PURPUREO.

204. *Consulship.* C. AURELIUS COTTA.
Year 505. P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
Both a second time.

Prætor. M. FABIUS LICINUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
P. DECIUS MUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. LICINIUS CALVUS.
Q. SILIUS NERVA.

Tribunes of the People. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
L. SEXTIUS LATERANUS.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
C. SCANTIUS NEPOS.
C. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
Q. LUTATIUS CERCO.

Q. ANI-

	Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS. Q. APULEIUS PANSÆ. Q. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS. Q. MAMILIUS NEPOS.	206. <i>Consulship.</i> M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS, a second time. M. FABIVS LICINVS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. P. VALERIUS FALTO.	<i>Dictator.</i> TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.	<i>Gen. of Horse.</i> M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	C. LUTATIUS CATULUS. M. VALERIUS POTITUS. T. POPILLIUS SABELLUS. P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.	<i>Prætor.</i> C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
		<i>Curule Ædiles.</i> A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. C. CLAUDIUS CENITHO.
		<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i> C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
205. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 506.	L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, a second time. M. FABIVS BUTEO.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS. M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS. C. CORNELIUS NEPOS. L. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS. L. TREBIUS NEPOS. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS. TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS. M. DECIUS MUS. K. DUILIUS NEPOS.
<i>Censors.</i>	A. ATILIUS CALATINUS. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS AT- TICUS.	
THE THIRTY EIGHTH LUSTRUM.		
<i>Prætor.</i>	C. ATILIUS BULBUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO. C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. L. LIVIUS DENTER.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i> M. GENUCIUS CIPUS. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAU- DINUS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	C. LUTATIUS CATULUS. C. LICINIUS STOLO.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i> C. FABIVS PICTOR. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. CN. FURIUS BROCHUS. SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS. C. TITINIUS NEPOS. L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA. N. SEXTIUS LATERANUS. M. ANICIUS GALLUS. C. SICINIUS NEPOS. M. TITIVS RUFUS. L. ALBINIUS NEPOS. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.	207. <i>Consulship.</i> Year 508.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	M. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAU- DINUS.	M. FABIVS BUTEO. C. ATILIUS BULBUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	T. VILLIUS TAPPULUS. T. CLÆLIUS SICULUS.	<i>Prætor.</i> L. AURELIUS COTTA.
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	M. CLAUDIUS GLICIA. C. PAPIRIUS MASO. L. MAMILIUS VITULUS. Q. SEXTIUS CAPITOLINUS.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i> Q. VALERIUS FALTO. M' ÆMILIUS NUMIDA.
<i>Pro-Consul.</i>	C. AURELIUS COTTA.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i> Q. LUTACIUS CERCO. P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
<i>Pro-Quæstor.</i> VOL. II.	SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> C. MAMILIUS TURINUS. CN. PUPIUS NEPOS. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS. CN. APULEIUS PANSÆ. C. LICINIUS CRASSUS. M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS. C. ATINIUS LABEO. M. ANICIUS GALLUS. Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	D. JUNIUS PERA. L. VETURIUS PHILO.	T. POPILLIUS SABELLUS. T. VETURIUS CALVINUS. M. MANILIUS NEPOS. L. TITIUS RUFUS. Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS. L. MARCIUS RUTILUS. Q. SICINIUS NEPOS. Q. MANILIUS NEPOS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	L. FURIUS BIBACULUS. M' POMPONIUS MATHO.	
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	Q. SULPICIUS RUFUS. CN. POMPONIUS RUFUS. Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS. M. LIVIUS DENTER.	
208. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 509.</i>	A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS. C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS, a second time.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. M. POMPONIUS MATHO.
<i>Prætor.</i>	C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i> CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. C. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i> L. ANICIUS GALLUS. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	L. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.	210. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 511.</i> C. LUTATIUS CATULUS. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. C. ATINIUS LONGUS. Q. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS. P. SILIUS NERVA. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. Q. CONSIDIUS NEPOS. L. TREBIUS NEPOS. M. SILIUS NERVA.	<i>Prætors.</i> M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. Q. VALERIUS FALTO.
The Establishment of a second <i>Prætorship</i> .		
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. C. PAPIRIUS MASO.	
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. C. LICINIUS VARUS.	
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. L. MAMILIUS VITULUS. Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS. L. POMPONIUS NEPOS. CN. FLAVIUS NEPOS. TI. VILLIUS TAPPULUS. SEX. CURATIUS NEPOS. L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. Q. FULVIUS PÆTINUS. M. CLAUDIUS GLICIA.	
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.	<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i> Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS VERRUCOSUS. C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
<i>Military Quæstors.</i>	M. JUNIUS PERA. N. FABIUS PICTOR.	<i>Military Quæstors.</i> CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO. C. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i>	P. CLAUDIUS NERO. L. TITINIUS NEPOS. T. VIRGINIUS RUTILUS. CN. APRONIUS LIMO.	<i>Provincial Quæstors.</i> M. MINUCIUS FESSUS. M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS. M' JUVENTIUS THALNA. P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
209. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 510.</i>	C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS. C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.	211. <i>Consulship.</i> <i>Year 512.</i> A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS, a second time. He triumphs over the <i>Falisci</i> .
<i>Prætor.</i>	T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.	Q. LU-
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	P. VALERIUS FALTO. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTITUS.	
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	M. FULVIUS FLACCUS. C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.	
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	L. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS RUGA.	

	Q. LUTACIUS CERCO. He triumphs over the <i>Falisci</i> .	<i>ginians</i> , who were beaten at Sea.
<i>Censors.</i>	C. AURELIUS COTTA. M. FABIVS BUTEO.	<i>Pro-Quæstors.</i> CN. CORNELIVS BLASIO. C. MINUCIVS RUFVS.
THE THIRTY NINTH LUSTRUM.		212. <i>Consulship.</i> C. CLAVDIVS CENTHO. Year 513. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANVS.
<i>Prætors.</i>	C. MAMILIUS TURINVS. P. VALERIUS FALTO.	<i>Prætors.</i> M. VALERIUS MAXIMVS POTITVS. A. POSTUMIVS ALBINVS.
<i>Curule Ædiles.</i>	P. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS CAVDINVS. C. FABIVS PICTOR.	<i>Curule Ædiles.</i> Q. SVPICIIVS RUFVS. L. FURIIVS BIBACVLVS.
<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>	Q. OGVLNIIVS GALLVS. C. SEMPRONIIVS SOPHVVS.	Dramatick Pieces composed by <i>Livius Andronicus</i> now first acted at <i>Rome</i> .
<i>Tribunes of the People.</i>	M. GENUCIVS CIPVS. CN. FURIIVS BROCHVS. M. FVLVIIVS FLACCVS. C. ATILIVS REGVLVS. C. CALPURNIVS PISO. C. PLAVTIIVS PROCVLVS. M. FLAVIVS NEPOS. TI. SEMPRONIIVS GRACCHVS. C. ATINIIVS LONGVS. M. MARCIIVS RACCA.	<i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i> L. PVBLCIVS MALLEOLVS. M. PVBLCIVS MALLEOLVS.
<i>Quæstors of Rome.</i>	CN. MINUCIVS FESSVS. C. MINUCIVS AVGVRIIVS.	<i>Tribunes of the People.</i> M. POMPONIIVS MATHO. CN. POMPONIIVS RUFVS. Q. POETELIVS LIBO VISOLVS. C. CONSIDIVS NEPOS. SEX. STATIVS NEPOS. D. JUNIVS PERA. M. LIVIVS DENTER. M. ALLIENIVS NEPOS. C. PLÆTORIVS NEPOS. M. CLAVDIVS GLICIA.
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